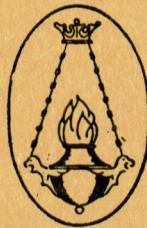


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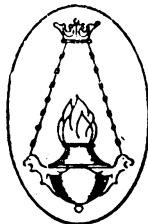
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- Vol. I — *Polonica ex Libris Obligationum et Solutionum Camere Apostolicae*. Collegit J. LISOWSKI, pp. XV+292, 704 doc. (A.D. 1373-1565) Ind. nom. propr., 1960. (Archivum Secretum Vaticanicum).
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- Vol. III — *Repertorium Rerum Polonicarum ex Archivo Orsini in Archivo Capitolino*, I pars. Coll. W. WYHOWSKA - DE ANDREIS, XVIII+162, 1144 doc. (A.D. 1565-1787) 29 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1961.
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- Vol. VIII — *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas*, I pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ, pp. X+214, 157 doc. (A.D. 1514-1576, 1720-1791) 7 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1963.
- Vol. IX — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Regni Daniae*, I pars. Coll. L. KOCZY, pp. XII+184, 98 doc. (A.D. 1526-1572) 8 tab. Ind. nom. propr. 1964.
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F O N T E S

ADAM ZIELIŃSKI
(FEIJÓ, PORTUGAL)

REPERCUSSIONS LITTERAIRES PORTUGAISES DES LUTTES POUR L'INDEPENDANCE DE LA POLOGNE AU XIX^e SIECLE

La dernière décennie du XVIII^e siècle fut en Pologne le témoin d'événements tragiques : 2^e partage du pays (1793), soulèvement de Kościuszko, qui devait se terminer par un échec (1794), et 3^e partage (1795), qui allait rayer la Pologne de la carte de l'Europe pour une période de 120 ans. Toutefois, hors de la Pologne, cette même décennie engendra un mouvement de sympathie pour la Pologne et les Polonais, sympathie qui, nourrie de tentatives renouvelées par ceux-ci de recouvrer leur indépendance, se manifesta presque tout au long du XIX^e siècle.

A l'origine de ces témoignages: la participation de Tadeusz Kościuszko à la lutte pour l'indépendance des Etats-Unis, la communauté d'aspirations vers l'indépendance lancées par la Révolution américaine, la grande Révolution française et une Pologne aux prises avec la brutalité de ses voisins. Ces aspirations devaient atteindre une rapide et concrète expression au lendemain du dernier partage, quand tant de soldats polonais crurent devoir rejoindre les armées françaises, celles-là mêmes qui livraient combat à l'Autriche, l'une des trois puissances partageantes. Sur les champs de bataille d'Italie, l'étoile de Napoléon Bonaparte montait qui allait devenir la bonne étoile des Polonais pendant les vingt années à venir.

Née en Amérique du Nord, la fraternité d'armes entre tous ceux qui combattaient partout la tyrannie, l'oppression et l'obscurantisme, devait, au cours des prochaines années, mener les Polonais sur les champs de bataille d'Italie et d'Egypte, d'Allemagne et d'Autriche, de Russie et de France. Ce qui y contribua particulièrement, ce fut le fait que, dans le camp ennemi se trouvaient, presque toujours, les trois pays démembrateurs de la Pologne.

La plupart de ces luttes et des nombreuses tentatives locales directes, entreprises par les Polonais pour se frayer un chemin vers l'indépendance, devaient se terminer par des défaites. Les témoignages de compassion qui, à cette occasion, affluaient du monde civilisé, ne sortaient guère, hélas ! du cadre des discours platoniques et déclamatoires, et se traduisaient tout au plus par des actions purement humanitaires telles que : création de comités d'entraide, collectes au profit d'anciens combattants émigrés, de victimes de guerre et de leurs familles.

Des marques de sympathie et d'intérêt pour les Polonais se sont conservées parmi les écrits laissés par des émigrés polonais dans des bibliothèques et archives de divers pays européens. Beaucoup d'entre les œuvres littéraires et plastiques de cette époque restent universellement connues et constituent un précieux gage d'amitié entre ces pays et la Pologne. Malheureusement, une bonne partie de ces créations se trouve dispersée à travers le monde et risque de tomber dans un oubli total. Conserver ces précieux témoignages d'amitié et de sympathie pour la Pologne dont le Portugal a été le théâtre, tel est le propos des lignes qui vont suivre.

Pour mieux comprendre le climat et les conditions dans lesquelles apparaissent les écrits polono-portugais, il nous faut d'abord décrire à grands traits comment les choses s'étaient déroulées dans d'autres pays.

Les idéaux communs de progrès et de révolution; le rôle actif de milliers de Polonais dans les armées républicaines et, plus tard, napoléoniennes, couronné par la mort héroïque et romantique du prince Joseph Poniatowski, chef du corps d'armée polonais et maréchal de France; les liens affectifs entre carbonari et francs-maçons des deux nations; le "grande émigration" qui, au terme de "l'insurrection de novembre" 1831-32, déferla sur la France en une nouvelle vague de l'élite intellectuelle, politique et militaire d'une Pologne défaite — tout cela fit que, entre les dernières années du XVIII^e et les années 70 du XIX^e siècles, le nom de la Pologne se manifestait sans cesse dans les lettres françaises. La période insurrectionnelle correspond à une intensification maximale de ces sentiments où, pour défendre la Pologne et son honneur, une pléiade d'hommes de lettres crurent bon de se saisir de leur plume, et notamment: Charles de Montalembert, Victor Hugo, Pierre Béranger, Auguste Barthélémy, Auguste Barbier et maints autres. Une place de choix revient à cet égard à Casimir Delavigne, auteur d'une série d'œuvres poétiques sur des sujets polonais et dont "La Varsovienne" devint — dans une traduction de Karol Sienkiewicz — la "Warszawianka", un chant de combat patriotique que l'on chante encore aujourd'hui. Selon Maria Straszewska,¹ le nombre d'ouvrages poétiques français se rattachant à la Pologne, atteint la centaine, sans compter les pièces de théâtre, les écrits en prose et le journalisme politique.

Parmi les références anglaises à notre pays, citons la mention bien connue sur la Pologne et sur Kościuszko, dans *Pleasures of hope* de Thomas Campbell : "And Freedom shrieked when Kościuszko fell"; mais, étant donné le rôle joué par les Polonais dans le camp opposé à l'Angleterre, les mouvements de sympathie pour la Pologne et sa cause ne devaient se renouveler que bien plus tard, à savoir après le soulèvement de novembre. Le même Campbell fut le premier président de la "Literary Association of the Friends of Poland", fondée en 1832 et qui,

¹ Straszewska Maria: *Życie literackie Wielkiej Emigracji we Francji 1831-1840*. Warszawa, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1970, p. 61.

malgré sa dénomination, ne se limitait point à des manifestations littéraires ; elle inaugura et poursuivit pendant de longues années une action de secours matériel efficace aux victimes du soulèvement et, plus particulièrement aux anciens insurgés ayant trouvé asile en Angleterre. Leur nombre était évalué, en 1834, à quatre cents.²

Ce fut en Allemagne que l'intérêt porté à la Pologne fut le plus vif encore que peu durable, puisqu'il se limita pratiquement à la seule période insurrectionnelle. La proximité du théâtre des opérations, ensuite le passage de la frontière par des dizaines de milliers de militaires polonais fuyant les camps de prisonniers russes, et enfin, l'interminable défilé de ces troupes en marche vers la France, cette France toujours considérée, à la lumière des traditions napoléoniennes, comme le porte-parole et amie des Polonais — susciterent en Allemagne un élan poétique sans précédent. Si l'on en croit Krzywon,³ près de trois cents poètes composèrent, en ce temps-là, un millier d'oeuvres consacrées à la Pologne, à ses luttes et à ses victimes, œuvres ouvertement hostiles aux puissances promotrices des partages. Krzywon énumère les plus marquants d'entre eux : Adalbert von Chamisso, Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Franz Grillparzer, Anastasius Grün, Moritz Hartmann, Friedrich Hebbel, Georg Herwegh, Gottfried Keller, Justinus Kerner, Nikolaus Lenau, Julius Mosen, Graf August von Platen-Hallermünde, Gustav Schwab, Ludwig Uhland. Sur le Parnasse du romantisme allemand, ce sont, à coup sûr, des personnalités de première grandeur. Notre attention est attirée par la présence sur cette liste de Hoffmann von Fallersleben, l'auteur du célèbre et si controversé hymne allemand "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles" . . . Par ailleurs, à l'instar de "La Varsovienne" de Delavigne, le poème de Julius Mosen "In Warschau schwuren Tausend auf den Knien", traduit par Jan Nepomucen Kamiński, entra, sous le titre "Mille valeureux", dans le patrimoine des chants patriotiques polonais qui durent. Carl von Holtei⁴ alla, dans ses sentiments pro-polonais, jusqu'à se solidariser avec les opprimés en se récriant : "Moi, je suis le dernier Polonais !"

Le soulèvement de 1831 eut un retentissement plus limité, mais non moins chaleureux, en Belgique, en Suisse, en Italie et jusqu'au lointain Brésil.

Je n'ai trouvé, dans la littérature portugaise, nulle trace d'écrits sur les partages ou sur l'Insurrection de Kościuszko. Inspiré d'une gravure de Lemaître reproduite dans l'"Histoire de Pologne" de Forster⁵ —

² Dąbrowski Jan: *Polacy w Anglia i o Anglia*, Kraków, Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1962, p. 189.

³ Krzywon Ernst Josef: *Heinrich Heine und Polen. Ein Beitrag zur Poetik der politischen Dichtung zwischen Romantik und Realismus*. München, Dissertationsdruck Schön, 1971.

⁴ Dedeceius Karl: *Polacy i Niemcy — Posłannictwo książek*, Kraków, Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1973, p. 59.

⁵ Forster Carlos: *Historia de la Polonia*, Barcelona, Imprenta del Guardia Nacional, 1840, p. 135.

dont l'édition espagnole de 1840, bien connue ici, apparaît fortuitement dans les magasins d'antiquités — le portrait de Kościuszko ne fut livré au public que dans la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle, dans une série qui comprend la reine Hedvige, le roi Sobieski et Langiewicz. L'épopée napoléonienne parvint certes jusqu'au Portugal, mais je manque de preuves du passage en ce pays de détachements polonais quelconques. Quant à l'émigration consécutive aux partages ou la présence de Polonais dans l'armée napoléonienne, un écho nous en est bien fourni par un roman en 8 volumes d'António de Campos *A Filha do Polaco*⁶ dont l'héroïne est "Maria Pulaska", mais la première édition de cet ouvrage ne vit le jour qu'en 1903, il n'a donc rien à voir dans la période qui nous intéresse.

Si l'on excepte la traduction du roman, publié en français, de Jan Czynski *Le Tsarévitch Constantin et Joanna Grudzinska ou les Jacobins polonais*,⁷ traduction parue à Lisbonne en 1855, le soulèvement de 1831, qui inspira à un tel degré les poètes français, allemands et autres, ne laissa ici qu'un seul et unique "souvenir", au demeurant aussi tardif, puisqu'il vit le jour en 1847 seulement. Il s'agit d'un roman politico-éthico-religieux *A Virgem da Polonia*, écrit par Rodrigues de Bastos,⁸ roman qui eut, en vingt années, sept éditions au Portugal et au Brésil, et ce sans compter une traduction en français. Ne perdons cependant pas de vue qu'au temps de l'insurrection de novembre, le Portugal était le théâtre d'une guerre civile, celle des deux frères — Dom Miguel et Dom Pedro — et que le climat psychologique n'y était alors guère propice à des préoccupations touchant une Pologne lointaine et mal connue. La seule oeuvre en vers que je connaisse et qui se rapporte directement aux événements de 1831, fut publiée en 1854. Elle est d'Alexandre Braga, porte le titre "Adeus de um Polaco" (Annexe I) et fait état du mal du pays d'un soldat polonais émigré.

Il est d'autant plus étonnant qu'une vague d'enthousiasme — semblable à celle que l'insurrection de novembre avait soulevée en Allemagne et en France — atteignit le Portugal trente ans plus tard, sous l'effet immédiat du "soulèvement de janvier" 1863. Ce furent les milieux étudiantins qui réagirent le plus vivement aux événements de Pologne, et en premier lieu, les étudiants de la vénérable université portugaise de Coimbra.⁹

⁶ Campos António de, Jr: *A Filha do Polaco*, Romance Historico. Lisboa, Biblioteca Illustrada d' "O Seculo", 1903.

⁷ Czynski J.: *O Czarewitz Constantino e Joanninha Grudzinska ou os Jacobinos Polacos*. Romance Historico, Lisboa, Typographia de G. M. Martins, 1855.

⁸ Rodrigues de Bastos Jose Joaquim: *Virgem da Polónia*, Obra politica, moral e religiosa, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1847.

⁹ Eça de Queirós: *Cartas da Inglaterra* in "Gazeta de Notícias", Rio de Janeiro, 1880-1882.

Bien des années plus tard, le plus grand prosateur portugais Eça de Queiros, étudiant à Coimbra au temps de l'insurrection, remémorait en ces termes les glorieux instants :

“Les quotidiens regorgeaient de poésies qui rendaient hommage à la Pologne et vitupéraient contre l’“Ours du Nord” ! Les étudiants mettaient en gage leurs capes et leurs manuels pour se cotiser et apporter ainsi leur aide à la Pologne”.

On peut trouver de semblables témoignages dans les mémoires d'Augusto Pinto Osório, intitulés “Lembranças da mocidade”¹⁰ et publiés en 1907.

Ce climat fut à l'origine de la mise en oeuvre, par les étudiants de Coimbra, d'une série de “récitals”, c'est-à-dire de représentations théâtrales où, au cours des entractes, on récitat et chantait des poèmes et des chants de circonstance, dont la plupart avaient été composés à cette occasion, soit par des poètes déjà reconnus, soit par les étudiants eux-mêmes. Il arrivait souvent que l'auteur n'était autre qu'un étudiant-poète. Ces “récitals” étaient organisés par les soins de l’“Academia Dramatica”, équivalent de nos cercles dramatiques estudiantins.

Déclenché le 22 janvier, le soulèvement eut sa répercussion au Portugal dès le mois de mars. Le premier écho en parut dans un journal de Coimbra *A Liberdade* du 22 mars 1863. Il disait : “Le 21, au “Teatro Academico”, sr. Callado a récité un poème de sr. Coutinho, intitulé “A Polónia” (An. II). “Teve honras de bis e o auctor foi chamado ao proscenio”. Il est intéressant à noter que *A Liberdade* était considéré comme journal maçonnique.

Dans tout Portugal, des comités étaient créés en vue de collectes pour les insurgés et les victimes des luttes. Le journal cité plus haut annonçait, quelques jours plus tard, qu'à Lisbonne, au théâtre S. Luiz, une soirée au profit d'oeuvres polonaises avait eu lieu, le 31 mars.

Loin de se contenter de leur action dans leur propre ville, les étudiants de Coimbra se rendirent à Porto, où ils organisèrent, coup sur coup, trois soirées — les 4, 8 et 10 avril — au Théâtre Royal S. João.

Selon le quotidien *O Comercio do Porto*, l'on y récita des poèmes de Pinheiro Caldas (An. III), Guilherme Braga (An. IV) et Nogueira Lima (An. V), et distribua des feuilles de propagande contenant une poésie de Silva Fernandes (An. VI).

Voici en quels termes le journal en question décrivait la troisième de ces soirées : “Ce fut une soirée mémorable dans les annales du théâtre de Porto, car on assiste rarement à une telle explosion d'enthousiasme grandiose tendant à exprimer la sympathie de centaines de personnes pour la cause sacrée d'un peuple grand et héroïque (*majestoso e heroico*), jusque dans son martyre et ses souffrances (*martyrio e sofrimento*). Au

¹⁰ Pinto Osório Augusto: *Lembranças da mocidade. Alguns casos históricos da Academia de Coimbra, Porto, Emprésa Litteraria e Typografica*, 1907, pp. 23-25 et 179. Cette information m'a été fournie par le dr. Luis Ferrand de Almeida, de Coimbra, auquel vont mes sincères remerciements.

premier extracte, le ténor polonais Di Pietro, vêtu de noir, un brassard de deuil au bras, monta sur la scène et chanta, avec l'accompagnement de l'orchestre, un hymne dédié aux étudiants de Coimbra, dont les paroles étaient de Guilherme Braga (An. VII) et la musique de Marques Pinto . Une fois le chant terminé, les étudiants se mirent à étreindre et à embrasser ce fils de la Pologne opprimée, qui s'en émut jusqu'aux larmes.”

Le journal ne cite pas les titres des poèmes qui y furent récités, mais, le mois suivant (mai), l'un des numéros de la revue littéraire *Grinalda* (v. note à l'annexe V), paraissant également à Porto, était dédié en entier à "La Liberté" et à l' "Academia Dramatica" de Coimbra : on y soulignait que ladite association "avait organisé cette soirée au bénéfice des victimes de guerre de Pologne." Outre le poème de Nogueira Lima déjà cité (An. V), le numéro en contient deux autres, munis d'un nota précisant qu'ils avaient été récités, le premier, "Aos academicos de 63" d'Alexandro da Conceição (An. VIII), par Luis d'Azevedo Mello e Castro ; le deuxième, sans titre, par son auteur Guilherme Braga que nous connaissons déjà (An. IX). Trois autres poèmes figurent au même numéro, également sans titre et dont les auteurs sont : Hortencia de Lima Barbosa, daté du 5 mai 1863 (An. X); Ernesto Pinto de Almeida, daté du mois d'avril 1863 (An. XI) et Custódio José Duarte (An. XII).

La revue littéraire *A Liberdade* déjà cité annonce, le 9 avril, les résultats financiers des deux premières soirées, et ajoute : "Chaque jour voit grandir la sympathie que la cause polonaise éveille chez notre jeunesse universitaire libre et si prometteuse". Il y est précisé en outre que le comité, présidé par António Caetano dos Reis, envisage d'organiser, dans les localités avoisinantes, des quêtes au profit d'oeuvres polonaises, et ce "à l'aide de la musique". En effet, le numéro suivant d'*A Liberdade*, du 16 avril, annonce que l'orchestre "*Boa União*" donnera, le dimanche prochain (19.IV), au Jardin Botanique, un concert dont la recette sera versée aux œuvres polonaises. Au même numéro — une note sur Mlle Pustowojt, que l'on compare à Emilia Plater. Enfin, cette même revue annonce, en date du 14 mai, que les manifestations de Porto du mois d'avril ont été reprises à Coimbra, au bénéfice du ténor polonais précité, lequel a chanté "O canto do Polaco" (An. XIII), composé par Sanchez de Gama.

Parallèlement à l'intense activité déployée au Nord par les étudiants de Coimbra, la capitale du Portugal ne demeurait pas en reste. Le prestigieux théâtre de Lisbonne, l'Opéra Royal S. Carlos, donna, le 6 avril, une "représentation extraordinaire au profit des familles de Polonais nécessiteux et qui ont trouvé la mort pendant la lutte de ce peuple héroïque pour son indépendance et sa liberté".

A la différence de Coimbra, où les artistes étaient des amateurs, ce furent des acteurs professionnels qui se produisaient à Lisbonne. Le spectacle remporta un vif succès, ce qui témoignait de la sympathie générale que le Portugal ressentait à l'égard du soulèvement polonais. A preuve que le roi Louis I^e en personne l'honora de sa présence, ce

qui ne manqua pas de susciter des mouvements divers et de provoquer “une attitude menaçante du représentant de la Russie”,¹¹ comme l’annonça le ministre français à Lisbonne. A propos de l’insurrection de janvier, un historien de celle-ci¹² écrivait : “Au Portugal, pays généralement éloigné des problèmes européens, la révolte polonaise suscita, dès le début, des mouvements de sympathie, sentiments que la malencontreuse réaction du représentant russe n’a fait que renforcer”.

Le geste du roi était au demeurant conforme à la politique officielle, le Portugal ayant adopté une attitude favorable à l’égard de la proposition anglaise du 4 mars 1863, invitant tous les signataires de l’acte du Congrès de Vienne de 1815, à adresser à Pétersbourg une protestation contre le terrorisme dont la Pologne était l’objet. L’historien disait en substance : “La présence de Louis I^{er} à la représentation organisée en faveur des insurgés polonais était ostentatoire, ce qui provoqua, dans la lointaine capitale russe, des ressentiments personnels du tsar à l’égard du représentant portugais. Encouragé par la France et l’Angleterre, le Portugal envoya, le 1^{er} mai, une deuxième dépêche qui renouvelait l’appel à la générosité du tsar.”

Le dernière manifestation pro-polonaise dont j’ai trouvé la trace, c’est la “*festia de caridade*” qui eut lieu au parc “*Passeio Publico*” à Lisbonne, la nuit du 13 septembre 1863, à l’occasion de laquelle Francisco Xavier da Silva composa son poème “A Polónia” (An. XIV). Maints autres ouvrages poétiques furent écrits en 1863, apparemment sans rapport aucun avec des manifestations quelconques. Leurs auteurs sont : Joaquim d’Almeida Cunha — poème sans titre, daté à Coimbra, 31 mars, dédié au “célèbre acteur J. M. Braz Martins”, et donc récité sans doute quelque part (An. XV) ; Francisco Soares Franco Junior — poème “A Polónia”, daté à Lisbonne, 6 avril (An. XVI) ; Cherubino Lagoa — “Versos a Polónia”, dédiés aux membres de l’“Academia Dramatica de Coimbra” que nous connaissons déjà, et sûrement inspirés par les fameux “récitals” (An. XVII) ; Eduardo Augusto Vidal — “A Polónia” portant la mention “septembre 1863” (An. XVIII) ; Rodrigo de Menezes — “Um canto a Polónia” de novembre 1863 (An. XIX) ; Manuel Maria Portella — “A Polónia” (An. XX) et José Maria da Cunha Seixas — poème “Emilia Plater — Martyr Polaca” (An. XXI).

Tout à la fin de 1863, une grande oeuvre poétique voit le jour, due à la plume du plus éminent d’entre tous ces poètes : Anthero de Quental. Elle porte le titre “A Europa” et comporte le sous-titre suivant : “Pendant l’Insurrection Polonaise de 1864” (sic!). Il s’agit là, sans conteste, d’une oeuvre la plus significative de toute cette série (An. XXII).

Furent publiés en outre : en juillet 1864, un poème de Jose Carlos de Gouveia “A Polónia” (An. XXIII) ; en 1865, “O Martyr da Polónia”,

¹¹ Information du dr. L. Ferrand de Almeida.

¹² Bóbr-Tylini Stanisław: “Ogólnoeuropejska interwencja dyplomatyczna w 1863 roku” in *Teki Historyczne*, Tom IX, Londyn, Instytut Historyczny im. Gen. Sikorskiego, 1958, pp. 70-71; voir aussi du même auteur: “Napoléon III, l’Europe et la Pologne” in *Antemurale, 1863-1963*, Vol. VII-VIII, Romae, 1963.

de Jorge Hilario d'Almeida Blanco (An. XXIV) ; et, en 1868, "O Canto da Agonia", de J. O. Latino de Faria (An. XXV). Un écho tout à fait lointain de l'insurrection de 1863 nous est fourni par la poésie "As duas Escravas" d'António de Sousa Pinto (An. XXVI) juxtaposant le sort de la Pologne à celui de l'Irlande. Ce n'est point le seul cas où l'on rapproche ces deux destins : la comparaison avait déjà été faite par Eça de Queiros dans une de ses *Lettres d'Angleterre*.

La dernière oeuvre connue, dont le sujet se rattache à l'asservissement de la Pologne, est celle de José Ramos Coelho "A Polónia", publiée en 1898 (An. XXVII) et à l'origine de laquelle se trouve l'intervention d'un journaliste polonais, venu à Lisbonne à l'occasion du Congrès International de la Presse (v. note à cette annexe).

Ayant épuisé la liste des créations inspirées par la lutte des Polonais pour l'indépendance, et surtout par l'insurrection de 1863, il convient de rappeler ici les pièces de théâtre et les récits en prose se rattachant aux mêmes événements.

En août 1863, on présenta au Teatro Nacional de la rue dos Condes, à Lisbonne, un drame en trois actes de P. C. de Alcantara Chavez, intitulé *Os Martyres da Polónia*. J'ignore si cette pièce fut jamais publiée.

En 1864, fut présentée au Teatro das Variedades, également à Lisbonne, une comédie de Jose Romano *Polacos e Russos na Mouraria*¹⁴ ["Mouraria" est un vieux quartier de Lisbonne où vivaient jadis, après la reconquête de la ville sur les Maures, les débris de la population arabe.] La pièce nous raconte la lutte entre deux "gangs" de jeunes voyous, dénommés, dans l'esprit de l'époque, "Polonais et Russes". Dans la même année, le périodique lisbonnais *Archivo Pitoresco* publia une pièce traduite de l'espagnol d'Emilio Castelar *Um noivado em Varsóvia. Quadro da emancipaçao dos Polacos*.¹⁵

Les événements de janvier inspirèrent trois "oeuvres" en prose, dénomination trop flatteuse, étant donné leur niveau très bas. Nous ne les mentionnons qu'en raison de la sympathie qui s'en dégage pour les choses de Pologne, mais aussi en tant qu'exemple d'informations embrouillées que l'on pouvait propager à son sujet.

La première est une brochure de 24 pages, de José do Desterro, *Descripção do Reino da Polónia antes da sua desmembração*,¹⁶ dédiée au maréchal Conde da Ponte de Santa Maria dont la suite des titres honorifiques occupe dix lignes de texte imprimé. Dans la préface, l'auteur déclare se fonder sur des écrits des "auteurs reconnus" tels que : Dlugoso [c'est-à-dire Jan Dlugosz (1415-1480), auteur d'*Historia Polonica*] :

¹³ Eça de Queirós, op. cit. Information du dr. L. Ferrand de Almeida.

¹⁴ Romano José: *Polacos e Russos na Mouraria*, Comedia em um acto original. Lisboa, Ed. Manoel António de Campos Jr., 1864.

¹⁵ "Um noivado em Varsóvia". *Quadro da emanipaçao dos Polacos*. Tradução anonima do original de Emilio Castelar in *Archivo Pitoresco*, Vol. 8, Lisboa, 1865, pp. 191-198.

¹⁶ Desterro José do: *Descripção do Reino da Polónia antes da sua desmembração offerecida ao Illm. Exm, Sr. Conde da Ponte de Santa Maria, marechal do exercito, etc.* Lisboa, Typ. de Manoel de Jesus Coelho, 1863.

Martinho, Cromero [les “deux” auteurs présumés n’en font en réalité qu’un : Marcin Kromer (1512-1589), auteur d’un ouvrage d’information *Polonia sive de situ...*] et enfin — Voltaire, que nous nous dispenserons de présenter, mais dont il est utile de rappeler qu’il vécut de 1694 à 1778. Le fait même qu’un écrivain de la deuxième moitié du XIX^e siècle s’appuie sur ceux des XV^e et XVIII^e siècles pris au hasard, permet de juger de la valeur des informations qu’il rapporte.

Le deuxième ouvrage est un opuscule de 54 pages du marquis de Lavradio intitulé *Considerações sobre a Polónia*.¹⁷ S’il est exempt d’anachronismes, il n’en présente pas moins un amalgame de données parfaitement fortuites, en passant d’une ébauche de neuf siècles d’histoire de Pologne à une description des persécutions subies par la religion catholique dans les régions orientales rattachées à l’empire russe [la célèbre affaire de la Mère Makryna Mieczyslawska y est incluse], pour aboutir à deux correspondances reproduites du journal français *Le Monde* sous le titre : “O Canibalismo russo na Polónia”.

La troisième “oeuvre” enfin, la plus ambitieuse, c’est *Historia da Polónia desde o seu começo*,¹⁸ en quatre volumes et 824 pages, publiée en 1865 et dédiée au roi D. Fernando. En dépit des apparences, elle ne vaut guère mieux que les deux autres. Ce qui éveille le méfiance du lecteur, c’est la personne même de son auteur José Hermenegildo Correa qui, sur la couverture, n’a pu citer comme référence que le fait d’exercer les “fonctions d’aspirant à la Recette municipale de Lisbonne”. Il s’était servi de matériaux recueillis au gré du hasard, peut-être en provenance de France. Il n’empêche qu’un ouvrage aussi imposant ne pouvait être conçu que dans un climat de sollicitude et de bienveillance à l’égard de la Pologne.

Une des conséquences des événements de 1863 fut la venue au Portugal, en juillet 1865, de l’abbé Karol Mikoszewski, l’un des chefs de l’insurrection et ancien membre du Comité National Suprême. Il se présentait ici en tant que président du Comité d’Entraide Fraternelle polonais et collectait des fonds pour les victimes du soulèvement. L’hebdomadaire *Independência Nacional* du 17 juillet 1865 publia, en bonne place, un appel précédé d’une introduction exaltant l’amitié pour la Pologne et dont le signataire était précisément le père Mikoszewski.

La même année parut, sous la forme d’une plaquette, une biographie de Mikoszewski, dont l'auteur s'abrite derrière les initiales “M. e F.”.¹⁹ Elle était dédiée à la comtesse de Samoedães.

La réunion des textes poétiques figurant aux annexes m'a été rendue possible grâce au colonel Henrique de Campos Ferreira Lima, directeur

¹⁷ Lavradio Marquez de: *Considerações sobre a Polónia*, Lisboa, Typ. de Mathias Jorge Marques da Silva, 1863.

¹⁸ Corrêa José Hermenegildo: *História da Polónia desde o seu começo*. Lisboa, Typ. de J. B. Morando, 1864-1866.

¹⁹ M.e F.: *Esboco biografico de Carlos Mikoszewski*, Ex-membro do Governo Nacional Provisório da Polónia, Conego honorario, Vigario de Zelazna e Presidente da Comissão Ecclesiastica de Socorros Fraternaes, para os Polacos desterrados. Porto, Typographia Commercial, 1865.

des Archives historiques militaires de Lisbonne ; ce fut lui qui, dans les années 30 de notre siècle, publia une série de travaux sur les relations polono-portugaises et recueillit tout une documentation sur la Pologne et les Polonais trouvable au Portugal. Cette documentation lui permit d'organiser, en 1938, une exposition biblio- et iconographique consacrée à ces relations. En plus des deux études plus générales, l'une lue, le 22 février 1934, à la Faculté des sciences humaines (*Classe de Letras*) de l'Académie des Sciences de Lisbonne, et publiée ensuite,²⁰ l'autre, développement de la première, utilisée comme préface au catalogue²¹ de ladite exposition — Ferreira Lima est l'auteur de plusieurs travaux spéciaux : sur la Légion Polonaise ou Legion de Dona Maria II, relatant une tentative manquée de créer, au Portugal, des unités combattantes polonaises (1832-1833), et qui eut deux éditions, en 1932²² et 1936²³ ; sur le religieux polonais Wyszynski, fondateur au Portugal, au XVIII^e siècle, de l'ordre des Pères Maristes²⁴; sur un bataillon français commandé, dans les années 1832-1833, par le général Ramorino, lequel fut aussi l'un des généraux du soulèvement polonais, bataillon qui comptait plusieurs Polonais.²⁵ Parmi les travaux mineurs, mentionnons un article publié dans la revue *O Tripeiro* et consacré à l'abbé Karol Mikoszewski.²⁶

Quelques mois avant sa mort en 1949, le colonel Ferreira Lima m'a remis les manuscrits de la presque totalité des poésies que nous publions aujourd'hui, ainsi qu'une pile de notes et informations bio- et bibliographiques sur ces œuvres et leurs auteurs. Il exprima alors l'espoir que je pourrais un jour les utiliser et présenter au public.

Je suis heureux de pouvoir, grâce à l'annuaire "Antemurale", réaliser ce voeu et je profite de cette occasion pour rendre hommage au grand érudit et au grand ami de la Pologne qu'il fut. Je tiens également à remercier les éditeurs de l'"Antemurale" de m'avoir obligamment offert ses colonnes pour la publication de cette anthologie et d'avoir ainsi sauvé de l'oubli les précieuses marques d'intérêt que la Pologne sut éveiller chez les Portugais et qui, autrement, dispersées dans des périodiques, journaux, feuilles volantes ou livres inaccessibles, seraient immanquablement vouées à la perte.

²⁰ Ferreira Lima Henrique de Campos: *Relações entre Portugal e a Polónia*, Vila Nova de Famalicão, Tip. "Minerva", 1934.

²¹ ____: "Relações entre Portugal e a Polónia (Breve notícia)" in *Catálogo da Exposição Bibliográfica e Iconográfica Luso-Polaca* organizada pelo Grupo Amizade Luso-Polaca, Inaugurada em 20 de Junho de 1938. Lisboa, 1938.

²² ____: *Legião Polaca ou Legião da Rainha Dona Maria Segunda (1832-1833)*. Vila Nova de Famalicão, Tip. "Minerva", 1932.

²³ ____: *Legião Polaca ou Legião da Rainha Dona Maria Segunda (1832-1833)*, Segunda edição. Vila Nova de Famalicão, Tip. "Minerva", 1936.

²⁴ ____: *Frei Casimiro de S. José Wyszynski (Polaco)*, Introdutor da Ordem dos Marianos em Portugal. Separata do tomo 2º da *Revista de Arqueologia*. Lisboa, 1936.

²⁵ ____: *Batalhão de Voluntários Franceses, de Ramorino ou de Peniche*. Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1934.

²⁶ ____: "Um sacerdote polaco no Porto, em 1865" in *O Tripeiro*, V Serie, Ano IV, No. 2. Porto, 1948. pp. 33-35.

A N N E X E S

I

ALEXANDRE BRAGA

ADEUS DE UM POLACO

Adeus, ó Polónia, meu berço adorado,
Que ficas occulto nos montes d'alem . . .
Eu busco outros climas.—Ao pobre soldado
Já velho e cançado
Na terra da pátria não ama ninguem.

Meus filhos . . . que é d'elles? Por essas campinas
Expostos ás feras seus membros estão;
Busquei-os embalde por entre as ruinas,
Nos carros dos mortos busquei-os em vão.

Meus filhos! meus filhos! que longa saudade
Cá dentro do peito rebenta por fim!
Na terra do exílio, meus filhos, quem ha-de,
Com sancta piedade,
Fallar-me na pátria, lembrar-se de mim?

Ai vejo-os ainda crianças formosas
Nos plácidos tempos de magas visões—
C'roadas as frontes com nitidas rosas,
Cantando abraçados guerreiras canções!

Mas cêdo, nos montes, á luz da alvorada
Sooou das trombetas a rígida voz . . .
—“É tempo, dissetes; a patria nos brada:
Queremos a espada,
Queremos a lança de nossos avós”.

E a lucta foi breve, mas finda a batalha
Das virgens, que amastes, ouvi o clamor;
Não podem levarvos a fria mortalha,
Nem dar-vos ao menos mil beijos d'amor!

Meus filhos! meus filhos! que tristes lembranças
Nas trevas dest'alma brotando não vem!
Á luz das granadas, no meio das lanças
Havia esperanças . . .
Havi-as, mas essas morreram tambem.

Adeus, ó Polónia, nação de guerreiros,
Por quem n'outras eras valente lutei;
Aberto o jazigo por mãos d'estrangeiros
Em praias remotas alfim dormirei.

Alfim . . . mas que importa? Já velho e cançado
Não trago a existência, deixei-a por lá;
Só levo o estandarte, das balas crivado,
 Que ao pobre soldado
De pobre mortalha por fim servirá.

Mas cédo, rasgadas as névoas espessas
Que somem, ó pátria, teus bellos jardins,
Veráz essas frias, sangrentas cabeças
Bradar nos banquetes à luz dos festins:

—“Findou, ó tyranos, o negro destino
Que ao povo rasgára seu manto real:
Largae os diademas. —O loiro menino,
 Brincando sem tino,

Já sabe risonho brandir um punhal.”—
Então longo manto de luz e verdores
Nos plainos queimados verás ondear;
Verás ao sol-posto, cingidas de flores,
As sombras dos bravos sentados ao lar . . .

Mas ah! se teus filhos, ó patria querida,
Não podem c'roar-te d'eterno clarão—
Escondam-te as fadas a fronte abatida,
 Sem alma, sem vida,
Nos seios ardentes d'immenso vulcão.

Alexandre Braga

Publié dans la revue *O Bardo. Jurnal de poesias ineditas*. Porto, Typographia de Sebastião José Pereira, 1854.

Alexandre Braga (1829-1895) né à Porto. Avocat. Fondateur de plusieurs revues littéraires et journaux politiques de tendance républicaine. Auteur de poésies réunies dans un volume sous le titre “Vozes da alma”.

II

JOSÉ DE SÀ COUTINHO JR.

À POLÓNIA

Ergue-se altaiva a escrava
Negros os pulsos d'algemas;
Rota a prisão que a ligava
Livre quiz ser.—E não temas,
Surdo, encontrar o soldado,
P'ara quem foi sempre sagrado
D'oppressas almas o brado
Que não prende a gargalheira!
Nas crenças irmãos não somos!
Tambem escravos já fomos!
Mas surge alfim altaneira
A voz que nega senhores;
Caiam por terra oppressores
Curvem-se à nobre bandeira.

Já livre a escrava do norte
Diz que por força nasceu;
Vergar-se à lei do mais forte
Não é lei de quem morreu
Dando a todos igualdade!
E nós, do progresso obreiros
Saudemos d'aqui primeiros
Da Polónia a liberdade.

José de Sá Coutinho Junior

Recité, le 21 Mars 1863, à Coimbre et publié dans le journal littéraire
Hymnos e Flores. Coimbra, Imprensa Litteraria, 1863, p. 78.
Dates biographiques de José de Sa Coutinho Jr. inconnues.

III

ANTONIO PINHEIRO CALDAS À POLÓNIA

Logar p'ra mim tambem! Se daes banquete
Aos nobres filhos d'esta terra heróica,
Exijo o meu talher; quero sentar-me,
E erguer um brinde igual aos mais convivas

Se é apenas torneio em que só fulgem
Os aureos diademas da sciéncia,
Ainda assim ficarei!—A par do cedro,
Que a fronte eleva às regiões dos astros,
Vegeta o lírio que a corrente embala!

Se ha combates em prol da Liberdade;
Partilho-os eu tambem; quero uma espada:
Quem no Porto nasceu, entre montanhas,
Peleja livre,—não succumbe escravo!

Não ha luctas em prol da Liberdade;
Banquetes tambem não; não ha torneios:
Ha só brados de ardente sympathia,
Votados à Polónia, inda algemada!

*

Foi uma nação valente
Essa Polónia d'então;
Tinha Pátria, reis e crenças,
Tinha fé no coração.
Era livre como o vento;
Como é livre o pensamento;
Mais livre que o próprio mar.
Nação brava e destemida,
A seus pés já viu, cahida,

A bandeira do Czar!
Cahida, sim! arrastada . . .
Que o diga a própria Moscow,
Quando as águias arriando,
Pendões livres hasteou!
Que o digam negras voragens
D'aquellas hordas selvagens
Fugindo para além Don . . .
Que o digam tantas batalhas,
Em que os bravos por muralhas
Tinham só o coração!

*

Mas lá do Volga rebentam
Hoje infrenes legiões
Saõ os barbaros do Caucaso!
São escravos a milhões!
Com elles marcha a matança
O incêndio, o saque, a vingança
O inferno com elles vem! . . .
Mas os bravos polonezes,
Sobranceiros aos revezes,
Ferem luctas d'um p'ra cem!

Langiewicz, Padlewski e muitos,
Dão à Patria mil laureis;
Mas que importa, se lá vergam
Ante as patas dos corseis!
Sandomir, Cracóvia e Rava
Quebram algemas da escrava,
Vem guerreiras combater . . .
À Polónia, enfraquecida,
Resta-lhe um sopro de vida . . .
Mas combate . . . até morrer!

*

Guerra santa! guerra nobre!
Povo martyr, sem rival!
Quanto dóe a algema estranha,
Já o sabe Portugal . . .
Se esta nação fôra forte,
N'essa partilha de morte
Um quinhão era p'ra nós;
Que triumpho tão augusto!
—Salvar a causa do justo,
Honrando as cinzas d'avós!

Oh poderosa Inglaterra,
Nobre senhora do mar!
Deixarás povo tão bravo
Entre ferros acabar!
Não, que és livre; e à tua glória
Ainda falta uma victória,

Mas victória colossal!
Ergue a Polónia! . . . Vencida
Ouça a Rússia, espavorida,
A tua salva real!

*

Então novos horisontes
De liberdade e de luz
Surgirão p'ra quantos povos
Arrastam pezada cruz!
Então os livres da terra
Por ti, oh nobre Inglaterra,
Hão de a prece erguer aos céus!
E do leito em que gemia,
A martyr, que succumbia,
Só dirá: "Bemdito Deus"!

Abril de 1863

António Pinheiro Caldas

Recité, le 4 Avril 1863, à Porto et reproduit dans un volume intitulé *Poesias de António Pinheiro Caldas, natural da cidade do Porto*. Nous ne connaissons que sa 2^e édition: Porto, Typographia de Sebastião José Pereira, 1864, pp. 88-92.

António Pinheiro Caldas (1824-1877), né à Porto, était commerçant dans sa ville natale où il possédait un débit de tabac servant de lieu de réunion de gens de lettres.

IV

GUILHERME BRAGA

À POLÓNIA

(*Aos academicos de Coimbra de 1863*)

Que vago sussuro dos plainos do norte
Nas azas dos ventos chega até nós,
Trazendo d'envolta c'os gritos de morte
O silvo das balas, das tubas a voz?

N'aquellas campinas, de gelo cobertas,
Nos tempos d'outr'ora surgira um vulcão,
Juncando de chamas as veigas desertas,
Vestindo as montanhas de torvo clarão!

Mas subito o fogo da immensa cratera
No solo gelado sumiu-se outra vez;
E as vatas planicies que a lava aquecera,
Ficaram sepultas na antiga mudez.

O estranho alarido, que os eccos acorda
Das nossas montanhas, que é pois? d'onde vem?
Dos montes no cimo, das praias á borda,
No centro dos bosques resôa tambem!

Parece o rugido que as ondas polares
Desprendem, rasgando da neve o lençol,
Se ao fogo do estio refugem os ares,
E chovem sobre ellas os raios do sol.

És tu, ó Polónia, nação de gigantes,
Que sempre em teu seio conservas a luz:
Vestal, que renovas os lumes brilhantes
Do lucido facho que os livres conduz!

És tu que resurges dos restos sombrios
Das tuas grandezas saudando o porvir—
Igual á torrente que espuma em teus rios,
E passa entre as brenhas convulsa, a rugir.—

Não eras já morta. Debaixo do gelo
Não pôde a cratera seu fogo apagar . . .
No dia marcado mostrou-se mais belo,
Doirando os espaços, os plainos e o ar.

A sombra do Eterno, de noite, horas mortas,
No carro invisivel passou sobre ti;
E, em quanto dormias, batendo-te ás portas,
Bradou com outr'ora: “Guerreiros, surgi!

Surgi! Eis o dia da alegre vingança!
Do seculo a ideia reflete-se em vós . . .
Tirae das paredes, co'a espada e co'a lança,
A velha armadura de vossos avós.”

Que explendido quadro! Levanta-se um povo
Impondo aos tyranos o verbo da cruz,
E a voz das trombetas resoa de novo,
De novo scintila das bombas a luz!

Julgavam os tigres, ao ver-te embebida
Das glorias passadas na doce embriaguez,
Que tu, ó Polónia, dos teus esquecida,
Debalde tentáras surgir outra vez.

Em vão da procella nas vozes frementes,
De tuas florestas no immenso rumor,
Nos brados raivosos de tuas torrentes,
Erguias soberba teu nobre clamor!

Os loucos dormiam . . . E agora o teu gladio
Brilhando nas sombras os faz descórar . . .
O couto das feras derroca-se . . . invade-o,
Convulso, ruidoso, dos livres o mar.

Em todos os peitos accende-se a flamma
Que o sol do resgate nos raios contem!
Incendio medonho que as selvas inflamma,
A guerra em teus seios lavrando já vem!

Chamando seus filhos, a mãe inspirada
Radiante os contempla, d'orgulho sorri;
E á banda, que os cinge, prendendo umâ espada.
“É tempo, lhes brada. Meus filhos, parti!”

Dos mortos guerreiros nas campas saudosas
Erguidas ha pouco das lutas no chão,
Não vertem debalde seu pranto as esposas,
As virgens não choram carpindo-se em vão;

Mas antes, accesas no fogo da glória
Que as cinzas dos bravos outr'ora animou,
O braço encostando na lagem marmorea,
Exclamam á quelle que a patria chamou:

—“Ouvis? Da Polónia são estes brados!
Á mãe que vos chama, depressa acudi . . .
Só podem sem pejo ficar descansados
Os pobres guerreiros, que dormem aqui.”

Ergamos as frontes! Se um povo sublime
Acorda nos ferros, que braço o contem?
Se o jugo sacode que as forças lhe opprime,
Súster-lhe os impulsos não sabe ninguem!

O facho do eterno reluz na tormenta!
Quem pode apaga-lo? No abyssos dos céus,
Acaso dos homens o sopro adormenta
Um mundo lançado no espaço por Deus?

Oh! já n'essa fronta, coberta de rugas,
A c'rôa d'espinhos começa a florir!
Ao sol d'esses climas teus membros enxugas . . .
Caminha, ó Polónia, sorri-te o porvir.

Agora no incendio das tuas campinas
Embebem os tigres o sofrego olhar,
E riem vaidosos, ao ver dentre ruínas
Das tuas arterias o sangue a jorrar!

Mas Deus é comtigo.—Mudou-se o teu rumo.
Que importa que a sombra te cerque outra vez?
—Vês tu essas nuvens de fogo e de fumo,
E o pó que os ginetes levantam aos pés? . . .

Espera que os ventos transponham os montes,
E então—das procellas rasgados os véus—
Verás alargarem-se os teus horisontes,
E a luz em torrentes cahir-te dos céus!

De todos os lados os povos te fitam,
Que em todo o universo teu brado eccou,
E, com as rajadas que as ondas agitam,
Um sopro de gloria noss'alma agitou.

Nas tuas florestas um vento murmura,
Que diz LIBERDADE no cantico seu;
E no aço polido da tua armadura,
Cobrindo-a de raios, a aurora explendeu:

A Europa, ao fital-o, de joelhos cahindo,
N'um extasis santo convulsa exclamou:
—“Fanal do resgate, bem vindo, oh bem vindo!
A prece dos livres o Eterno escutou!”—

E o velho soldado, leão do occidente,
Que á borda dormia das praias do mar,
Ergueu-se impetuoso, qual funda torrente,
Que sente a borrasca sobre ella passar.

Oh! sim, que nós outros, a raça gigante
De Diu, e d'Arzilla, de Fez e d'Ormuz,
Curvados d'extranhos ao jugo aviltante,
Tambem sobre os hombros trouxemos a cruz.

Por isso saudamos a fervida vaga
Que impelle os tyrannos, que os prosta no chão;
Saudamos o povo que os ferros esmaga,
E os funde nas balas que espera o canhão!

Das almas fraternas o affecto é sagrado!
E tu, ó Polónia, tu és nossa irmã:
Crê pois, nas palavras do irmão, que a teu lado
Talvez entre as lutas verás ámanhã:

—Não temas.—Das glórias o dia está perto!
Ou prostra os eunuchos, sem tregos sem dô,
Ou lega aos tyrannos um vasto deserto
Juncado de ruinas, de sangue e de pô! . . .

Guilherme Braga

Ecrit à l'intention des étudiants de Coimbra et à eux dédié, le poème fut recité, le 4 Avril 1863, à Porto et publié dans un volume intitulé *Heras e Violetas*. Nous connaissons sa 3^e édition: Lisboa, Empresa Lusitana Editora, 1917, pp. 253-257.

Guilherme Braga (1845-1874), né à Porto, poète romantique, laissa une œuvre abondante apprécier. V.: “Dictionnaire des Littératures” publié sous la direction de Philippe van Tieghem. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1968, t. I., p. 580.

V

JOÃO MARQUES NOGUEIRA LIMA

* * *

(Recitada pelo author na primeira representação)

Bem vinda a Juventude esperançosa
Aos muros da Cidade memoranda!
Bem vinda! na Polónia Valerosa
A voz da liberdade já repete,
E as hordas sanguinarias do Czar
De pasmo emmudecidas fez parar!

Pasmaram que, na terra dos valentes,
Irmãos da nobre causa se exaltassem!
Não sabem qu'inda temos bem presentes,
Do fero despotismo as vis cadeias?!
Duvidam que, em legado, nossos paes
De livres nos deixaram os signaes?!

Aqui, um dia, o pavilhão sangrento
Da infame usurpação caiu por terra
E agora já não pode, um só momento,
Fazer d'um povo altivo, seu escravo!
—É livre quem possue como penhor
O bravo coração do Imperador!

Tambem, Polónia, de gemer cançada
Ergueste a fronte qual soberbo Athlante!
A c'roa dos teus Reis viste manchada
Ás mãos da prepotencia d'estrangeiros,
E então os filhos teus, como leões,
Já partem do Czar ferreos grilhões!

Caminha sempre á luz da heroicidade
Ó povo de gigantes nas batalhas
E aceita os santos votos da Cidade
Que teve de Novára o Desdito:—
Teus filhos, ao seu canto marcial,
Ajuntem mais um nome—Portugal—!

Porto-Abril 5 de 1863

J. M. Nogueira Lima

Recité par l'auteur lui-même, le 4 Avril 1863, à Porto et publié dans la revue *Grinalda* dont Nogueira Lima était à la fois le fondateur, le propriétaire et le rédacteur en chef. Cette revue était, pendant les six années de son existence, un "véritable florilège du lyrisme" selon l'expression de Teófilo Braga, célèbre écrivain contemporain.

Le numéro 5 du IV^e volume de cette revue est dédié en entier "à la Liberté et à la Jeunesse de l'Academia Dramatica de Coimbra qui se produisit au Théâtre Royal de S. João au bénéfice des familles des victimes de guerre de Pologne". Le numéro continent, outre le poème ci-dessus, les poèmes cités dans le présent recueil sous les numéros VIII, IX, X, XI et XII. João Marques Nogueira Lima (1829-?) était originaire de Porto.

VI

SILVA FERNANDES

À POLÓNIA

Acaso pode alguem ao mar revolto
Contar os escarceos?
E quem he que negar intente ousado
A palavra de Deus?

Quem pode sufocar a voz d'um povo,
Que grita Liberdade?
Que aos pés esmaga a c'roa dos tyranos
E afronta a iniquidade?

É santa a sua causa, em breve livre
Essa nação será,
Os pesados grilhões do captiveiro
Ao chão arrojará.

E vós irmãos, achastes n'alma um echo
Á voz dessa nação;
Foi grande, nobre, santa . . . mais . . . sublime,
A vossa inspiração.

E vós filhos do Porto, vós herdeiros
D'uma gloria imortal,
Dizei comigo, irmãos: viva a *Polónia*,
E viva *Portugal*!

Silva Fernandes

Présenté en forme de feuille volante, ce poème fut distribué au Théâtre de S. João, à Porto, le 4 Avril 1863.
Dates biographique de Silva Fernandes inconnues.

VII

GUILHERME BRAGA

HYMNO À POLÓNIA

VOZ

Meus irmãos! ao surgir da tormenta
Nós devemos unir nossas mãos!
E qual fogo em noss'alma rebenta!
Este abraço é um abraço d'irmãos.

CORO

Quando a deusa dos livres; imensa,
Ante nós se levanta de pé,
Faz os povos irmãos pela crença
Faz os povos irmãos pela fé,

VOZ

A Polónia, afrontando o verdugo
Que seus filhos tentava algemar,
Sacudiu dos tyrannos o jugo
Como as ondas a espuma do mar.

CORO

Quando a deusa dos livres; imensa—etc.

VOZ

Esse brado, que os livres desprendem
Esse brado de glória e valor
Vossa alma de fogo a compr'hendem,
Dão-lhe luz, dão-lhe vida e calor!

CORO

Quando a deusa dos livres; imensa—etc.

VOZ

Deus bem diz esta acção generosa!
Se aos tyrannos sorris de desdem,
Vossa mão não volte orgulhosa
Quando afaga as filhinhas sem mãe!

CORO

Quando a deusa dos livres; imensa—etc.

VOZ

Todo o povo que aspira à victoria
Néstas luctas do Bem contra o Mal
Nos seus dias de lucto ou de gloria
Ha-de ver junto a si Portugal.

CORO

Quando a deusa dos livres; imensa—etc.

Guilherme Braga

V. note à l'Annexe IV.

VIII

ALEXANDRE DA CONCEIÇÃO

AOS ACADÉMICOS DE 63

(Recitada por o Snr. Luiz d'Azevedo Mello e Castro.)

Eis, pois, mais um conviva á mesa do progresso!
Eis mais um nobre esforço, eis mais um arremesso
 Na estrada do porvir!
Um povo ergue-se além, do Vistula, inspirado
Lança um grito no espaço, e um tão potente brado
 Quem deixará de o ouvir?

Escuta-o Portugal, e sua alma estremece
De puro entusiasmo, o olhar lhe resplandece
 Da luz da inspiração! . . .
E ardente, nobre e grande, encara a immensidate
E manda ao povo irmão, na voz da mocidade,
 Um abraço de irmão!

Oh! berço de Camões, nem tu, nobre, podias
Renegar teu ardor e a fé que em outros dias
 Provaste a combater!
É teu irmão de certo, é teu irmão nas crenças
O povo que prefere a luz ás trevas densas
 E diz: Quero viver!

E lucta e ha de viver que lhe assite um direito
O mais santo que Deos nos infundiu no peito
 —Ser livre por pensar—
Deos fez-nos a alma livre, é livre a inteligencia
Do homem ou da nação que busca a luz da sciencia
 Para se alumiar!

Quem poderá sostener a estrella nos espaços?
Quem pode a uma nação fazer cruzar os braços
 E prohibir-lhe a luz?
Então é uma chimera a palavra do Eterno?! . . .
É pois um sonho mau, um escarneo do inferno
 O Golgotha e a Cruz?! . . .

Pois o povo que lucta, o povo grande e nobre,
Ha de se sempre o lodo, o miseravel pobre
 Que nos estende a mão?
Que fez então o Christo em subir ao Calvário? . . .
Que fez ensanguentando a tela do Sudário
 Se existe a escravidão?

Mas vós, cuja alma incende o fogo da sciencia
Vendo no grão de areia a mão da Providencia
 Como na luz do sol,
Que estremeceis de amor á voz de-Liberdade,
Como a flor que se espande á viva claridade
 D'um formoso arrebol,

Fizeste bem em vir; aqui a vossa crença
 É evangelho santo, é uma fé imensa
 Igual á vossa fé! . . .

Ouvindo atravessar o espaço o vosso grito,
 Como a um sopro de Deos d'um impulso infinito
 Ergendo-nos de pé! . . .

Bem vindos, pois, irmãos; bem vindos, pois, de novo
 Filhos da liberdade, apostolos do povo,
 Á terra liberal!

Nós saudamos com vosco o despontar da aurora
 Da liberdade além, como já foi outr'ora
 Saudada em Portugal!

Alexandre da Conceição

Reproduit dans la revue *Grinalda*—No. 5, vol. 4—v. note à l'Annexe V.
 Alexandre da Conceição (1842-1889), né à Ilhavo, frequenta l'Académie
 Polytechnique de Porto qu'il termina avec le grade d'ingénieur civil. Son
 dernier poste fut celui de directeur des Travaux Publics à Viseu. Il publia
 deux volumes de poésies, un recueil d'essais littéraires et fonda, en 1877, la
 revue littéraire "A Revolução". Bon nombre de ses œuvres furent publiées
 dans un volume posthume "Outunae".

IX

GUILHERME BRAGA

* * *

(Recitada pelo author na representação da despedida.)

Romeiros de Liberdade,
 Cumpriste enfim o voto!
 Nas aras do Deos ignoto
 Já vosso perfume ardeu:
 Já n'estas almas de fogo,
 Que a Liberdade acalenta,
 O sacro fogo rebenta
 Que o vosso facho accendeu!

Consummado o sacrificio
 Podeis partir descansados;
 Vossos fructos abençoados
 Seivas acharam aqui! Ide,
 Obreiros diligentes,
 Ás vossas tarefas ide!
 Voltai á afanosa lide,
 Que o futuro vos sorri!

Bello é o templo que escolhestes!
 É magestoso o recinto,
 A terra onde Pedro Quinto
 Tantas saudades deixou!
 A que Elle disse a primeira
 Nas grandes iniciativas!
 Nas acções caritativas
 Aquella que mais amou!

Nem pôde o velho soldado
Coberto de cicatrizes,
A seus irmãos infelizes
Uma esmola recusar.
Vós que para os desgraçados
Que obriga a morrer de fome,
A guerra, de Deos em nome,
Lh'a viestes implorar,

Vós, mancebos de vinte annos,
Que um fogo santo incendeia;
Que da Liberdade a ideia
Andaes levando em missão,
Vós, entregando á Polónia
D'estas festas o producto—
Dizei-lhe: "Eis aqui o fructo
"De uma boa e nobre acção!

"O Porto, que vol-o manda
"Em nome da Liberdade,
"Ás vozes da Caridade
"Nunca insensivel ficou . . .
"Sempre as lagrimas estanca!
"Sempre a miseria consola!
"A mão, que lhe pede esmola
"Vazia jámais deixou."

Guilherme Braga

Recité à Porto le 10 Avril 1863 et reproduit dans le numéro précédent de la revue *Grinalda* — v. note a l'Annexe V.

X
HORTENCIA PAULINA DE LIMA BARBOSA

* * *

Por mares ignotos demandou paizes,
Colombo ousado com audácia incrivel!
Heroicos feitos do primeiro Affonso,
Deram-lhe nome a fama indestructivel!

De pé, firme guerreiro valoroso,
De pé, mais uma vez, Mestre d'Aviz!
Qual tu, nobres exemplos ha deixado,
Denodado e leal Egas Moniz!

Duarte esclarecido mais nos deixa
Um nome de virtudes illustrado!
Camões, cantando os feitos, eternisa
Os vôos do seu genio sublimado!

E tu, Rei generoso, ó Grande Pedro,
Veneração te dá a posteridade!
Na Lusa terra—patria d'Herculano—
Hasteaste o pendão da liberdade!

Mas, oh! que novo vulto se levanta?! . . .
—Complexo nobre, puro e talentoso,
Divina sombra d'esse Moço Rei,
Famosa criação d'um Deos Pod'roso!

Tanta sombra gigante dos que foram!
Tanta luz e saudade, que irradia
Destas frontes tão nobres laureadas!
Coragem! . . . que inda vive a Academia.

Coragem! a caridade
Dá aos moços muito ardor.
Coragem! que o Moço Rei
Á senda os guiou do amor.

Coragem! vós os que vistes
Da Academia o fervor,
Sentindo a Polónia escrava
Consumir tanto vigor!

Coragem! Eil-os que chegam
Da mocidade na flor!
Salve! salve! Academia,
Mostra ao Porto teu valor!

Salve, Porto! já teus muros
Saudam fraterno amor!
Falta hoje o teu Garrett
P'ra ser d'elles o cantor;

Mas eis que surgem poetas,
Da liberdade ao clamor!
Quando é puro o sentimento
Tem as almas nobre ardor.—

Caridade é o bem mais santo;
—Deos e patria—melodia!
Todos juntos só n'um canto:
“Salve! nobre Academia.”

Barca—Maio 5 de 1863

Hortencia Paulina de Lima Barbosa

Publié dans le numéro précédent de la revue *Grinalda* — v. note à l'Annexe V.

Dates biographiques de Hortencia Paulina de Lima Barbosa inconnues.

ERNESTO PINTO D'ALMEIDA

* * *

Da liberdade ao revérbero,
 Sahindo do escuro abysmo,
 A hyena do despotismo,
 Uivára torva e feroz.
 Lá, no patibulo, o sangue
 Aos rios se derramava;
 E a patria Lusa expirava
 Sob o cutello do algoz!

Da miseria o espetro livido,
 Á morte abrindo caminho,
 Da viuva e do orfãosinho
 Suffocava os tristes ais;
 Era o throno alicerçado
 De suas leis inclementes,
 Nos cadav'res inda quentes
 De nossos finados paes!

Assim, victimas do déspota,
 Expiravam nossas glorias.
 Profanavam-se as victorias
 D'este nobre Portugal!
 Assim, Polónia, cahidas
 Hoje vês tuas bandeiras,
 Sob as garras traiçoeiras
 D'um imperio Canibal!

Mas d'entre as sombras do tumulo
 Das quinas que Affonso erguera,
 Nova aurora, feliz era,
 Para Portugal raiou;
 Seus prodigos d'outra idade
 Relembando, o Lusitano,
 O jugo vil do tyranno,
 Para sempre derrubou!

Eia Polónia! ergue impavida
 Esses teus brazões d'outr'ora;
 Igual era, a mesme aurora,
 Para ti surgir verás!
 Quebra os ferros que te enleiam;
 Volve á antiga magestade,
 Ao grito da liberdade
 O tyranno vencerás!

Ao longe, mui longe, nos plainos do norte
 Por entre clamores, confusos, sem fim;
 Lá se ouvem distinctos, á guerra bradando,
 Os silvos das balas, e os sons do clarims.

A guerra!—na densa neblina da polvora
Entoa a metralha, rebrama o canhão.
A guerra!—nas plagas seus eccos retumbam
Dos filhos escravos d'escrava nação!

Nos peitos briosos da patria opprimida
Rebenta d'esforço torrente caudal;
Inundam-se valles, guarnecem-se outeiros,
A hyena já trema nas serras d'Ural!

No meio das nuvens de pó, que se elevam
Das patas nervosas dos bravos corseis;
Ao povo sublime, que o jugo derriba,
Já vejo crescerem viçosos laureis.

E lá no horizonte formoso radiante,
Das cores do prisma, desponta o clarão!
Contemplam-no todos em jubilo assortos,
Os filhos já livres da heroica nação!

Mas é sonho, ou delirio
De novel fantasia,
Que a mente me inebria
Co'as flores da visão? . . .
Não!—generoso instincto,
Jamais mentira exhala!
É o coração que falla.
Oh! não é sonho . . . não . . .

Eia, avante—Polónia! reassume
De teu sceptro o passado explendor,
Que ora jaz sepultado, escondido
Sob o manto de vil protector!

Eia avante—Contempla da Italia
O grandioso, fulgente arrebol!
Ergue o brado que diz liberdade!
Liberdade; é o teu dia, é o teu sol!

Liberdade! palavra sublime,
Qual jamais o universo inventou,
Implantada no sangue de Christo,
Quando, martyr, por ella expirou!

Liberdade! ai! que nobre entusiasmo
Exp'rimento este nome ao lembrar!
Terra e mares, abysmos e espaços,
Sinto agora meu estro abraçar!

Quem a patria, a ver morta, e as crenças
Immoladas no altar do descrer,
Não prefere sumir-se p'ra sempre?
Não prefere com ella morrer?

Eia avante! e se a sorte soffreres
Do cordeiro, que o lobo venceu;
Sejam ruinas seus tristes despojos;
O jazigo teu huobre trophéo!

Cada pedra de teus edificios,
Ha de aos sec'los vindouros dizer:
—Aqui jaz a nação que ser morta
Antes quiz do que em ferros viver—.

Mas, oh! não! n'este instante, entre o fumo
Do combate, entre os mil projectis,
Lá descera o archanjo da gloria
A augurar-te porvir mais feliz.

Eia avante! que os elos do jugo,
Só da guerra o gigante os desfaz;
Eia avante!—Polónia, eia á guerra!
E da hyena o furor vencerás! . . .

Abril de 1863

Ernesto Pinto d'Almeida

Publié dans la *Grinalda* — v. note à l'Annexe V.

Ernesto Pinto d'Almeida (1842-1877), né à Porto, laissa trois volumes de poésies, des livrets de deux operas et un roman. Il était employé de banque à Porto.

XII

CUSTODIO JOSÉ DUARTE

* * *

Emfim! Ei!-a que veio a era dos prodigios!
Um mundo se smumiú e nem leves vestigios
Deixou de si após . . .
Colombos do Ideal, podeis sorrir agora . . .
Vossa prevista nau carregada de aurora
Está quasi entre nós . . .

Nos plainos do infinito, além dos horisontes,
Sobre as cristas azuis dos mais remotos montes
Vê-se um rubro clarão . . .
Augmenta, corre, voa, inunda os firmamentos,
É uma nova arraiada, é um dia de portentos,
De sol, de redempção . . .

Rasgara-se
Suspeitava-se ha muito o enrado d'outro drama;
Já se via brilhar uma lucida chamma
Do palco em derredor,
Alguem movia os soes e os transformava em scenas,
Rasgarse a cortina . . . esperava-se apenas
A presença do actor . . .

Dobrar em pleno oceano o Tormentório irado
Luctando co'o tufão . . . só cabe a um Gama ousado,
A algum filho dos soes . . .

Para sostter um mundo um atlas se carece . . .
Combater co'o porvir e conquistar-lhe a messa . . .
Só uma raça d'heroes . . .

Então ignoto mar lançou em novas plagas
Confusos turbilhões, envolvidos em vagas,
De fantásmas em pé;
Obreiros do progresso olhavam os espaços . . .
Marchavam a sorrir sustentando nos braços
Os alviões da Fé . . .

Abriu-lhes o infinito o livros dos destinos . . .
Curvaram-se sobre elle e ao son d'uns santos hymnos
Entraram a escrever . . .
E viu-se pouco a pouco algum nome gigante,
Grecia—a mãe de Platão;—Italia—a mão de Dante,
—Polónia-apparecer . . .

Que jubilo, que luz! Foi um dia de gloria;
Na cupula do Ceo as aguias da victoria
Andavam a cantar . . .
Como uns labios de mãe sorria a imensidade,
Da fronte do SENHOR a luz da Liberdade
Começava a abrasar . . .

Que seculo! seu ar alenta e vivifica!
Em cada tronco murcho uma seiva mais rica
O obriga a reflorir . . .
Levantam-se as nações nas campas sepultadas;
E pode em cada cruz das vencidas espadas
Soletrar-se: Porvir . . .

Já se sabe o que é Lei, o que é Virtude e Crime,
Que o Povo que é o tufão, que o Monarcha que é o vime,
Que o sceptro envelheceu . . .
Não sei que vento audaz varre a noite passada
Como as vestes de pó das arvores da estrada,
Ou as nuvens do Ceo . . .

Findai o vosso dia, essa tarefa augusta!
As luctas que venceis em vossa causa justa
—Alguem—comvosco vai . . .
Os negros vendilhões mancharam vosso templo?!

Podia-vos contar um espantoso exemplo—
Esperai, esperai . . .

Não penseis que, ao morrer, se descachiu ao Christo
A fronte sobre o peito é que havia previsto
Que se immolara em vão,
E teve de vergar ao peso da desgraça
Como a pomba de Deos, que no espaço esvoaça
Ao peso do falcão . . .

Vós tendes o Direito—um thesouro sagrado,
A herança que o SENHOR aos homens ha legado,
 Quando o mundo creou,
Se algum abutre negro em sua garra o prende,
—É Deos o accommetido, é Deos que se defende—
 Em cinza lhe ficou . . .

Em todo o vosso chão pollula a vossa crença;
A abobada do Ceo é a vossa tenda immensa,
 O vosso timbre o sol—
A vara do pendão da etherea Liberdade
É a Cruz do Redemptor brilhante de verdade,
 E o panno o seu Lençol . . .
As almas dos Catões, dos Byrons, dos Ribeiros,
Buscaram entre vós uns beiraes hospedeiros,
 Um ninho em cada obuz—
E quando o fogo brilha e se incendeia a briga,
Estranho projectil a phalange inimiga,
 A poeira reduz . . .
Eu vejo-o bem d'aqui: vossa victoria é certa,
Vossa espada de luz deixa uma epocha aberta
 A outra geração,
O espirito de Deos corôa-vos de louros,
Das portas do porvir os seculos vindouros
 Apertam-vos a mão.

Custodio José Duarte

Publié dans la *Grinalda* — v. note à l'Annexe V.

Custódio José Duarte (1841-1891), médecin ayant exercé surtout aux colonies portugaises. Maire de S. Vicente, dans l'archipel du Cap Vert. Il publia, dans sa jeunesse, un certain nombre de poésies fort appréciées et laissa inédite une histoire des îles du Cap Vert.

XIII

JOSÉ AUGUSTO SANCHES DA GAMA O CANTO DO POLACO VOZ

“Ao brado afflito da Patria,
Que chorosa por vós clama,
Não sentís em nobre chama
Abrazar-se o coração? . . .
“Pelos echos das montanhas
Não ouvís ruidoso embate? . . .
—É o povo que se debate
Nos ferros da escravidão?

CORO

“Ser escravos, jamais!—pela Pátria
Dar a vida no campo, é vencer:
É mostrar o que valem tyrannos
Contra um povo, que livre quer ser.

VOZ

“Pátria, se libaste o calyx
Da mais acerba agonia,
Livre já,—da tyrannia
Sacode a pesada cruz.
“E abafar dentro do peito
Tão nobre impulso que hade,
Se o astro da liberdade
Na tua fronte reluz? . . .

CORO

Ser escravos, etc.

VOZ

“Eia! que os feros algozes
Da nossa passada gloria
Despertem ja, da victoria
Aos clamores triumphaes!
“Exangues caiam aos golpes
Das nossas fortes espadas,
Nestas campinas juncadas
Dos ossos de nossos paes.

CORO

Ser escravos, etc.

VOZ

“Em volta do lar paterno
Reina a morte, o lucto e o espanto:
Da viuez se casa o pranto
Aos vagidos infantis.
“Irmãos, retemp’rae as forças
No sofrer da tantos annos;
E arrojae contra os tyrannos
As gargalheiras servis!

CORO

Ser escravos, etc.

VOZ

“As mães chorosas escutem
Nosso alento derradeiro;
Mas que não calque o estrangeiro
O chão de nossos avós!
“Eia! . . . banhae-as em sangue
Essas algemas d’escravos:
Avante, povo de bravos,
Que a Patria chama por vós!

CORO

Ser escravos, etc.

VOZ

“O canhão atroa os ares,
E o corcel escarva a terra;
A Pátria nos brada “guerra!”
E a honra nos chama alli.

“Possamos nós, sobre a espada,
D'inimigo sangue tingida,
Ao soltar o adeus á vida,
Exclamar: “LIVRE MORRI!”

CORO

“Ser escravos, jamais!—pela Pátria
Dar a vida no campo, é vencer
É mostrar o que valem tyrannos
Contra um povo, que livre quer ser.”

21 de Abril de 1863

José Augusto Sanches da Gama

Edité en forme de feuille volante, signe: S.G. (Imprimerie de l'Université de Coimbra).

José Augusto Sanches da Gama (1833-1895). Docteur en droit et lecteur à l'Université de Coimbra. Peu connu comme professeur, il laissa quelques ouvrages littéraires et des souvenirs d'un gastronome raffiné.

XIV

FRANCISCO XAVIER DA SILVA

À POLÓNIA

Offerecida pela Comissão Central aos caridosos lisbonenses, que concorreram para a festa de caridade, na noite de 13 de Setembro de 1863, no Passeio Público, a favor das viúvas e orphãos dos martyres da Polónia.

Que faz a Europa contemplando muda,
Os negros crimes d'uma guerra atroz?
Um povo escravo, liberdade pede,
Ninguem lhe escuta a sua debil voz!

Pobre Polónia! Arrastando ferros,
Presa nas chamas do voraz canhão,
Ergueu um brado—liberdade ou morte!
Asteou de novo o liberal pendão.

A guerra é santa quando o povo geme
Sob as algemas d'um poder mais forte!
Corre, e na senda-todo o p'risco encara,
Confia em Deus, entregou-se á sorte!!

Martyres da terra que lhes é tão cara,
Morrem na luta desigual, tenaz!
Deixam o mundo onde escravos foram,
Baixando á campa onde existe a paz.

Choram as filhas, as esposas gemem,
Quadro horrivel d'amargura e dôr!
O proprio luto que demonstra a pena,
Não lh'o consente o imperial senhor!!

Segue-se á guerra, os horrores da fome!
Vamos ao menos offerecer-lhe o pão;
É p'ras viúvas, para os orphãosinhos!
No céo o premio achareis da acção.

Lisboa, 1863

Francisco Xavier da Silva

Recité au "Passeio Publico" de Lisbonne le 13 Septembre 1863 et reproduit dans *Quadros naturaes* (Lisboa, 1869, pp. 119-120).
Francisco Xavier da Silva — dates biographiques inconnues — laissa en outre un volume de poésies et un roman.

XV

JOAGUIM D'ALMEIDA DA CUNHA

* * *

*Ao Distincto Actor
J. M. Braz Martins*

Comete errante, que n'espaço brilha
Com sua auréula de grão fulgor,
Atterra, espanta, atemorisa, assusta,
Porem não gera em nosso peito amor.

Mas não assim o resplandente fogo,
Que rege o dia e nos dá a luz;
Sob'rana imagem do ARCHITECTO GRANDE;
Tambem, como ELLE, seo fulgor seduz.

A flor lhe offerta seo mimoso calix,
Celebram canticos a luz dos Ceos,
Bem diz seo nome a natureza inteira,
A terra adora-o, grata—como Deos.

Assim o genio se na terra brilha
Por dotes grandes, que só gloria dão,
Qual astro errante, só presente lembra,
A sua gloria é pó, seo nome vão.

Mas, quando existe coração mais nobre
Do que esse genio que nos vem prender,
Então a gloria sobranceira ao tempo
Resiste a tudo sem jamais morrer.

Ao longe, afflcta e só, tu viste a P'lónia
Em sancta lucta com exforço arcar;
Lá viste o sangue dos valentes filhos,
Em vão, da patria o chão banhar.

E vens depois aqui junctar-nos hoje
P'ra dar-nos parte n'uma boa accção,
Doando a todos os viçosos louros,
Que, brada a voz de todos—só teos são

Tu tens no peito coração mais nobre
Do que esse genio que nos vem prender,
A tua gloria, sobranceira ao tempo,
Resiste a tudo sem jamais morrer.

Que quando o genio igualmente juncta
Nobreza d'alma a seo grão fulgor,
Diz mais, que gloria o retroar das palmas,
—O som das palmas quer dizer amor.

Coimbra, 31 de Março de 1863

Joaquim d'Almeida da Cunha

Édité en forme de feuille volante (Imprimerie de l'Université de Coimbra).

Joaquim d'Almeida da Cunha (1840-?), né à Castelo Branco. Secrétaire général du gouvernement de Mozambique, publia plusieurs livres sur de droit administratif portugais ainsi que des ouvrages divers et des traductions, entre autres celle de "Faust" de Goethe.

Membre de plusieurs loges maçonniques à Coimbra — il était venerable d'une d'elles — il dirigea divers journaux maçonniques: "IAK:: e BOK::" (1870), "Jornal do Iniciado" (1873) et "O Reformador" (1875).

XVI

FRANCISCO SOARES FRANCO JR.

À POLÓNIA

Os votos liberaes, as vozes d'alma
Conhecem por irmã cada nação.
De venturas lhes querem justa palma,
E sem rasgado ver nenhum pendão.

Soa o campo da guerra em furia accesa,
É canto funeral dos cemiterios;
Os mortos que revelam os mysterios,
Que não supporta o pó da dôr o pesa.

O cadaver gelado em pó desfeito
Diz aos filhos—surgi, que Deus vos chama
Da justiça d'um Deus findado o preito
Do fraternal pendão a voz inflamma.

A Polónia penou? Seu velho brilho
Pelo braço de Deus vê retalhado
A justiça de Deus, de Deus o filho
Fez perecer tambem pelo peccado.

Do throno de grilhões que fez a sorte
Contracta a Deus perdão, ao mundo implora
Os teus pulsos quebrados mostra ao forte,
Mostrando-lhe o sofrer do irmão, que chora.

Attesta que são mais d'amor os laços
Do que o jugo oppressor, que o peito cança,
Trocando fraternaes justos abraços,
Pelo sangue da guerra em ferrea lança.

A metralha, o canhaão, o sangue a morte,
De reinos e nações cria ruinas.
Não são vontade tua, é lei da sorte
São decretos do céu, da terra sinas.

Os votos liberaes, as vozes d'alma
Conhecem por irmã cada nação,
Das venturas lhe querem justa palma,
E sem rasgado ver nenhum: pendão.

Olha o mundo que t'escuta,
Que te acompanha em teu pranto,
Juntando-lhe o brado santo,
De preces, d'amor e dô!
Conforta da magoa a luta
Choras nos braços d'amigos,
Tremendo rei dos castigos
É chorar, chorando só.

N'este banquete da vida
Bebemos na mesma taça
Por cada acerba desgraça
Tens um abraço d'irmão!
Se a nossavoz fôr ouvida
Já do ceu baixa piedade,
Ha-de lêr-se a liberdade
Nas dobras do teu pendão.

Tem só justiça quem chora
Quem pode insultar a esmola,
Quando um martyre se consola
Com preitos de santo amor?
Contrista o crime que implora!
N'um cadafalso assentado
Tambem o crime é sagrado
Por tormentos pranto e dôr.

Quem livres pendões não ama
Pranteie a trista orphandade.
Cumprem de Deus a vontade
Chorando irmãos a gemer
Quem vive da mesma chamma
Vendo uma campa esquecida,
Só pede um raio de vida,
Não pôde vel-a morrer.

Juntar quiz de Deus o braço
O brilho de brilhos novos
Nas frontes de muitos povos,
Nos braços da mesma lei.
Da vida forja-se um laço,
E Deus envolta-o de brilhos,
Os povos dos reis são filhos
Tendo um par, que é mais que rei.

Não temas, Polónia, a morte
Porque já de Christo ao brado
Pôde um cadaver gelado
Da morte rasgar os veus!
Os anjos velam-te a sorte,
Da patria animam-te os fogos,
Dos teus irmãos tens os rogos,
Ten a justiça de Deus!

Reproduit dans *Folhas da vida*, Lisboa, Typographia do Futuro, 1863,
pp. 131-133.

Francisco Soares Franco Jr. (1829-1867), né à Lisbonne, étudia le droit
à l'Université de Coimbra. Après avoir été ordonné prêtre, il devint chanoine
et fut un prédicateur éminent.

XVII

CHERUBINO HENRIQUES LAGOA

VERSOS À POLÓNIA

AOS SÓCIOS DA ACADEMIA DRAMATICA DE COIMBRA
1863

*Aux Polonais tout mon amour
Béranger.*

Emfim a fronte ergueste e livre e brava
eis-to em pé outra vez nobre nação,
soltou-se a aguia da Polonia escrava
qu'em ferros tinha d'Alexandre a mão;
como; é bello o teu sol de liberdade!
ao vel-o a Europa a velha fronte ergueu
e do occidente na immortal cidade
exultam bravos mil!—o Czar tremeu.

Dos roxos pulsos de penar cançado
quebra o polaco os elos dos grilhões,
solta do livre o poderoso brado,
lá procura um lugar entre as nações;
ao ouvir-lhe o tyranno a voz de guerra
nas mãos o rosto pallido escondeu,
da mão o ceptro lhe resvala em terra,
applaudem as nações!—o Czar tremeu.

Tremeu, que sabe qu'invencivel é
um povo escravo que quer livre ser,
que p'ra guia-lo, magestosa, em pé
lá se ergue a sombra do heroe d'Elster;
ao vél-a a França de vergonha cora
e a mão ingrata que lh'então não deu
por ti, Polónia, estenderá agora
a de Napoleão!—o Czar tremeu.

Á sua voz do congelado Neva
não correm, voam feros esquadrões,
mas a Polónia de vencida os leva
com um punhado, um só, dos seus leões;
ao bravo Langiewicz, á voz potente,
mais alto ainda o brado lh'irrompeu
e exclama erguido em seu corcel fremente:
morte! morte ao Cossaco!—o Czar tremeu.

É negro, é vil escravizar um bravo
cuspír nas cinzas de tão grandes reis,
é nobre, é santo ver um povo escravo
do vil tyranno a conspurcar-lhe as leis;

o Porto o diga que tambem um dia
o fero despotismo aqui venceu
e por seu turno escrava a tyrannia
agrilhoada aqui vejo!—o Czar tremeu.

D'escravo a algema vil quasi é partida,
soa a hora da tua redempção,
vai erguer-te da terre redimida
do Senhor das nações a grande mão;
raia de novo o sol da tua gloria,
astro d'immensa luz domina o ceo
e as folhas ao dourar da tua historia
o mundo inteiro assombra! o Czar tremeu.

Cherubino Henriques Lagoa

Reproduit dans *Vozes timidas*, Porto, Typographia de António José da Silva Teixaira, 1865, pp. 37-40.

Cherubino Henriques Lagoa, né à Porto, dates biographiques inconnues Venu, tout enfant, au Brésil, il y passa près de 20 ans et revint au Portugal pour devenir paléographe de la Santa Casa de Misericórdia de Porto. En cette qualité il se consacra à l'histoire de cette ville et publia une série de travaux. Peintre autodidacte, il réunit une importante collection de tableaux ainsi qu'une riche bibliothèque.

XVIII

EDUARDO AUGUSTO VIDAL

À POLÓNIA

*The heroes rise, like the breaking
of a blue-rolling wave!*

Ergueu-se o braço intrepido
De um povo d'opprimidos,
Aos ais desfalecidos
Succede a indignação;
Trocou-se um berço um tumulo,
Surgiu a heroicidade,
Responde a liberdade
Á voz da escravidão!

Oh, que alvorada esplendida
Scintilla e rompe ao largo!
Quebrou-se o vil lethargo
Que servos mil rendeu.
Debalde a mão dos despotas
O gladio empunha agora;
A estrella redemptora
Reluz por terra e ceu!

Quem doma o fundo pelago
Que os alcantis devasta?
Quem diz altivo:—"basta!"—
Aos negros vendavaes?
E que tyranno asperrimo
Se eleva sobranceiro,
Gritando a um povo inteiro:
"Não te erguerás jamais!"

E o povo todo, impavido,
Quebrando os ferreos jugos,
Bradou ante os verdugos:
“Sou livre!” e enfim se ergueu;
Bem hajas tu, Polónia,
Que despertaste agora;
Da liberdade a aurora
Reluz por terra e ceu!

Bem hajas tu, que a purpura
Do sangue teu banhada,
Já quasi vês rasgada
Por tua igregia mão.
Nós, do teu santo jubilo
Mil jubilos colhemos,
Nós, que tambem sabemos
Vingar-nos da oppressão!

E enquanto a Europa, timida
Se esconde na impotencia,
Martyr da independencia
Tu vás luctando só:
Audaz e novo Encelado
Que sotopondo montes,
Dos patrios horisontes
Varres o sangue e o pó!

Deos te abençoe os impetos
Terra de affectos santos,
Que a liberdade, em cantos,
Te venha enfim saudar,
E que, gigante incolumi,
Possas sorrir da lida,
Tragando amor e vida
No teu festivo lar!

Setembro, 1863

Eduardo Augusto Vidal

Publié en *Folhas soltas*, Lisboa, Typographia da Gazeta de Portugal, 1865, pp. 108-110.

Eduardo Augusto Vidal (1841-1907), né à Lisbonne. Il était inspecteur général des douanes portugaises et membre correspondant de l'Académie des Sciences de Lisbonne. Ses poésies, publiées en cinq volumes, eurent un accueil favorable. Il laissa également un volume de prose et une abondante production littéraire publiée dans divers journaux et revues.

RODRIGO DE MENEZES

UM CANTO À POLÓNIA

Liberdade—esforçada nas alas
 Despertando a Polónia bradou;
 Liberdade—sorrindo entre as balas,
 Liberdade—clamando expirou;
 E foi livre! qu'após a batalha,
 Das ruinas deitado entre o pó
 Lá se viu co'o pendão por mortalha
 Da Polónia o cadaver tão só!

E foi livre! não podem cadeias
 O cadaver vergar d'um heroe;
 Essa injuria não côa nas veias,
 Essa injuria na campa não doe;
 Essa injuria não chega ao gigante,
 E se chega, covardes, tremei,
 E venha inda no mundo dar lei.

O guerreiro, que livre vivendo,
 Viu um dia sua patria cahir,
 Viu na morte do jugo tremendo
 Uma porta por onde fugir;
 Crava o seio, que a morte somente
 Liberdade lhe pode tornar,
 E não fica o guerreiro valente
 Preso á campa onde foi repousar.

Ó punhal, liberdade do escravo!
 Liberdade na morte lhe dás,
 Tu dos ferros desprendes o bravo
 E da morte lh'envias a paz.
 Um escravo viu rouxos seus pulsos
 E de ti lançou mão, e feriu,
 E da morte nos transes convulsos
 "Vou ser livre, bem livre!" rugiu.

Que cadeia, que ferro, qu'algema
 Prende um bravo que a campa já tem?
 Esse . . . o pêso do ferro não tema,
 Qu'elle á campa prendel-o não vem;
 É a campa p'ra o livre um abrigo,
 Sobre o peito é a losa um arnez,
 É a espada que o livra do p'rigo
 Que a Catão as algemas desfez! . . .

Prende o ferro a vontade qu'impera?
 Prende a mente que pensa sem lei?
 Prende a ideia que n'alma se gera
 Prendo o espaço no espaço só rei . . .

A materia só prende a materia
A vontade só o espaço sem fins,
Livre, livre, qual nuvem aerea
Que s'eleva do mar nos confins.

É covarde o que pulsos off'rece
Aos grilhões sem o pejo sentir;
E no sonmo d'escravo adormece
Para o sonmo da morte fugir;
Não aquelle que os ferros d'escravo
Com a morte recebe tão só;
Em contacto co'os pulsos do bravo
Esse ferros desfazem-se em pó!

Ai! Polónia, na liça mais nobre
Recebreste na morte o grilhão;
Mas o crepa que a campa te cobre,
Roto embora, é teu livre pendão;
Que de bravos teus muros não viram?
Que brilhantes não foram teus sóes?
E, s'alfim esses muros cahiram,
Foram lousas de muitos heroes.

Derrubado pelos ventos do norte
Velho tronco por terra caiu;
Foi-se a seiva; e das sombras da morte
Suas folhas o roble cobriu;
Mas os ventos do norte esqueceram
Os rebentos pequenos então;
E os filhinhos, que as frontes ergueram,
Não as querem curvar para o chão

Mas a lousa da campa quebrada
Deixa ignoto phantasma surgir;
A alegria na fronte estampada
É a estrella d'esp'rança a luzir:
São por terra teus ferros partidos,
Já lampejam da guerra os signaes;
Nova lucta . . . teus filhos crescidos
Vão nas bravas pisadas dos paes! . . .

Livre sangue nas veias lhes corre;
Livre sangue é o nosso tambem:
N'este solo p'la patria se morre,
Pela patria elles morrem alem.
Irmãos somos. Prestemos-lhe os peitos,
Nossos braços, valentes sem par,
A nação, que foi grande nos feitos,
Não deixemos assim baquear.

Novembro de 1863

Rodrigo de Menezes

Publié en 1864 dans la revue *O Atila* de Coimbra.
Dates biographiques inconnues.

À POLÓNIA

Por ocasião da guerra da Polónia em o anno de 1863

Polónia, por muitos annos
vergaste á força a cerviz,
sob o jugo dos tyranos,
sob as oppressões as mais viz;
mas essa fronte guerreira
ergueste em frente do algoz,
e atiraste a gargalheira
ás faces de quem t'a poz!

A teus filhos, nobre esforço
agir a vemos fazer
contra o terrível colosso
Que a oppressão fez erguer!
Despedaçar as cadeias
que o despotismo forjou,
c'o sangue das suas veias
cada um por ti jurou.

Na justa causa empenhados
de quebrarem seus grilhões
ora pendem mutilados,
ora hasteiam seus pendões!
Quando um dos seus cae por terra
sob uma força brutal,
lá surgem mil para guerra
n'essa luta nacional!

Surgiu um povo do abysmo
que mão de ferro cavou,
guerra, guerra ao despotismo,
de collo alçado bradou!
e bradou mostrando ao mundo
da liberdade o pendão:
ouçam-lhe o brado profundo
os povos que livres são.

Albyon, tu sentinella
do pendão libertador
que vês cuspir-lhe a procella
da tyrannia, do horror,
dos bravos que em nobres lutas
ao pendão se vão unir,
inda as vozes não escutas
que auxilio estão a pedir?! . . .

Ah! e tu Gália d'outr'ora,
livre, livre (a historia o diz)
que te aclamas protectora
de qualquer povo infeliz,

tambem sob a propotencia
tanto heroe deixas calcar?!
não te diz a consciencia
que os procures libertar? . . .

D'outras eras o gigante,
que já no mundo avultou,
Portugal, que o seu montante
a causas justas prestou,
repousando hoje cansado
d'essas batalhas d'então,
da Polónia ouvindo o brado
só lhe pode abrir a mão.

Mas sente dentro no peito
o mais profundo pezar,
de ver da força ao direito
outro mais justo vergar:
e olhando partida a espada
vê-se-lhe o pranto correr;
lembra-lhe a idade passada
do seu antigo poder.

E vêm-lhe junto á memoria
os sessenta annos de horror,
que lhe mancharam a gloria
do seu passado explendor:
doe-lhe a sorte d'esse povo,
partilha do seu pezar,
quizera erguer-se de novo
para os ferros lhe quebrar.

Tua causa é santa e justa,
tem por si razão e lei,
aos peitos nobres se ajusta;
eia ávante, ó nobre grei! . . .
Polónia! não mais escrava
deves um dia existir;
no futuro os olhos crava,
confia no teu porvir.

Aia! ávante! . . . é bem que arrostes
com esse brutal furor
das feras vendidas hostes
ao ouro vil d'um senhor . . .
surge-te o sol da victoria
d'entre o fumo dos canhões! . . .
seja—patria—a voz da gloria,
grito d'alarmá ás nações.

Manuel Maria Portella

Publié dans *Ensaios poeticos*, Lisboa, Typographia do Panorama, 1865,
pp. 30-32.

Manuel Maria Portella (1833-1906), né à Setubal. Fonctionnaire municipal à Setubal. Ses études ne dépassèrent pas l'école primaire ce qui ne l'empêcha pas de devenir un écrivain et poète apprécié. Il laissa plusieurs livres en vers et en prose ainsi qu'une vaste œuvre littéraire dans des journaux et revues.

JOSÉ MARIA DA CUNHA SEIXAS

EMÍLIA PLATER
Martyr Polaca

*Poesia por José Maria da Cunha Seixas
 Oferecida ao exímio actor
 Francisco Alves da Silva Taborda*

Povo giganteo, povo assinalado,
 Da liberdade nobre e forte escudo!
 Polónia! povo heroico e dedicado
 Á causa liberal, eu te saudo!

Desvellada no empenho sacrosanto
 De aos povos dar o pão da liberdade,
 Teu sangue causa aos déspotas espanto,
 E o mundo pasma á tua heroicidade!

Na pugna secular da grande ideia
 Da ideia magestosa do futuro,
 Quem, como tu, no sacro ardor se ateia,
 E lida com espirito mais puro?

Tu és mestra dos povos; e estes jazem
 Immersos no vil pego do igismo,
 Porque só por palavras guerra fazem
 A tão ferreo, espantoso despotismo.

Embora! Tambem Christo na Judeia
 Víu seu manto em pedaços repartido,
 E Christo vence, porque a sua ideia
 É do genero humano audaz prurido.

A Rússia, Prússia e Áustria dividiram
 Teu corpo e t' o talharam em pedaços;
 Mas logo os ceus sentença proferiram
 E não hão-de nas penas ser escassos.

Avante, povo ingente e assinalado;
 Da liberdade sê famoso escudo!
 Povo, Christo dos povos, dedicado
 Á causa liberal, eu te saudo!

* * *

E n'este povo polaco
 As memorias são tamanhas
 Que vão cheias as historias
 Das suas muitas façanhas.
 Por milhares são as glorias
 No lavor da liberdade;
 E até por mais maravilha
 Até a mulher, a beldade,
 O mimo e encanto da vida,
 Deixa da casa a guarida,

E os marciais caminhos trilha.
Porque lá uma donzella
Antes quer ter o hymeneu
O hymeneu co' a patria bella,
Do que dar o peito seu
A um amor menos sublime,
E ver a patria, qual vime,
Entregue a algozes insanos,
Torcida em mãos de tyrannos.
E vou contar-vos agora
Os casos d'uma heroina,
Que por lá tanto se adora,
Que tem memoria divina.

* * *

Na Polónia rebentára
A grandiosa insurreição
Que tanto medo causára
Dos tyrannos á nação.

Emília Plater, Emilia
Da virgindade exemplar,
Troca os mimos da familia
Por da guerra o vivo mar.

Qual Joanna d'Arc grangeia
As sympathias, o amor
Do seu povo, e então anceia
Dar á lucta novo ardor.

Um general do tyranno
A sua mão pertendeu,
E a donzella a tal profano
“Sou polaca” respondeu.

Empenhada na demanda,
Na demanda liberal,
Seiscentos homens commanda
Com entusiasmo geral.

Trava então a crua guerra
Com esse Russo feroz;
Corre o sangue pela terra
Do tyranno treme o algoz.

Mas o Russo não deixára
As Lithuánias regiões;
Tambem Emilia não pára,
Aviva as suas legiões.

Na Lithuânia ferva a lucta,
E com a espada na mão
A brava Emilia disputa
D'um castello a posição.

Contra a turba moscovita
Ella intrepida investiu;
No meio d'ella se agita
E uma passagem abriu.

Mas como o sol de leve
Derrete e apenas reduz
As grandes massas de neve,
Que essa terra lá produz;

Assim Emília se via
Ante um numero sup'rior,
E succumbindo fugia
Pr'a esconder a sua dor.

Com seus socios de desgraça
Para a Prussia caminhou,
E a trista vida alli passa
No desterro, que buscou.

Mas já Varsóvia cedera
Ante o numero fatal
Do moscovita, que impera
Por uma força infernal.

E essa pobre desterrada,
Qual Camões, quando ella ouviu
D'essa cidade a tomada,
Moribunda succumbiu:

Finando-se d'amargura,
Como a rôla que perdeu
Seu esposo e de tristura
No ramo seco morreu.

Seu nome é hoje adorado
Na Polónia com fervor;
O seu tumulo regado
Com mil lagrimas d'amor.

* * *

E deve um povo, tão heroico e martyr
Deve esse povo succumbir na lucta?
E sem temor o tribunal da historia
A Europa deve abandonar covarde
Um povo destes, das nações o Christo?

José Maria da Cunha Seixas.

Edité en forme de feuille volante (Imprensa Litteraria s.l. et s.d.).
José Maria da Cunha Seixas (1863-?), né à Trévôes, distr. de Viseu,
diplômé de l'Université de Coimbra, avocat à Lisbonne.

ANTHERO DE QUENTAL

Á EUROPA

(Durante a insurreição da Polónia em 1864 (sic))

*La Russie c'est le choléra
Michelet.*

Aguia da França! que te vejo agora,
 Como ave da noite, triste e escura!
 Ha pouco ainda a olhar o sol—n'esta hora
 Meia offuscada ao resplendor da altura!
 Subindo sem se vê já quasi, outr'ora,
 E, hoje; tombada sobre a rocha dura!
 E quem por nome teve já Esperança,
 Chamar-se Desalento . . . Agua da França!

Irmã! Irmã! Irmã! por ti chamaram
 Desde o desterro os miserios captivos!
 Foi por ti que os olhos levantaram
 Queimados da tortura aos lumes vivos!
 Foi por ti, foi por ti que elles bradaram
 Erguidos do sepulcro e redivivos!
 E tu dormes no ninho da confiança?!

São irmãos teus! acorda, aguia da França!

Ah! a aguia-imperial inda tem aza . . .
 Mas o que ella não tem já é vontade!
 Ha ainda algum fogo que a abraza . . .
 Mas não é nem amor nem liberdade!
 Inda tem garra com que empolga e arraza . . .
 Mas já não os véus negros da verdade!
 Porque, abraçando-a, lhe hão roubado a ardência
 Dous amigos, o Egoísmo e a Prudência!

Ó Prudentes! não sei se mais me ria,
 Se mais chore de ver a vossa cegueira!
 Pois vós, cuidando ter a luz do dia
 Nas mãos, tendel-as cheias de poeira!
 Vós chamaes-vos a Ordem, a Harmonia . . .
 Mas, nos fructos, qualquer vê que a figueira
 Que em rebentando o estio, não rebenta
 É porque apenas sobre a areia assenta!

A areia do Egoísmo! E, se a vaidade
 Vos não cegára, verieis que a semente
 Que cahiu sobre o chão da Liberdade,
 Em vez de ser perdida inutilmente,
 Dá por um grão, milhares.—E, em verdade,
 Verieis tudo isto simplesmente
 Se, em vez de ter por lei o livro escuro,
 Só na Justiça lêsseis o Futuro!

Sim! o Futuro! Vós olhaes a um lado
E a outro lado—e vêdes o horizonte . . .
Sabeis como passou quanto é passado
E que alicerce teve cada monte . . .
Por vossa mão o mundo está marcado . . .
Cada mar, cada rio, cada fonte . . .
Tudo sabeis—a noite e a manhã—
Só vos esquece . . . o dia de ámanhã!

Quando a aguia da Rússia as duas garras
Cravar no coração á Liberdade,
Tapando com o vulto as cinco barras
D'esse Volga de luz, a humanidade;
Quando, enfim, estellar quantas amarras
A tem lá presa desde a velha idade,
E, tomndo co'a sombra toda a altura,
Se estender sobre a Europa a Aza escura:

Quando o vento do norte em nossos prados
Tiver levado com os grãos as flores;
E, soprando nos ermos despovoados,
Semear a seara dos terrores;
Quando, enfim, sobre os sulcos arrazados,
Dormirem com os bois os lavradores;
E só brotar no chão da liberdade
—Só—a herva da Russia, a escuridade:

Vós haveis exultar, então, prudentes,
E, sabios, ver o fructo ao vosso ensino!
E áquelle velho conto dos dormentes
Tirar sua moral . . . que é o Destino!
Então abrindo os olhos, ó videntes,
Sobre as cabeças heis de ver o pino
O cometa dos prosperos futuros . . .
Da negra Russia sobre os céos escuros!

E, Diplomatas, heis de lér as notas
Escriptas nas muralhas derrocadas!
A das cidades nas bastilhas rotas
Heis de ver as razões alli gravadas!
E haveis de ouvir das bocas mudas, bôtas,
A opinião extrema das espadas!
Lá quando no congresso se assentarem
As Potencias da Noite . . . e concertarem!

Quando um povo se chama, em vez de Gente,
Cholera, peste, vento da Sibéria;
E uma nação é assim cousa impudente
Que, em vez de veste virginal, aérea,
Só tem andrajos com que aos olhos mente
E é só, no fundo, escravidão, miseria;
Em em vez de filho amado traz ao peito
Um monstro informe de horrido trejeito;

Ó Nações, que dizeis abrir á vida
E á luz os olhos livres . . . ó Nações!
Quando com cousa assim, crua e descrida,
Que se vão resgatar as oppressões . . .
Não ha voz de justiça—a mais erguida—
Nem tratados, nem notas, nem razões . . .
Ha uma folha só—a da espada—
Para o grande tratado—a cutilada—!

E vós passaes a mão sobre as escamas
Do crocodilo . . . e credes convertel-o?
Credes ligam-o com as finas tramas
Da palavra, mais frageis que um cabello?
Ó homens habeis, que fallaes ás chammas,
E ao mar bravo co'a voz podeis contel-o,
Sois uns grandes apostolos por certo . . .
Que andaes pregando no deserto!

Apostolo! mas vêde que no mundo
Não ha já hoje um só com este nome,
Sem que lhe apaguem com um riso immundo
O nobre fogo em que arde e se consome!
Quanto vale a palavra n'este fundo
Poço de Europa de hoje, onde se some
A voz mais alta? quanto vale? Olhai!
Inclino um ouvido . . . mal escuto um ai!

Apostolo—é a bombarda da metralha
Estalando as bastilhas dos tyrannos!
Apostolo—é o ferro que espalha
O terror sobre os peitos deshumanos!
É o clarim no meio da batalha
Tocando a retirada dos enganos!
É a mão do Destino, que em seus ninhos
Esmaga a loba velha co'os lobinhos!

Contra a Rússia—a heresia das nações—
Um grande e forte apostolo de ferro!
Que vá direito dentro aos corações
Com rijo abalo esmigalhar o erro!
Que, em vez da branda voz das orações,
Prégue a sua missão com grande berro!
Não humilde, não doce, como os onze
De Christo . . . mas apostolo de bronze!

Esse, sim! que converta o povo impio
Que ao Dagon da matança deu seu culto!
Que lhe faça correr o pranto em fio,
Mas um: pranto de sangue! Um rude insulto,
Não palavras de amor a esse Gentio!
Un missionario de tremendo vulto
Que em fim lhe escreva as letras da oração
(Mas com ferro) no duro coração!

Essa é a unica voz que se ergue e brada!
Com que pode prégar-se a essa descrida
Raça de Moabitas, a sagrada
Nova missão da Liberdade e Vida!
Nações da Europa! é ao canhão e á espada
A quem deveis dar a palavra, Erguida
Essa voz soará por toda a terra
A doutrinar um Evangelho—a guerra!

Ah! se ha ainda olhos para verem,
Em despeito da venda a luz infinda!
Se ha almas juvenis para se erguerem
Com o sublime vôo que jamais finda'
Se ha mãos ainda ahi para estenderem
Á luz da gloria um ferro—e se ha ainda
Povos livres na terra, e em peitos novos
Ha livres corações—á guerra, ó Povos!

1864

Anthero de Quental

Publié dans *Odes modernas* qui eurent plusieurs éditions. Dans la 3^e édition (Porto, Livraria Chardron de Lello e Irmão, editores, 1898), le poème occupe les pages 151-157.

Anthero de Quental (1842-1891), né à Ponta Delgada aux Açores. Etudiant à Coimbra, il était le véritable "guide de l'Académie". Laissa de nombreuses œuvres poétiques et philosophiques. Est considéré comme un des plus grands poètes de langue portugaise. V. "Dictionnaire des Littératures" op. cit. t. III. p. 3209.

XXIII

JOSÉ CARLOS DE GOUVEIA

À POLÓNIA

*Liberdade!—repete o povo inteiro
Espedaçando o jugo do estrangeiro,
Que uma nobre terra avassalou;
Liberdade!—era o hymno da esperança
E ao mesmo tempo o grito de vingança,
Que o poder dos tyrannos provocou.*
Francisco Gomes d'Amorim

Ousado se escuta, nos rios nas serras
Das bellicas turbas feroz estridor;
O fero Cossaco do Volga, o Kalmuko,
Cruentos avançam, seguindo o terror.

E tudo é assombro nas margens do Vistula,
Na triste Polónia tudo é confusão!
Nos campos da lida da patria os heroes
Remir vão a patria d'atroz servidão.

Innundam as terras as hordas escravas,
E roubam, massacram, das furias á voz?
O lar não respeitam, a honra, a virtude,
Destroem com raiva maldita, feroz!

Dos montes Uraes ou das ribas do Kara,
De Vilna, da Bothnia, de Kiev, Arkangel,
Á presa se lançam innumeros barbaros,
Sanhudo se arroja nefando tropel.

E correm, com ferro talando as campinas,
Do funebre incendio erguendo o clarão,
Nas trevas se involvem, cobardes invertem,
Quel lava encoberta d'extinto vulcão.

Eil-os, os netos dos martyres
Erguidos da patria á voz,
O despotismo feroz
Vão na luta aniquilar.
Eil-os unidos . . . ávante
Bravos filhos da Polónia,
A soberba babylonia
Ide voz despedaçar.

Soa o clarim da revolta,
Tremule o bento estandarte,
Troveje a guerra, de Morte
Deslumbre a tumida gloria.
Viva a santa liberdade,
Viva a honra nacional;
E este brado marcial
Certa prediz a victoria.

Eil-os fogosos; ávanta
Pauzes e rios a galgar,
Surgem, seguem, sem parar,
Só buscando o invasor.
Já foge o fero Cossaco,
Que na fuga tem a esp'rança:
Foge temendo a vingança,
Fogem escravo e senhor.

Salvam campinas e pantanos,
Mas na frente hoste aguerrida
Faz-lhe pagar com a vida
A torpe, fera invasão.
Poucos escapam, tombando
Mordem malditos a terra!
Um livre braço não erra
Quando fere a escravidão.

Dentro em pouco á capital
Voarão libertadores;
Vai ser livre d'oppressores
O seu risonho paiz.
O despotismo recua,
Treme o tyranno do norte
Que o polaco ergue-se forte,
Erguendo a nobre cerviz

Escuta nobre Polónia,
É chegada a tua aurora,
És tu agora senhora,
Reagiste á oppressão.
Folga contigo outro povo,
Que não pode socorrer-te,
Mas que livre estima vêr-te
Esse povo é teu irmão.

Ai! ilusão mesquinha, é morte a esp'rança,
O povo é opprimido!
No brado altivo, eterno, de vingança
Soou final gemido.

Cairam os heroes e a nação
De novo é algemada!
Campeia vencedora a servidão,
Quebrou-se a livre espada!

E esses bravos reuniram-se na luta
Morreu todo o polaco,
O seu solo deserto hoje disfruta
O funebre cossaco.

Nos gelos da Sibéria desterrados
Os que a morte poupou,
São por hordas selvagens numerados
O despota executor!

Felizes os que a vida na batalha
Bem cara alli venderam:
Felizes, que servindo entre a metralha
Inda livres morreram.

Felizes, que julgaram ver no sol
Do seu ultimo dia,
Da patria liberdade e arrebol,
Saudando-os na agonía.

Porem estes levados para o polo
Sem terem já esperança,
O cutello suspende vendo ao collo,
E só n'elle a bonança;

Arrastados da patria, nos seus ninhos
Deuxando ao oppressor
O leito da consorte e os filhinhos,
De mãe exhausta a dor;

Curvados ao açorte, como escravos
Cadeias arrastando;
E de frio e de fome elles os bravos
No exilio expirando!

É funebre irrigão, do moscovita
Atraz condenação.
O dia surgirá Polónia afflita
Da tua redempção.

Ó desditosa terra, os teus valentes
Eram poucos, caíram . . .
Vagueiam nos teus campos brutas gentes,
Os bravos soccumbiram!

Hordas brutas, venaes, torpes, vendidas,
Teus filhos mutilaram
As formosas cidades destruidas
Malditos saquearam.

Era grande, era immensa a multidão,
E grande o servilismo!
De novo te algemou a escravidão
Ao fero despotismo.

Os teus crimes quaes eram? se querias
Gosar o que dá Deus,
O ar, a liberdade; tu pedias
Os foros que eram teus.

Os teus crimes quaes eram? baluarte
Da Europa foste out'ora!
Tu arrojaste ao pó negro estandarte
Na luta redemptora.

Só tu salvaste a fé, ao vil crescente
Oppondo a santa cruz
Muito ingrato salvaste tu, valente
Á sombra oppondo a luz.

Tyrannos da terra, carrascos dos povos,
Malditos dos homens, malditos de Deus,
Tyrannos: virá breve um dia, que os sabios
Prostrando, nos mostre a justiça dos céus.

Em negra borsrasca sepultos sereis,
As vossas cruzes haveis de pagar;
O atroz despotismo, que o mundo escravisa
Nas grandes revoltas virá terminar.

O jugo de ferro que impordes ás gentes,
Vereis como as turbas virão demolir,
O troncos macissos que firme julgaes,
Por terra em pedaços virão a cair.

As hordas d'escravos, que firma o dinheiro
D'involta nas turbas irão renegar.
Serão as primeiras, que os troncos calcando,
Irão das revoltas o fogo ateiar.

Vereis desabar esses vãos preconceitos,
Direito divino funesta illusão!
Vereis os sarcasmos expostos do mundo
Os sceptros de barro que tendes na mão.

O negro ciume que tendes das turbas,
O vosso poder hão de ao chão arrojar.
Na luta as nações a sagrada bandeira
Nas cinzas dos tronos virão hastear.

Exulta Polónia, que tu na vanguarda
Irei proclaimando do mundo a união!
Briozo paiz, inda haveis de ser livre
Que todos os povos libertos serão.

Haveis de ser livre ó patria d'heroes
Os povos virão os teus ferros quebrar:
Haveis de ser livre, que o diz o destino,
Que é grito que o trono não pode abafar.

Julho de 1864

José Carlos de Gouveia

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Dates biographiques inconnues.

XXIV

JORGE HILARIO D'ALMEIDA BLANCO

O MARTYR DA POLÓNIA (Em 1865)

*Vereis amor da patria não movido
De prémio vil; mas alto e quasi eterno
Camões: Lusiadas*

I

Patria, patria, oh terra da infancia,
Mais escrava eu não te hei-de vêr;
Opprimida, eu te sinto gemer;
Tu me chamas, oh patria, e hei-de ir.

Tu ma chamas ás luctas e eu amo-te
Corro alegre, por Deus, eu t'o juro;
Desta espada o valor te asseguro;
Ha-de a morte em seus golpes fulgir!

Patria, patria, oh querida Polónia,
Quebrarei as algemas que tens;
Minha vida te dou em refens
Que não temi deixal-a por ti.

Que me importa entre o fumo da polvora,
O sybilo da ardente metralha?
Que me importa a cruenta batalha,
Se a defesa da patria nutri?

Que me importa da guerra o bulicio?
Centos, centos de reaes esquadões?
Que me importa o bramir dos canhões
Nesta guerra em que vou já entrar?

Oh, sou livre! Não sofre o meu animo
Ser escravo d'um jugo de ferro . . .
“Vida ou morte” jurei e não erro;
Oh, não sei nesta jura faltar!

Tens, oh patria, p'ra mim tal prestigio;
Combatendo, teu nome direi!
Triumphante com gloria serei,
Dessas hordas que vejo ante mim!

Seja, seja harmonia propicia
O troar dos canhões nesses ares;
Sejam hynos, os ais . . . e cantares
Dos vencidos as pragas sem fim!

II

*Au loin le bruit de son passage
Fait trembler les rochers, fait mugir les vallons.
La Harpe.*

Trava-se a guerra, clamorosa guerra,
Quadro terrível de soberbo horror;
Férida lava de marcial furor,
Igneos canhões fazem tremer e terra!

Hostes immensas, turbilhão infinito,
Fillas cerradas em columnas estão;
Tinem os ferros e no largo chão
Mortos e mortos vão, ahi, cahindo . . .

Tudo é um cahos que fervente ancêa;
Horridos sons de multidões rivaes;
Pragas, insultos e blasphemos ais;
Sangue e mais sangue como um mar ondêa . . .

Quadro medonho d'uma lucta ardente,
Tal como essa descrever não sei.
Mas o guerreiro coração de lei,
Mui bem o sabe nesse ardor que sente.

Guerra d'oppressos que mui d'alma querem
Por Deus e patria LIBERDADE só;
Mas jugo ferreo, corações sem dó,
A guerra travam; a oppressão preferem.

E eil-a prossegue! Mais e mais accesa,
Pugna cruenta de odios infernal;
De ambos os lados, e cada um rival,
Feros se deitam como leões á presa!

Mas a final o combater já cança;
Mésses de mortos vê-se aqui e ali . . .
Gloria de sangue para o Czar sorri . . .
Pallidas sombras ao vencido lança!
Pobre Polónia! Que maldita guerra!
Gemes escrava . . . que oppressão! que dôr!
Mas o teu filho, que tem n'alma ardor,
O seu resgate inda achará na terra?
Muitos, de certo, aos gelos da Sibéria
Desterrados, na morte elles o tem . . .
Outros; oh! quantos o preferem bem
Longe de Knout no exilio e na miseria!

III

On a perdu bien peu quand on garde l'honneur.
Voltaire.

E longe em terra estranha, um peregrino
Entre duas muletas segue e vae;
Do mutilado pobre eis o destino,
Quando no campo da honra lá não cae.

Proscripto, gême as dores do seu exilio
O guerreiro que a patria defendeu;
Quizera-a a livre; pugna em seu auxilio.
Foi-lhe a sorte adversa, não venceu.

Mas longe, em terra estranha, vae, que importa?
Antes, antes no exilio medigar
O escasso negro pão de porta em porta,
Quando a vida não pode a patria dar.

Tam jovem, o guerreiro, mutilado,
Da peleja da patria assim ficou;
Não tem pernas p'ra andar, de cada lado,
Uma muleta a sorte lhe deixou . . .

Nem ao peito lhe pende uma medalha?
Não! QUE O LOUCO ERA CONTRA O SEU PAIZ . . .
Mas o signal honroso da batalha
O corpo mutilado triste o diz.

E o semblante crestado do guerreiro;
E as longas, longas barbas que inda tem;
A aquelle olhar tam firme e sobranceiro,
Oh, quantas valentias não contem!

Tam joven, mas tam só, nada o consola
Do triste e macerado coração;
Ermo tudo, ao proscripto tudo isola;
O martyrio da patria, oh, esse não!

Oh, não! O mutilado e peregrino
Os brios de guerreiro te-los-ha.
Rota a farda, que dor! Em seu destino,
Que saudades da patria não terá?!

Martyr, martyr, oh, sim! Porém confia,
Se Deus o quer, que á patria ha-de volver;
Não morre um povo que mais tarde, um dia,
A juba de leão inda ha-de erguer.

Crê e espera! Polónia, a liberdade
E a religião comtigo são irmãs;
Povo de ambas! com ambas na vontade
Á Europa mostrará novos Titans.

Jorge Hilário d'Almeida Blanco

Publié dans *Ilusões e crenças*, Lisboa, Imprensa de Joaquim Germano de Sousa Neves, 1869, pp. 93-97.
Jorge Hilario d'Almeida Blanco (1829-1883), né à Lisbonne. Fonctionnaire des douanes. Publia, entre 1851 et 1879, plusieurs volumes de poésies.

XXV

J. C. LATINO DE FARIA

O CANTO DA AGONIA

*Assim cantavam de Varsóvia as filhas
A joven que morria.*

Acabou a tua esp'rança,
Acabou tua alegria:
Coração, que em ti folgava,
Quem salval-o poderia?

Callou a voz da tua alma
Segredos que te dizia,
De amor, de dita ineffavel,
Quaes só no céo os havia.

Trespassou cruenta espada
Coração, que o teu prendia
Com laços de amor eterno,
Que desesperar não podia.

Tu mal o pranto sustinhas,
E o amante te dizia:
“Adeus, oh minha adorada,
Vou onde o dever me guia.

Vou expor a minha vida
Aos golpes da tyrannia . . .
Ai! quem soubera, morrendo,
Que a patria resgataria!

—E as juras, que me fizeste,
Que as quebrasses quem diria?
Assim lhe tornava a triste
Com debil voz que tremia.

Eu não quebrei minhas juras;
Quem afirmal-o ousaria?
Dissera-o quem cinge a espada,
Que a minha oh! que provaria!

Não chores, luz da minh'alma,
Anjo da minha alegria!
Mudara o ceo sua lei,
Á tua eu não faltaria.

Mas vou pagar á Polónia
Tributo que lhe devia
Que recebi por herança
De meu pae, quando eu nascia.

Quantas vezes de meu berço
Ao lado me repetia;
Cantando em cantos guerreiros,
Que eu mal entender podia . . .

Era uma canção estranha
De sangue e rude poesia,
Onde só a voz da morte,
De morte e guerra se ouvia;

Mas bem me lembro que em todas
As coplas me repetia
Que guardasse um odio eterno
Dos Russos á tyrannia.

Adeus pois, luz da minh'alma,
Anjo da minha alegria!
Dá-me a tua despedida . . .
Minh'alma em ti se confia!"

Por longo espaço abraçados,
Guerreiro e bella se via:
Em suffocados soluços
A falla se lhes prendia.

Montou seu negro cordel
O joven, que enfim partia;
E á sua amante inconsolavel
O extremo adeus já dizia.

E lá corre a expor a vida
Aos golpes da tyrannia . . .
Morreu, sabendo que a patria
Sua morte não livraria!

Vae amante desgraçada,
Unir-te a quem te prendia
Ao mundo, que não encerra
Para ti mais alegria!

Sobre ella a morte já pousava . . . E o canto
Lugubre da agonia
Assim cantavam de Varsóvia as filhas
Á joven, que morria.

J. C. Latino de Faria

Publié dans *Palmas e Martyrios, Poesias posthumas . . . publicadas pela viuva do auctor.* Lisboa, Typographia Universal, 1868, pp. 80-82.
Dates biographiques inconnues.

XXVI

ANTÓNIO DE SOUSA PINTO

AS DUAS ESCRAVAS

Eu vejo-as abraçadas,
Ambas em lucto envoltas,
Co' as loiras tranças soltas
Cobrindo os hombros nus;
A desprender gemidos
Dos seios palpitantes
E os olhos suplicantes
Fitos na mesma cruz.

E pendelhes dos pulsos
A mesma atroz cadena,
Seus lábios incendeia
A mesma imprecação:
“Infâmia eterna, exclamam,
Aos nossos oppresores!
Senhor! vêde os horrores
De nossa escravidão!”

Mas quem sois vós, augustas
Imagens do martyrio?
Que assustador delirio
Vos tem curvado assim?
Em vossos rostos leio
A dór, a magua, a insomnia.
—“Eu chamo-me-Polónia!”
—“Eu sou a pobre Eirin!”

1871

António de Sousa Pinto

Publié en *Ideias e Sonhos*, Lisboa, 1872, pp. 11-12.
Dates biographiques inconnues.

XXVII

JOSÉ RAMOS COELHO

À POLÓNIA

Sim, tu vives ainda, embora dividida,
Ó Polónia, infeliz, e de algemas aos pés;
Mas, se no coração tens concentrado a vida,
Ao corpo o coração dará força outra vez.

Quando contra o oppressor não valem as espadas
E o direito emmudece ao retroar do obuz,
A liberdade e a fé, por elle desterradas,
Vão-se n'alma esconder, e prestam-lhe mais luz.

Essa luz é que fez um dia revoltar-te,
E as hostes do tyranno encarar sem pavor;
Essa luz é que veiu á quēda almuiar-te,
E attrahiu sobre ti dos mais povos o amor.

E essa luz vencerá; que á discordia d'outr'ora,
Que o abysmo te cavou de negra perdição,
No infortunio, crisol, onde o ser se melhora,
Succedeu fraternal, sympatica união.

Com ella vencereis, polacos: as ideias,
Quando justas, co'o tempo alcançam triumphar.
Porem de três nações?! Bem fracas as areias
São, e formam barreiras unidas contra o mar.

Mas o potro, a miseria, o carcere, o desterro?
Ha de a affronta, a injustiça inda mais vos unir.
Os grilhões que arrastaes fundem-se, são de ferro;
Da patria o santo amor nada o pode fundir.

Venturosos, oh! sim, mil vezes venturosos
Os que lograrem ver da liberdade o sol!
Té estremecerão de jubilo, orgulhosos,
Vossos mortos heroes no funebre lençol.

Alguns inda virão co'as carnes palpitando,
Feridos do martyrio, e de sangue a escorrer;
Porém todos, o olhar aos céos alevantando,
Polónia, bemdirão teu fausto alvorecer.

Se eu pudesse gosar tão esplendido dia!
Mas gosal-o-ha de certo este povo leal,
Que soffreu, como tu, do estranho a tyrannia,
E, como te erguerás, se ergueu livre afinal;

Este povo que te ama; e, d'aqui, do occidente,
Te anima e te saúda, o povo portuguez.
É elle que te diz por minha voz de crente:
Espera e serás grande, ó Polónia, outra vez.

José Ramos Coelho

Publié en forme de feuille volante (Lisboa, Empresa do Ocidente, 1898) tiré à 40 exemplaires, le poème était muni de la note suivante :

“Sur la liste des participants étrangers du Congrès de la Presse, réuni actuellement à Lisbonne, certains journaux ont omis ceux venus de Pologne, inclus en tant que ressortissants des pays qui ont démembré cette malheureuse nation d'une manière injuste et par force.

“Contre ce fait regrettable s'insurgea M. Szczepanski, un des sept congressistes polonais, en adressant au “Diário de Notícias” une lettre de réctification pleine de noblesse et se terminant par une phrase qui a servi d'épigraphhe à mon poème. La voici: “Nous vous prions de donner ces détails parce qu'on nous confond avec des délégués des autres nations — et nous tenons à constater que les délégués de la presse polonaise de toutes parties de l'ancienne Pologne ne représentent qu'eux mêmes, c'est à dire, la nation polonaise, qui, malgré qu'elle est divisée parmi 3 états — reste une dans sa totalité.” (En français dans l'original.)

C'est précisément la lecture de cette lettre qui est à l'origine de mon poème."

Le M. Szczepanski en question n'est autre — selon toute probabilité — que Ludwik Szczepanski (1872-1954) poète et journaliste réputé qui, à l'époque de ce Congrès, était éditeur de la revue littéraire et artistique cracovienne "Życie" (La Vie).

Le même poème fut ensuite reproduit dans *Reflexos*, Lisboa, Typographia Castro e Irmão, 1898, pp. 211-213 e p. 287 et aussi en 1907 et 1910.

José Ramos Coelho (1837-1914), né à Lisbonne, était fonctionnaire à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Lisbonne et aux Archives Nationales Torre do Tombo. Membre effectif de l'Académie des Sciences de Lisbonne, de l'Académie Royale Suédoise et de diverses associations scientifiques, il publia plusieurs livres de poésies, une traduction de "Jerusalem delivrée" de Torquato Tasso et autres travaux historiques.

S T U D I A

LEON KOCZY
(Glasgow)

LA REVOLUTION COPERNICAINE

L'année 1973 fut pour la science, pour la Pologne et le monde entier, celle de Copernic.

Le Président des Etats-Unis en constituant avec le Congrès "la semaine de Copernic" dans son pays, encourageait ses compatriotes à rendre hommage à la mémoire du grand astronome polonais, car — "above all it was in his inspired work in astronomy and his theories about the place of the earth in the universe that marked him for greatness and precipitated the flowering of modern science," et en félicitant les fondateurs du Centre Socio-Culturel de Nicolas Copernic à Chicago dit-il que — "The United States owes a great deal to this illustrious native son of Poland; for without his epic works on the foundations of astronomy, our space flights could not have been possible."¹

Aucun savant n'a reçu une telle distinction. Une question se pose ici : pourquoi le grand astronome polonais a reçu ces hommages et cette distinction, et si ces hommages qui lui ont été offert ne sont qu'un mythe. Ce n'est que la science qui peut répondre à cette question. Il ne faut point être séduit par les nombreux écrits qui encombrent les bibliothèques, ni par les monuments qui doivent l'immortaliser. La science, elle seule, peut nous découvrir le vrai "Copernic historique." Le résultat des recherches scientifiques se révélera dans le volume suivant de la bibliographie de H. Baranowski² et la critique de ces publications 1939-1970 fut donnée par E. Rosen dans la troisième édition de "Three Copernican Treatises" (1971).³

Le seul but de ces remarques est de démontrer à tous ceux qui prenaient part à "L'Année Copernicaine," que les monuments érigés dans le monde occidental, et les hommages rendus ne sont qu'un côté

¹ *Congressional Record*: E 2512, 17-IV-1973; The White House, Washington, May 17, 1972; *Science*, vol. 97, no. 2527, p. 504; *Polonia/Chicago*, vol. ii, no. 2, Mai 28 1972.

² *Bibliografia Kopernikowska 1509-1955*. T.I. Oprac. H. Baranowski, Warszawa 1958, pp. 449; vol. ii, 1956-1971, Warszawa 1973, pp. 120.

³ *Three Copernican Treatises*. Traduit et introduction par Edward Rosen. Third edition, revised with a biography of Copernicus and Copernicus bibliographies 1939-1958-1970. New York 1971. Records of Civilization. No. XXX.

de l'histoire. Copernic, comme on le sait, était aussi l'objet des attaques vigoureuses dans son temps.⁴

Comment était-ce possible?

Tout au moins du temps de la publication des œuvres de J. L. E. Dreyer et de L. A. Birkenmajer,⁵ la science s'intéressait aux trois problèmes: 1. de qui et de quoi Copernic était redévable de ses découvertes, 2. quand naquit dans son esprit le système héliocentrique et 3. quelle est la place de Copernic dans l'histoire des sciences et dans l'histoire de la civilisation?

Pour répondre à la première question il faut scruter les études de l'astronome à Cracovie et en Italie, en supposant qu'après s'être établi en Varmie, Copernic ne fut exposé à aucune science nouvelle.⁶

S'il s'agit de l'Italie, il n'est pas question de Padoue, car Copernic y étudia la médecine (1501-1503), de même Ferrare ne peut être prise en considération — il y a obtenu son doctorat en droit le 31, Juin 1503. Par contre, on doit, peut-être, considérer le milieu scientifique de Bologne, car selon la relation de Rétique, Copernic y était "non seulement étudiant mais aussi témoin du très savant Dominique — Marie". A cause de cette relation écrite en Varmie, quarante ans après le séjour de l'astronome en Italie, une opinion s'est établie dans les sciences, au sujet de la grande influence de Bologne sur l'astronomie de Copernic. La-dite influence a été ramenée aux proportions adéquates par L. A. Birkenmajer et après lui par Rosen :

"In establishing close contact with Novara, Copernicus met, perhaps for the first time in his life, a mind that dared to challenge the authority of the most eminent ancient writer in his chosen fields of study."⁷

Cette constatation est assez lointaine du système héliocentrique, comme on le retrouve dans *De Revolutionibus*. Pour finir avec le problème de l'Italie et de son influence sur la théorie de Copernic, ajoutons que le "professorat romain" de Copernic et ses conférences sur son système héliocentrique à la "Sapienza" (1500) à Rome ont été démentis par R. Gansiniec et appartiennent au domaine des légendes "savantes".⁸

Deuxième question : Quelle fut la période où naquit dans l'esprit de Copernic l'idée du héliocentrisme. Nous le savons bien, aujourd'hui, que ce n'était ni à Cracovie, ni en Italie mais en Varmie, que cette con-

⁴ Nous n'avions pas l'occasion de lire l'article de E. Rosen dans lequel il "reviewed the achievements of Copernicus in contrast to various early detractors of his system". O. Gingerich, *International Copernican Celebration in Poland, Sky and Telescope*, vol. 46, no. 6, le 6 décembre 1973, p. 375. L'auteur attaqua A. Koestler en *In Defense of Copernicus. The Polish Review*, vol. XVIII, no. 3, pp. 11-18.

⁵ J. L. E. Dreyer, *History of Planetary System from Thales to Kepler*, Cambridge 1906; L. A. Birkenmajer, *Mikołaj Kopernik*, Kraków 1900; du même auteur: *Stromata Copernicana*, Kraków 1924.

⁶ K. Górska, *Mikołaj Kopernik, Środowisko społeczne i samotność*. Wrocław 1973, pp. 172-3, 194.

⁷ E. Rosen, *Three Copernican Treatises*, pp. 322-3.

⁸ R. Gansiniec, *Rzysmska profesura Kopernika*, *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki*, R.11, 3, 1957, pp. 471-484.

ception fut élaborée. Témoin le *Commentariolus*, où, pour la première fois notre astronome expliqua son idée géniale. On dispute toujours la date exacte du *Commentariolus* — mais on est d'accord quand à la date de sa conception, et c'est après le retour de Copernic de l'Italie, donc après 1503. Le *Commentariolus* ne fit point de révolution. Il ne circula qu'en de peu nombreuses copies, connues de quelques astronomes comme par exemple Tycho-Brahé et découvertes seulement au XIX-ème siècle à Vienne en Autriche (1878), à Stockholm (1881) et tout récemment à Aberdeen (1962).⁹

L'explication des deux problèmes précedents, ce n'est que l'introduction au troisième — à savoir 1. Si l'oeuvre *De Revolutionibus* était ce que M. Maestlin en disait — “opus humanae industriae vires superans” ou comme le veut D. J. Price “a mere re-shuffled version of the *Almagest*”. 2. Si l'idée héliocentrique fut assez originale pour créer une vraie révolution en astronomie et en conséquence en toute science? De l'explication de ce problème dépend la réponse à la plus importante troisième question : que fut la “révolution copernicaine”¹⁰ car ce n'est à cause de celle-ci que “le chanoine timide” de Frombork¹¹ pouvait se trouver une place dans l'histoire de l'humanité, et ce n'est que grâce à cette “révolution” que nous pourrons découvrir le Copernic “historique”.

Par conscience méthodique nous devons rebrousser chemin, et revenir au problème des “précurseurs” de Copernic,¹² au problème déjà connu à J. Śniadecki. Jusqu'à présent les savants les trouvaient à force de chercher 1. dans l'antiquité (parmi les pythagoriciens et chez Aristarque), 2. aux XIII-ème et XIV-ème siècles parmi les Arabes (al-Tusi et Ibn al-Shatir) et 3. au XV-ème siècle en Europe occidentale (J. Buridan, M. Oresme et Nicolas de Cuse). Le problème des “précurseurs” de Copernic jette une curieuse lumière sur sa révolution scientifique. Donc, si le système héliocentrique fut connu dans l'antiquité, cela veut dire que ce n'est point Copernic mais Aristarque “... the Copernicus of Antiquity” (Th. L. Heath) qui fit cette révolution. D'autre part, si les philosophes médiévaux professaient déjà le système héliocentrique donc la “révolution scientifique” du XVIII-ème siècle, tout au moins dans le domaine de l'astronomie, n'était rien d'autre qu'une répétition générale (“rehearsal”) de la révolution qui a pris lieu il y a

⁹ J. Dobrzycki, “The Aberdeen copy of Copernicus's *Commentariolus*” *Journ. Hist. of Astr.*, vol. IV, 1973, pp. 124-7. Une nouvelle traduction commentée a été faite par N. M. Swerdlow, “The derivation and first draft of Copernicus's planetary theory. A translation of the *Commentariolus*”, Philadelphia 1973. *Proc. Amer. Philos. Society*, vol. 117, pp. 423-512.

¹⁰ Ce nom est d'une toute nouvelle origine, mais s'est établi grâce à l'oeuvre de T. S. Kuhn, *The Copernican Revolution*, Harvard U.P. V-ème édition 1973.

¹¹ Malheureusement, ce nom historiquement et scientifiquement injuste commence à s'établir même en science, grâce au livre de A. Koestler, *The Sleepwalkers*, London 1959, part III: ‘The timid Canon’. Il y a une traduction française: *Les Somnambules, essais sur l'histoire des conceptions de l'univers*. Paris, Calman-Lévy, 1960.

¹² En science occidentale, tout au moins depuis le temps de G. V. Schiaparelli, *I precursori di Copernico nell'antichità*, Bologna 1873.

trois siècles. Si l'on considère la première suggéstion, c'est Aristarque et non Copernic qui doit être honoré du titre de génie — si on suit ceux qui proclamaient les "précurseurs" arabes, on rejette d'un seul coup la découverte de Copernic et, on ne lui donne aucune place dans la révolution scientifique et par conséquent dans l'histoire de la civilisation moderne.¹³ Comme on le voit, la science nous a laissé devant une curieuse énigme-question, car ou "L'Année Copernic" n'est qu'un mythe, ou l'est la critique contemporaine et des "anti-copernicains" anciens en est un.

Où est la vérité ?

Commençons nos recherches en posant la question suivante et simple : Pour qui l'oeuvre de Copernic fut écrite et, comment pendant les siècles suivants fut-elle reçue par ses lecteurs?

Quiconque acquit la première édition de "Revolutionum" pouvait lire sur la couverture qu'à l'intérieur on traite trois sujets. 1. Observations sur les mouvements des corps célestes, 2. "Nouvelles et curieuses" hypothèses, et 3. "De très utiles Tables" au moyen desquelles on peut calculer la position des planètes dans un temps voulu. Une question se pose : lequel de ces trois points (et surtout chez qui) pouvait-il causer une "révolution copernicaine".

Commençons donc par les "Tables". Les "Tabulae" de Copernic ont eu une vie courte. Contrairement aux recommandations d'Osiandre, auteur anonyme, elle n'étaient point plus "utiles" que les bien connues "Tables du Roi Alphonse". C'est donc E. Reinhold (1551)¹⁴ et puis Kepler qui ont été forcés à publier de nouvelles "Tables améliorées ("Tabulae Rudolphinae" / 1627). Dans l'introduction à celles-ci, on lit explicitement que "A notre savoir il n'y a personne, aujourd'hui qui puisse se servir des Tables de Copernic".¹⁵

Un autre sort attendait "la démonstration des mouvements des astres". Celle-là, on l'attendait, et tous les savants avaient l'espoir qu'elle donnera un nouvel élan à la "restitution de l'astronomie", restitution tellement désirée. Ces savants étaient quand même peu nombreux, car ceux qui auraient pu comprendre les chapitres II à VI, où les mouvements des astres furent expliqués, ceux-là, on pouvait les compter sur

¹³ C'est la thèse des "anti-copernicains", des historiens des sciences, à la tête desquels se place l'historien anglais H. Butterfield: *The Origins of Modern Science, 1300-1800*, London 1949. Jusqu'à 1973 il y en avaient huit éditions. Comparez aussi E. Garin *Alle origini della polemica anticopernicana* (Colloquia Copernicana II. Studia Copernicana VI. Wrocław 1973, pp. 31-42. Dans les dernières années paru le problème de l'influence des astronomes arabes sur Copernic: W. Hartner, "Copernicus, the man, the work and its history" (*Proc. Amer. Philos. Society*, vol. 117, no. 6, Philad. 1973, pp. 416-421), N. M. Swerdlow (ibidem, p. 424), O. Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity*, Brown U.P. 1957, p. 203), E. S. Kennedy (*Isis*, 57, 1966, p. 337), V. Roberts (*Isis*, 48, 1957, pp. 428-32) et G. Rosińska (*Isis*, 65, 1974, pp. 239-240).

¹⁴ O. Gingerich, *The rôle of Erasmus Reinhold and the Prutenic Tables in the dissemination of Copernican Theory* (Colloquia Copernicana, vol. II, pp. 43-62).

¹⁵ *Johannis Kepleri Astronomi Opera Omnia* (éd. Ch. Frisch, vol. VI, 1866, p. 669).

“les dix doigts” (O. Gingerich). Ils avaient une chose en commun ; ils scrutaient avec exactitude les démonstrations mathématiques de L’Oeuvre, en passant outre les hypothèses. Comme exemple nous pouvons citer l’hollandais Rainer Gemme qui, dans la lettre à l’évêque de Varmie, Dantyszek confessait :

“Je ne discute point ici les *hypothèses* dont Copernic se sert dans sa démonstration, ni ses valeurs, ni ce qu’elles puissent contenir de vérité. Cela m’est bien égal si, comme il le dit lui-même, la terre tourne ou est immobile. Ce qui m’intéresse c’est *le mouvement des astres*, ce qui est exactement détaché (du reste) et le plus exactement calculé”.¹⁶

Cette position scientifique a été partagée par les plus éminents astronomes du XVI-ème siècle, donc par C. Clavius à Rome (1537-1612), G. A. Magini à Padoue (1555-1617) et E. Reinhold à Wittenberg (1511-1553),¹⁷ et ce qui est plus important par Tycho-Brahé (1546-1601). Tous ceux admirèrent “divinum ingenium” de Copernic, exaltèrent ses “divinas lucubrationes” mais les hypothèses “de terrae motu Solisque in mundi centro quiescentis” furent pour eux absurdités “contra omnem veritatem et philosophiam”.

Mais ces “absurdités”, ces “hypothèses” devaient commencer une révolution scientifique quoique non immédiatement et pas partout. Et nous le savons pourquoi. Le système de Copernic fut le contraire de ce qu’enseignait l’Eglise. Il devait confronter l’opposition des théologiens. A. Osiander pour les désarmer le présenta dans son avant-propos. “Ad Lectorem” comme une simple hypothèse et rien de plus.¹⁸ Dans une telle atmosphère et au XVI-ème siècle eut lieu la *réception* du système héliocentrique mais il n’y avait encore aucune “révolution copernicaine”. Cette révolution n’a pas commencé avec Giordano Bruno, car il périt pour la théorie de la pluralité des mondes et non point pour les idées de Copernic.¹⁹

La vraie révolution commença au moment des procès de Galilée (1616 et 1633) qui, comme Kepler accepta l’idée du héliocentrisme non pas comme hypothèse mais en tant que vérité première.²⁰ Donc ce n’est que

¹⁶ Henry de Vocht, *John Dantiscus and his Netherlandish Friends as revealed by their Correspondence 1522-1546*, Louvain 1961, G. M. Coley, *An early friend of Copernican theory, Gemma Fritius* (*Isis*, XVI 1937).

¹⁷ B. Biliński, *La vita di Copernico di Bernardino Baldi dell’anno 1588 alla luce dei ritrovati manoscritti delle Vite dei matematici*. Accad. Pol. d. Scienze. Conf. Fasc. 61, Wrocław 1973, pp. 49-64.

¹⁸ Ce n'est seulement en 1609 que Kepler identifia l'auteur de la préface “Ad Lectorem” (*Opera Omnia*, vol. III, p. 136).

¹⁹ H. Blumenberg, *Kopernikus im Selbsterständnis der Neuzeit* (Akad. Wiss. und Lit. in Mainz. Abh. Geistes u. Sozialwiss. Klasse, 1964, no. 5, Wiesbaden 1965, pp. 344-5).

²⁰ Autrement que le tenant de Rome le Cardinal R. Bellarmine (*Galileo Galilei Opere*. Ed. Naz. XII 1902, p. 171; J. Bodrick, *S.J. Galileo and the Roman Inquisition*, London 1963, du même: *Galileo, the Man and his Works, his Misfortunes*, London 1964, p. 109).

le XVII-ème siècle qui fut le siècle de la révolution copernicaine.²¹ Trois éléments retardèrent son progrès: 1. Le conservatisme bien connu des universités, 2. La peur de la Sainte Inquisition, et 3. Le système "remplaçant" de Tycho-Brahé.

L'état de la lutte de l'astronomie traditionnelle avec la nouvelle peut se voir dans la préface de l'éminent astronome jésuite J. B. Riccioli à son "Almagestum Novum" (1651).²² On y voit comment se déroulait le sort des systèmes de Copernic et de Tycho-Brahé. C'est ce dernier qui fut vainqueur, non seulement de Copernic mais aussi de Ptolémée. Ce n'était que la moitié de la victoire "héliocentrique". La victoire c'était l'abolition des théories d'Aristote. C'était, en toute probabilité, une tâche des plus difficiles, car le Stagirite était bien établi dans les universités où on enseignait sa philosophie, les théologiens de toute sorte furent ses partisans et, ce qui était le plus important, il avait de son côté les "phénomènes célestes" tels que pouvaient les voir les "indocti" — les simples d'esprit. Et il y avait une certaine beauté et simplicité dans "son" ciel. Aristote partagea tout l'univers en deux mondes contraires — l'un avec la Terre immobile, autour de laquelle tournaient sur des cercles parfaits les planètes y inclus le soleil. Sur ce Monde existaient quatre "éléments" — l'air, l'eau, le feu et la terre, tous inconstants, tous périssables, tous imparfaits. Au-dessus de ce monde, il y avait un autre, un monde des astres immobiles, un monde stable, non-périssable et parfait.

Copernic, dans un certain sens "démocratisa" ces "deux mondes", il les a vu égaux.²³ C'est Kepler ensuite qui ébrécha à nouveau ce système "parfait", après lui ce fut Galilée et finalement Newton, qui réduit tous les mouvements à une seule loi de gravitation, loi contraire de la mécanique aristotélicienne (1687).²⁴

Le Siècle des Lumières apporta la victoire finale et définitive à la théorie de Copernic. Après l'abolition du système de Ptolémée et de la philosophie "astronomique" d'Aristote il n'y avait plus personne qui renoncerait à la théorie héliocentrique "aut superstitionis aut metus" —. La révolution copernicaine fut terminée. Ce qui ne fut terminé, c'est son histoire.

Le XIX-ème siècle apporte une nouvelle perspective à l'œuvre de Copernic. La victoire du "copernicanisme" fut possible grâce à la séparation de la science et de la théologie vers la fin du XVII-ème

²¹ J. R. Ravetz, "Copernicus and his long revolution" (*Endeavour*, vol. 32, 1973, pp. 57-9); O. Gingerich, "From Copernicus to Kepler: Heliocentrism as a model and as a reality" (*Proc. Amer. Philos. Society*, vol. 117, 1973, pp. 513-522).

²² J. B. Riccioli, *Almagestum Novum*, vol. I, partes I-II, Bononiae 1651, 2-ème éd. 1653. Albert van Helden, *The Telescope in the Seventeenth Century* (*Isis*, 65, 1974, no. 226, p. 56).

²³ M. S. Mahoney, "The sublimity of the mundane: The impact of Copernicanism on the scientific thought in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" (*The Polish Review*, vol. XVIII, 1973, no. 3, pp. 6-9).

²⁴ W. A. Wallace, *Causality and Scientific Explanation*, vol. I, Ann Arbor, 1972, ch. 5, pp. 159-210.

siècle et se termina en la fameuse "révolution scientifique".²⁵ Depuis ce temps la science commence à définir ses propres limites, se partage, améliore les méthodes et indique son but. Ce grand "procès" de la science résulte entre autre en la séparation de l'astronomie mathématique de l'histoire de l'astronomie. Une science nouvelle se fit entendre ; l'histoire des sciences — "the history of science". Ce procès ne pouvait qu'influencer les recherches copernicaines. Aujourd'hui ce que Copernic nous laissa appartient aux quatre sciences distinctes : 1. à l'astronomie, 2. à l'histoire de l'astronomie, 3. à l'histoire des sciences et 4. à l'histoire même. Question : Laquelle de ces sciences nous mènera vers Copernic "historique" et la "révolution copernicaine"? Il n'y a qu'une réponse à la question posée : l'histoire des sciences. L'astronome-mathématicien ne connaît qu'un *modèle* construit grâce à ses propres moyens. Les autres sciences peuvent ne pas l'intéresser. Un historien de l'astronomie scrute tous les modèles du point de vue de leur utilité pour les calculs astronomiques.²⁶ L'historien des sciences cherche le progrès de toutes les sciences du point de vue contemporain. Il constate les époques des diverses découvertes, desquelles dépend le progrès de la civilisation.²⁷ Cela l'approche de l'histoire. L'histoire s'intéresse à l'homme, sous condition, que la science lui est connue. Il n'y a qu'une seule condition — la révolution intellectuelle.

Les savants de la Renaissance ne connaissaient pas cette distinction. Parmi les meilleurs, les uns étaient des astronomes et astrologues, plusieurs se consacraient à la médecine, chacun d'eux philosophaient un peu. Ils connaissaient tous la Bible. Les savants d'aujourd'hui ne peuvent se permettre, malheureusement, à une telle polyclasse. Ils sont limités par la méthode qui, ensuite, limite leur science. Cette science est beaucoup plus exacte dans les détails — mais par contre, limitée dans la vision générale. Il ne s'agit que de suivre cette méthode et de prévoir les possibilités qu'elle offre pour s'approcher de la vérité scientifique.

On peut supposer que de nombreuses erreurs dans les sciences dérivent des fautes méthodiques. Cela ne veut point dire qu'une méthode fait maître des génies, ou que les génies puissent s'en passer, mais soulignons-le, la méthode peut prévenir, quand-même des "incursions" d'une science en d'autres domaines. Les recherches copernicaines ne

²⁵ A. R. Hall, *The Scientific Revolution 1500-1800*, London 1962; M. Boas Hall, *The Scientific Revolution in Nature and Nature's Laws*, New York 1970, pp. 1-17.

²⁶ Fred Hoyle, *Nicolaus Copernicus*, Heinemann 1973, 1,71,79.: "Let it be understood at the outset that it makes no difference, from the point of view of describing planetary motions, whether we take the Earth or the Sun as the centre of the solar system. Since the issue is one of relative motion only, there are infinitely many exactly equivalent descriptions referred to different centres—in principle any point will do, the Moon, Jupiter . . . So the passions loosed on the world by the publication of Copernicus' book, *De revolutionibus orbium caelestium libri VI*, were logically irrelevant, although the controversies of the Counter-reformation served an important practical purpose, as we shall see later in this chapter" (p.1).

²⁷ Th. S. Kuhn, *The structure of scientific revolutions*, Chicago 1962, Introduction.

sont pas libres de ces fautes méthodiques. Comme preuve nous donnons un seul exemple.

En 1972, Zdenko Kopal, un professeur de l'Université de Manchester publia un livre intitulé *Widening Horizons*.²⁸ Cela est sans aucune importance que l'auteur est un "anti-copernicain" dans ce sens, qu'il refuse à Copernic toute originalité, car il avait comme "précurseur" Aristarque, et ne fit aucune révolution en astronomie. Cette révolution fut faite par Tycho-Brahé, "the veritable John the Baptist of modern astronomy", après qui vinrent "the founding Fathers" de la nouvelle astronomie — Kepler, Galilée et Newton. Mais il n'est pas sans importance fondamentale, que l'auteur dépasse son propre domaine de l'astronomie théorique pour se plonger tout au moins dans l'histoire de l'astronomie. Le professeur M. A. Hoskin, de l'Université de Cambridge, rétorqua violemment et, il vaut bien de citer quelques passages de sa critique :

"There dwells in England an evil demon who goads professors of astronomy into writing history and then robs them of their critical faculties. How else can one explain the number of thoroughly bad historical works emanating from this small group?"

Après avoir démontré à l'auteur les nombreuses fautes, il fit une remarque poignante ; . . . "Kopal is always skating on thin ice and frequently meets disaster".

Hoskin juge ainsi le livre de Kopal : "This book, then, is thoroughly untrustworthy and contains errors which would disgrace an undergraduate. Why do busy professors of astronomy attempt tasks for which they have neither the time nor the training. An evil demon seems the only explanation".²⁹

Après avoir lu ces remarques, on se pose la question suivante : doit-on admettre que le seul moyen de retrouver le Copernic "historique" soit de suivre les méthodes de l'histoire? Nullement. Comme nous l'avons déjà dit l'histoire de l'astronomie se préoccupe de modèles astromiques qui, appartiennent aux mathématiques — et les modèles cosmologiques ne sont point de ce domaine et, ne doivent point l'intéresser. Les astronomes de la Renaissance honoraient le génie de Copernic et son "divinum opus" et le considéraient comme astronome mathématicien, non sans opposition au XVI-ème,³⁰ et non sans indignation dans le nôtre. En tête des "anti-copernicains" contemporains, il faut citer le nom d'un historien des sciences, Derek J. de S. Price. Voici ce qu'il écrit au sujet de Copernic et de son oeuvre :

"It would be invidious to cite a selection of otherwise good books which retreat into blind admiration instead of a critical examination of the work of Copernicus in mathematical astronomy. Until recently there has been no good corrective to this".

"I feel that in many ways this is a dangerous myth, more

²⁸ Z. Kopal, *Widening Horizons: Man's quest to understand the structure of the universe*, London 1970, pp. 48-52.

²⁹ M. A. Hoskin, *Journal, Hist. Astronomy*, vol. II, 1971, pp. 124-5.

³⁰ Une revue de ceux qui étaient pour ou contre l'héliocentrisme au milieu du dix-septième siècle est donnée par J. B. Riccioli, *Almagestum Novum*, pp. 50-52, 290-291.

serious perhaps than those of Newton and the Apple or of Galileo and the Tower of Pisa".

"I consent that although Copernicus made a fortunate philosophical guess without any observation to prove or disprove his ideas, and although the elementary mathematics necessitated by his change in the cosmological picture shows competence, his works as mathematical astronomer was uninspired. From this point of view his book is conservative and a mere re-shuffled version of the *Almagest*. Above all it introduced many false trails that must have hindered the acceptance of the one good point. In the domain of mathematical astronomy the first major advance after Ptolemy was made not by Copernicus but by Kepler . . ." ³¹

Quand même l'auteur admet, que Copernic "was a great figure, certainly his work is one of the great landmarks in the history of scientific thought", mais à quoi bon? Copernic ne comprenait même ce qu'il fit — et il fit une seule chose envers Ptolémée. La théorie de Ptolémée comprend quelques modèles sans aucun lieu mathématique. C'est Copernic qui corrigea cette prétérition dans son oeuvre. "This is, in fact, —dit Price—the most important aspect of Copernican Theory—the invention of a mathematical planetary system, rather than the change ment par le feu A. Koyré :

Cette dernière phrase dévoile complètement la différence de l'attitude des historiens de l'astronomie et des historiens des sciences dans la critique de Copernic. L'attitude de ces derniers fut expliquée clairem-ment par le feu A. Koyré:

"Paradoxically, Copernicus did not spend about twenty years in the elaboration of definite theories of planetary motion, but in the simple assertion of heliocentrism, which has played a revolutionary role in the history of thoughts, but only at the cost of abandoning the said theories. No doubt heliocentrism as provided by Copernicus would have no more success than the heliocentrism of the Ancients had it not been accompanied by proof (by practical demonstration) of the possibility of making it the basis of a system for computation".³²

Ni Derek J. Price, ni A. Koyré ne sont point isolés dans leur point de vue.³³ Derek J. Price a des prédecesseurs comme G. M. Tolosani F. Vieta au XVI-ème siècle, ensuite E. F. Appelt et G. V. Schiaparelli

³¹ Derek J. de Solla Price, *Contra-Copernicus; A critical re-estimation of the mathematical planetary theory of Ptolemy, Copernicus and Kepler* (Critical Problems in the History of Science. Ed. Marshall Clagett. The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison 1962, ref. 1; 197, 216).

³² A. Koyré, *The Astronomical Revolution. Copernicus-Kepler-Borelli*, Paris, 1973, p. 84.

³³ Derek Price a trouvé un adversaire: N. Russell-Hanson: *Constella-tions and Conjectures*. Ed. W. C. Humphreys, Jr., Dordrecht-Boston 1973. Book II, part II — *Copernicus' Systematic Astronomy*, pp 185, 220, 224.

au XIX-ème siècle et W. D. Stahlman³⁴ et O. Neugebauer³⁵ dans le nôtre. Pour eux tous Copernic ne fut aucun révolutionnaire, même en astronomie, ce titre n'appartient qu'à Kepler, Galilée, sinon et finalement à Newton.³⁶

Il ne manque pas de partisans du côté de A. Koyré, mais le plus représentatif est certainement E. Rosen. En 1973 il plaça Copernic dans les sciences de la façon suivante :

“What Copernicus did was to institute an authentic revolution in astronomy. By assigning the earth its true place in the cosmos, he made an imperishable contribution to cosmological thought. He thereby laid the foundations of the splendid edifice within which is housed modern astronomy”.³⁷

L'opposition des autorités est chose normale dans les sciences, mais cela ne prouve aucunement, que cela est le seul et infaillible moyen de trouver la vérité. Que doit faire l'historien qui, disposant de sa propre méthode, est incapable de distinguer qui a raison et qui présente des arguments faux. Comment peut-il accepter sans crainte les résultats des sciences pures, si l'un de leur représentants, celui, donc le nom fut pendant quarante ans “practically synonymous with the history of science”, discutant les manuels des sciences pures, se lamenta au VI-ème Congrès des Sciences à Amsterdam en 1950:

“Many books on the history of science have been concocted

³⁴ Galileo Galilei, *Dialogue on the Great World Systems in the Salisbury translation*. Revised, annotated and with an Introduction by Giorgio de Santillana, The University of Chicago Press 1953. William D. Stahlman, *An Astronomical Note on the Two Systems*, p. 475.

³⁵ O. Neugebauer, *Vistas in Astronomy*, vol. X, 1968, pp. 89-103. Dans la même ligne de penser: J. Agassi: *Towards an Historiography of Science (History and Theory)*, Beiheft 2, 1963; mais comparez aussi E. Rosen *Three Copernican Treatises*, pp. 271-2, de même que T. A. Beckman: “On the use of historical examples in Agassiz's ‘Sensationalism’” dans *Studies Hist. Philos. Science*, vol. I, no. 4, 1970-71, p. 293), et R. Palter, “An Approach to the History of Early Astronomy” (*Studies Hist. Philos. Science*, vol. I, p. 114).

³⁶ O. Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity*, Copenhague 1951, p. 3. Contrairement à ce dernier: A. Armitage: “... the theory secured a general acceptance among the leading astronomers within a century and a half of its formulation. It was presupposed in Kepler's enunciation of the fundamental laws of planetary motion (1609-1619), and Newton in 1687 interpreted these laws as necessary consequence of a gravitational attraction of the planets towards the central sun” (Copernicus, Nicolaus, *Collier's Encyclopedia*, vol. VII, 1964, p. 309). Blumentberg encore plus a souligné le rapport entre Copernic et Newton: “Als fast schon unbestreitbarer Typus der Wissenschaftsgeschichte gilt die Behauptung, dass Kopernikus für die Veränderung des Raumbegriffes der Neuzeit eine entscheidende Rolle gespielt hat. Der absolute unendliche Raum Newtons erscheint als die deutliche Konsequenz des Ausweitung des kosmischen Raumes, die infolge der kopernikanischen Voraussetzungen vorgenommen werden musste. Ebenso deutlich ist die kritische Rückbildung dieser Konsequenz auf dem Umweg über die Idealisierung des Raumes seit Leibniz” (*Die Kopernikanische Konsequenz für den Raumgriff. The Reception of Copernicus' Heliocentric Theory*. Ed. J. Dobrzycki, Dordrecht-Holland), Boston, U.S.A., 1972, p. 57).

³⁷ E. Rosen, *Copernicus' Place in the History of Astronomy, Sky and Telescope*, vol. 45, no. 2, 1973, p. 75; du même: *In defense of Copernicus* (*The Polish Review*, vol. XVIII, 1973, no. 3, pp. 15-16).

in that way, and this could not happen in a better known field, such as ordinary history, where the chances of detection would be uncomfortably numerous. A man writing about Biringuccio or Paracelsus, or even about Copernicus or Harvey can get away with a good amount of ignorance and nonsense. If he treated Oldenbarnevelt, Cromwell, or Washington with the same levity he could not escape with his whole skin".

"When an expert historian opens a textbook on the history of science, or on the history of this or that science, at almost any page, he finds statements which are either wrong or misleading, he detects 'holes' which need filling, or theories which cannot be accepted without further investigation and qualification" (G. Sarton).³⁸

Malgré cet avertissement nous posons cette question :

Ces différences d'opinion sur Copernic "l'historique" ne sont-elle pas qu'un malentendu? Tout ce débat ne disparaîtrait-il pas, si on acceptait le point de vue de A. Koyré que "the Copernican revolution did not depend on perfecting astronomical methods, but on establishing a new cosmology"?³⁹

Accepter un tel point de vue veut dire diviser l'oeuvre de Copernic en deux parties : — la partie cosmologique et l'autre mathématique. Cette dernière, on la laisse aux historiens de l'astronomie, sous condition qu'il se tiennent à leur méthode et ses propres possibilités de recherche scientifique. Derek J. Price se tenait à ce principe quand il écrivait :

"To all this we might venture some criticism of *De Revolutionibus* as a book. Again we need say nothing about the part of the book—its first few pages—which is concerned mainly with the thrilling philosophical arguments for mobility of the Earth. After this section, Copernicus begins with the real business of technical mathematics, and at this point the book becomes little more than a re-shuffled version of *Almagest*. One might, in fact, call it a plagiarism of the *Almagest*, if it were not for the undisputed fact that Copernicus had no intention whatsoever to deceive".⁴⁰

Accepter l'opinion de Derek J. Price c'est réduire tout simplement *De Revolutionibus* aux quelques arguments philosophiques qui se

³⁸ Sarton on the History of Sciences. Essays by G. Sarton. Selected and edited by Dorothy Stimson, Harvard U.P., Cambridge, Mass., 1962, p. 46; Acta atque Agenda (Archiv. Intern. d'Histoire des Sciences, vol. 30, 1951, pp. 350-1).

³⁹ A. Koyré, *The Astronomical Revolution*, p. 81.

⁴⁰ Derek J. Price, *Contra-Copernicus*, p. 215. Comment ne pas rappeler ici les mots de Kepler adressés à l'astronome D. Fabricius: "Si consuli arti non potest nisi per fraudes, pereat sane : reviviscet nempe. . . Consilium tuum sequar quidem, sed emendatum. Arti consulam, sed non per commendationem *atechnias* perque captationem aurae popularis. Si nihil est tradendum nisi quod vulgo placet, cur astronomiam universam, cur geometriam tradimus, remotissimas a vulgi captu laudisque ideo egenas?

Quin potius hoc agam, ita Copernicum in emendatam astronomiam intexam penitus et implectam, adeoque et in physicam, ul vel utrique simul pereundum sit vel supervivendum. Quamquam, si locus est vaticinio prius *ingentem molem librorum polemicorum cum auctoribus cum ingenii critici perituram existimo quam Aristarchus et Copernicus deserantur.*" (Op. Omnia, vol. VIII, p. 949).

présentent sur les quelques pages et, considérer le reste de l'oeuvre comme simple plagiat de *Almagest*. Ni l'une ni l'autre partie *De Revolutionibus* (si l'on partageait l'opinion de Price) n'aurait prouvé une "révolution copernicaine". La parole est aux historiens des sciences. Ils attirerons notre attention sur le fait que, déjà au XVI-ème siècle les astronomes distinguaient dans l'oeuvre copernicaine la partie cosmologique, en la laissant aux philosophes et théologiens. Ce qui les intéressaient c'était son astronomie qu'ils pouvaient comprendre du point de vue de la science qui leur fut contemporaine.⁴¹ La différence d'opinion sur le "Copernic historique" parmi les savants de la Renaissance et les "anti-copernicains" modernes repose sur le fait que ces derniers oublient les achévements dans le domaine de l'astronomie entre 1543 et chaque époque suivante et leur propre temps. C'est une erreur méthodologique. Les anti-copernicains peuvent, ensuite, répéter ce que F. Vieta au XVI-ème siècle disait — que Copernic fut "un plus grand maître dans le domaine des os" — qu'en mathématiques, en plus "un piètre géomètre",⁴² mais ils ne nous expliqueront point, pourquoi l'astronomie attendant son "Messie" — Copernic pendant 1500 ans, et pourquoi ni leurs précurseurs, ni Tycho-Brahé n'ont pas fomenté cette révolution. Ils ne peuvent donner aucune réponse à ces questions, car elle appartient de droit aux historiens des sciences et aux historiens. Il faut penser que le Copernic "historique" ce n'est pas un des chanoines de Frombork, ni l'un des administrateurs des domaines ecclésiastiques, ni médecin, ni géographe, ni même auteur d'une réforme monétaire, mais que le "Copernic historique" fut l'inventeur du système héliocentrique qui fit révolution en science. Il est de plus en plus difficile de s'entendre au sujet de ce "Copernic historique" parmi les astronomes, les historiens de l'astronomie et les historiens des sciences et historiens.⁴³ Aux uns suffis-

⁴¹ Dernièrement deux savants ont souligné l'importance de M. Maestlin pour l'évolution des opinions de Kepler dans le domaine de la réception du système héliocentrique de Copernic. Ce sont R. S. Westman, dans son *The Comet and the Cosmos: Kepler, Maestlin and the Copernican Hypothesis. The Reception of Copernicus' Heliocentric Theory*, ed. J. Dobrzycki, pp. 7-30, et A. Grafton, "Michael Maestlin's Account of Copernican Planetary Theory" (*Proc. Amer. Philos. Society*, vol. 117, no. 6, 1973, pp. 523-550).

⁴² "Ptolomaeus ipse et Ptolomaei paraphrastes Copernicus", non jam artis sed aleae magister", "Sane infelici logista fuit infelicior geometra Copernicus; itaque omissa a Ptolomaeo omisit, commisit autem quamplurima" (J. Kepleri, *Op. Omnia*, vol. III, p. 478).

⁴³ "There is always some difficulty in writing historically about a subject with highly technical mathematical ramifications." (Derek J. Price, *Contra-Copernicus*, p. 197). C'est ici que commence le malentendu. Pour l'historien ce ne sont point les théories astronomiques qui lui importent, mais leur influence sur l'homme, ce qui n'intéresse guère l'historien des sciences. D'autant plus cela peut être indifférent à l'astronome, à moins qu'il ne s'y prenne à la biographie. Comparez ce point en lisant la critique de E. Rosen (*Journal, Hist. Astr.*, vol. IV, no. 3, 1973, pp. 202-3), du livre de F. Hoyle, *Nicolaus Copernicus. An Essay on his Life and Work*, London 1973.

sent les hypothèses et modèles, les autres⁴⁴ cherchent la vérité⁴⁵ qui provoque des changements intellectuels et par suite des révolutions.

A. Osiander comme Copernic se rendait compte également que *Revolutiones* apportent un germe d'un changement intellectuel et d'une révolution sociale. Osiander tâchait à l'éviter en présentant aux "literati" la théorie de Copernic comme une des hypothèses possibles, Copernic lui-même cherchait à tranquiliser les théologiens en dédiant son oeuvre au pape et tâchait de le convaincre que l'oeuvre puisse être utile à l'Eglise. Tout cela a retardé l'acceptation du héliocentrisme, mais n'a point prévenu la révolution. Cette révolution arriva et fit ce qu'elle devaitachever. Elle n'est point un mythe scientifique mais une vérité historique.

Nicolas Muller publant sa troisième édition "*De Revolutionibus*" (1617) rendu encore une fois hommage à Copernic dans sa préface :

. . . étranger à la poursuite d'une gloire "bon marché" et ne cherchant ardemment que la vérité, tant qu'il vivait, il restait caché, pour que, après sa mort, sa gloire devienne de plus en plus éclatante et éternelle . . ." ⁴⁶

L'année 1973 devait réaliser cette prédiction. Cette année, l'année de Copernic, ne fut point un mythe. Cette année fut un hommage de la science mondiale pour une vérité de plus, qui indiqua à l'humanité encore une autre voie d'admiration du Créateur de l'Univers. Copernic donna cette vérité à l'humanité et pour cette seule vérité l'humanité lui rend hommage. Donc, rien d'extraordinaire qu'en cette mémorable année, les plus grands savant offraient les lauriers de leur science à Copernic —

". . . whose illuminating genius guided the long-suffering human race out of the dark cave in which it had crouched from time immemorial, deluded about the true nature of the planet it inhabits . . ." (E. Rosen).⁴⁷

Léon Koczy

⁴⁴ Fred Hoyle, *Nicolaus Copernicus*, p. 78.

⁴⁵ Qui, aujourd'hui doit être considérée selon la théorie de la relativité. "During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries various attempts were made to prove, by observation or experiment, the 'truth' of the Copernican theory; but in the light of Einstein's principle of relativity, any decision to regard one cosmic body as at rest and another as moving is now seen to have no relation to any real distinction in nature and to be justified only on considerations of convenience." (Angus Armitage, *Nicolaus Copernicus*, Collier's Encyclopedia, vol. 7, The Crowell-Collier Publ. Company, 1964, 307-9).

⁴⁶ "Sed gloriolae aucupio plane alienus, soliusque veritatis indagandae studio flagrans, dum vixit, latuit, quo tanto vegetior ejus post cineres splenderet ac perennaret gloria" (*Nicolai Copernici Torinensis Astronomia Instaurata D. Nicolai Mvlerii*, Amstelrodami MDCXVII, — "Nicolai Copernici Vita".

⁴⁷ E. Rosen, *Three Copernican Treatises*, pp. 291-2.

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ADAM NARUSZEWICZ: A "COMMITTED" POET*

As Professor Jan Kott pointed out twenty years ago, Polish poetry of the eighteenth century "awaits discovery".¹ To be sure, the late Professor Waclaw Borowy's collection of essays *O poezji polskiej w wieku XVIII* had been published in 1948, and remains the authoritative study for the work of the major, and some minor, poets, though it does not pretend to be more than an introduction. The book was also unfavourably received by orthodox marxist critics and scholars,² and never became the standard work it deserved to be.

"Discovery" of the period continued to proceed slowly. The early 1950's were most inauspicious for scholarship and the investigation of this essentially cosmopolitan and indeed aristocratic period in literary history. Persistent attempts were made to "develop a marxist theoretical methodology of literary studies",³ which led to all kinds of "falsifications", the "passing over in silence" of writers (for non-literary reasons), "sociological and economical simplifications," the selection or omission of names from bibliographies, and the deliberate limiting in size of editions, which were then circulated by means of "closed sale". The situation altered but little until the 1970's.

Even now, we still have no full edition of any Polish poet of the Augustan age (that of King Stanisław August, 1764-1796), with the exception of Stanisław Trembecki. Studies of individual poets appear from time to time in small editions. The collected letters of some of the major poets have been published, such as those of Ignacy Krasicki. But for the poetry itself, we must continue to rely on editions printed in the early nineteenth century (or even eighteenth century), with all their faults—variant readings, modernisation by editors and others, tampering by publishers, omissions and, after 1815, interferences by the censorship.⁴ All these factors make the prospect of preparing a scholarly edition, with

*Research for this essay was assisted by the Horace H. Rackham Graduate school, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. It is the first of a series covering Poland's Augustan poets.

¹ Jan Kott ed., *Poezja polskiego Oświecenia* (Warsaw, 1954), p. 7.

² The reviews and 'polemics' surrounding Professor Borowy's book are listed in *Nowy Korbut* 4 (Warsaw, 1966), pp. 78-9.

³ Stefan Żółkiewski "Z historii IBL," *Biuletyn polonistyczny* XVI (1973), p. 21.

⁴ Roman Kaleta, *Oświeceni i sentymentalni* (Wrocław, 1971), pp. 337-347 deal with the fate of Kniaźnin's poetry at the hands of later editors. But the practice was widespread.

critical apparatus, a daunting one. The situation at present is as though we possessed the correspondence of John Dryden and Alexander Pope, but were obliged to rely on eighteenth-century editions for their poetry.

I

Considered in his lifetime as one of the major poets of the Polish Augustan age, Adam Naruszewicz (1733-96) was for three decades the court poet and (somewhat later) Historiographer Royal of King Stanisław. Celebrated as the "Sarmatian Horace", the portrait of Naruszewicz was chosen, with that of Sarbiewski, to adorn Gröll's printing house in Warsaw when that important cultural institution was established.⁵ The king invited him to edit and contribute to the influential literary journal *Zabawy przyjemne i pozyteczne*.⁶ He translated J. B. Rousseau, Boileau, La Fontaine and Voltaire as well as classical poets, from Pindar to Horace. At the king's wish, Naruszewicz and a number of lesser poets undertook the translation of all the *carmina* of Horace (1773-5),⁷ and the king continued to patronise him, offering themes and subjects for poems. In return, Naruszewicz obliged the king by writing panegyric odes in his honour. Other influential persons whom Naruszewicz favoured in this way included members of the aristocracy (e.g. the Czartoryski family), church dignitaries, high-ranking army officers and even (on one occasion) Catherine the Great.

These panegyrics aroused considerable critical disapproval, even contempt, almost as soon as he was dead. In the 1820's, Kazimierz Brodziński commented disparagingly on Naruszewicz's panegyrics because "they come not from inspiration, but are forced . . . his detestable self-interest always shows through."⁸ J. I. Kraszewski, the prolific novelist, historian and penetrating critic of literature wrote in 1842 of Naruszewicz as "a versifier without a moral backbone, a servile panegyrist. No one was born, or married, or went on a journey, or returned, but Naruszewicz wrote verses on the happy occasion."⁹ Other aspects of his poetry were also derided (vocabulary, poetic diction, syntax) (see below).

But critics of the Romantic period were still too close to the Augustans to perceive what Naruszewicz and many of his contemporaries

⁵ David Welsh, "At the Sign of the Poets," *Slavonic and East European Review* XLI (no. 96), 1962, pp. 208-16.

⁶ Elżbieta Aleksandrowska, *Zabawy przyjemne i pozyteczne 1770-1777: monografia bibliograficzna* (Wrocław, 1959).

⁷ S. Zabłocki, "Stanisław August jako inicjator przekładów z Horacego," *Eos* (1962), pp. 191-207.

⁸ Waclaw Borowy, *O poezji polskiej w wieku XVIII*, (Kraków, 1948), p. 84. See also Stefan Świeczewski, "Kraszewski o języku Kochanowskiego, Sep-Szarzyńskiego i Naruszewicza (*Nowe studia literackie*, 1843), "Poradnik Językowy", 1956 (3), p. 105.

⁹ For a brief account of these works, see David Welsh, *Jan Kochanowski* (New York, 1974), pp. 35-40.

¹⁰ Jean Fabre, *Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski et l'Europe des lumières* (Paris, 1952), p. 598.

regarded as the function of poetry. Naruszewicz was writing in the tradition of what might now be described as “committed” poetry, in which the writer expresses his views (which usually coincided with those of his patrons) on political, social and other vital questions of the day. Baroque poetry of love, death, and religious feeling, had by now lost its vitality. Heroic deeds on battlefields described in interminable epics were of little interest. Enlightened writers turned to less exalted subject-matter, and in any case, “committed” poetry has a tradition reaching back to Horace and, in Polish literature, to Jan Kochanowski (1530-1584), whose poetry Naruszewicz greatly admired. Kochanowski’s works included *Zgoda* (Concord) and *Satyr, albo dziki mąż* (The Satyr, or Wild Man) (both printed in 1564).¹⁰ In these poems, and elsewhere in his copious output, Kochanowski used the resources of his art to warn his fellow-countrymen against internal strife and Poland’s hostile neighbours, especially Muscovy.

Kochanowski’s panegyrics addressed to various exalted patrons have little but antiquarian and philological interest now. But he wrote and published them, so Naruszewicz and his contemporaries (excepting Ignacy Krasicki) believed themselves justified in writing such things too. Patronage, royal or aristocratic, was as much a condition of Polish literary life in the eighteenth century as it was in London, Paris or St. Petersburg. The profession of literature was precarious at best, as witness Naruszewicz’s satire “Chudy literat” (“The Starveling Author” (No. VI), with its epigraph “Rarely does anyone read a book, rarely does anyone buy one.” The system of patronage, in any of the arts, including literature, was not entirely negative: at least it assured the artist an appreciative, if small, audience, and a means of having his work published.

King Stanisław August was in many ways deserving of the praise Naruszewicz offered him. For all his faults (political ineptitude, extravagance among others), he was intelligent and cultivated, with good taste and a liking for the arts. He was benevolent, humane, sociable, and above all truly patriotic.¹¹ Naruszewicz shared the king’s enlightened views on the importance of improving social, economic and cultural conditions in Poland, which had been brought low during the reigns of the Saxon kings (1696-1744). His panegyrics (which he included in his collected poems of 1778 (*Lyriki*) contributed to propagating these ideals. Of a total of 121 odes in the four books, 21 are addressed to the king, so the proportion is not unduly high. Other individuals Naruszewicz honoured include Prince Adam Czartoryski (1734-1823), whom he describes as “wise, learned, civil, handsome, bold” (III, 19), epithets confirmed by the standard account of the Prince’s life.¹² In the 1770’s, when Naruszewicz wrote, the Prince was already participating in the work of the Education Commission, one of the most important of the king’s innovations. However, Naruszewicz devoted only five of his odes to the entire Czartoryski

¹¹ Polska Akademia Umiejętności, *Polski słownik biograficzny* IV (Kraków, 1938), pp. 249-57.

¹² Wacław Borowy, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

family. His one ode to Catherine the Great and another, to the Duke of Nassau, can be overlooked, just as we now overlook odes to disreputable politicians manufactured in the 1950's by "starveling authors" in Poland.

We may assume that Naruszewicz took pleasure in composing his panegyrics, just as his addressees took pleasure in receiving them. The age was one of insecurity: there were attempts on the king's life by disaffected magnates and gentry, and conspiracies were rife. Court life was also insecure. But the odes of Naruszewicz were for the most part reassuring and optimistic, though he could be critical on occasion.¹³ His optimism was that of his age, even though the age was to end disastrously for Poland, the king and Naruszewicz himself, with Partitions and exile.

II

However, by its very nature, "committed" poetry is rarely original either in theme or vocabulary, and Naruszewicz repeats the same themes in much the same tone of voice for an entire decade (he wrote little poetry after 1780, devoting his time instead to his monumental history of Poland, which the king commissioned). Like his contemporaries, his mind was well stocked with ideas, rhythms and vocabulary drawn from the common fund of eighteenth-century poetry — Kochanowski, the classics, and fashionable versifiers of the day like Gessner, four of whose insipid but relatively influential idylls Naruszewicz translated,¹⁴ and minor French versifiers. Almost all the poets of the Polish Augustan age were able to cast their thoughts into smooth verse with little apparent effort. Correctness was the ideal — in thought, diction and metrics. Originality was not called for. Although the efforts of Naruszewicz to purify the Polish language from the debased state into which it had fallen during the age of the Saxon kings (August II and August III) immediately preceding were overshadowed by those of Krasicki and Trembecki, his writings were nevertheless salutary for contemporary readers too easily satisfied with the graphomania, exaggerated conceits and mysticism of the Baroque.

Furthermore, "committed" writing, whether in verse or prose, lends itself to insensitivity in the use of language, not entirely compensated for its frequent vitality. Kraszewski, some of whose comments of the work of Naruszewicz have already been quoted, also said that his poetry was too filled with "archaisms, strange expressions, now bombastic, now trivial and vulgar, tasteless,"¹⁵ while admitting the poet 'sometimes had much energy.' Naruszewicz was capable of 'strong lines' such as "Co go bujny grunt żywi, moc trzyma, czas krzemi". Professor Nowak-

¹³ Marian Szyjkowski, "Le préromantisme en Pologne: le gesnerisme," *Revue des Etudes Slaves* VI (1926), p. 86.

¹⁴ Waclaw Borowy, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

¹⁵ Juliusz Nowak-Dlużewski, "O Adamie Naruszewiczu, poecie panegirycznym," in his *Z historii polskiej literatury i kultury* (Warsaw, 1972), p. 115. Professor Nowak-Dlużewski was referring in particular to "Głos umarłych".

Dłużewski in our time has maintained that Naruszewicz could write ‘lapidary epigrams’ which equal those of Krasicki at his most successful.¹⁶

The line quoted above (and others could be offered) is from Naruszewicz’s most ambitious poem “Na ruinę Jezuitów” (600 lines), first published in *Zabawy przyjemne i pozyteczne* in 1775. The poem was written at the suggestion of the king, and displays many of Naruszewicz’s poetic virtues—and faults. He was at his best in shorter poems, e.g. “Głos umarłych” (Voice of the Dead) but “Na ruinę” is more characteristic. In regretting the cassation of the Jesuit order (to which he himself belonged), Naruszewicz expounds the various and numerous benefits the order had brought to Poland and other parts of the globe. As beffited the solemnity of his theme, he adopts the alexandrine, which Kochanowski had used in some of his *Treny* (Laments), e.g. no. 19. The language is that of ‘heightened prose,’ made poetic by diction (words and phrases that draw attention to themselves). Items of poetic diction include compound epithets, also inherited from Kochanowski,¹⁷ who had in turn adapted them from Homer’s Greek: ‘wszystkotrawny czas’ (all-devouring time), ‘bystropłynny nurt’ (fast-moving current), “ludowładne trony” (people-ruling thrones), etc. Foreign words and geographical names in particular add to the elevated tone: ‘na bałwochwałnych pagodach’ (in idol-worshipping pagodas), ‘mandaryn,’ ‘Kwyrinal’ (Quirinal), ‘Golkonda,’ ‘Ryf’ and the like. In this poem, Naruszewicz avoids the use of diminutives, which he was particularly fond of for their ‘caressing’ effect in lesser genres such as the idyll. Krasicki parodied their use in his mock-heroic poem *Myszeidos* (Battle of the Mice) published in the same year,¹⁸ and later critics derided them. ‘Neutral’ epithets, always a feature of eighteenth-century poetry (whether Polish or English) are consistently used for what Leo Spitzer called, in another connection, the *klassische Dämpfung* effect.¹⁹ They include such phrases as ‘sztykowny gmach’ (tasteful edifice), ‘chudy wieśniak’ (starveling countryman), ‘roskoszny ogród’ (delightful garden), ‘smutny zgon’ (sad decease), etc. Rhetorical questions and exclamations add vigour: ‘Ojczyzna ko-chana!’ (Beloved fatherland!), ‘Któzby się mógł spodziewać?’ (Who could have expected it?), ‘Ujrzyj ich, patrz dobrze!’ (Look upon then, gaze well!), etc. To add the grandeur of design, the entire poem is structured on the verse paragraph, rather than on individual couplets, with copious use of enjambement—all giving an expansive effect. Mickiewicz used the verse paragraph in much the same way in *Pan Tadeusz* (1834)

¹⁶ David Welsh, *op cit.*, pp. 53–5.

¹⁷ David Welsh, *Ignacy Krasicki* (New York, 1969), pp. 27–8.

¹⁸ Leo Spitzer, *Linguistics and literary history* (New York 1962), p. 110.

¹⁹ George Saintsbury, *A History of English prosody* II (New York, 1961), pp. 381, 405–55, and K. G. Hamilton, *John Dryden and the Poetry of Statement* (Queensland, 1967), p. 6.

N.B. This essay does not take into account Julian Platt, *Sielanki i poezje sielskie Adama Naruszewicza* (Wrocław, 1967) nor studies of his satires, as being beyond its modest scope.

and with the same effect. It was of course a feature of epic poetry. The paragraphs are bound internally by rhymes. Oddly enough, it apparently never occurred to Naruszewicz to vary the monotony by the use of a third line, bound to the preceding couplet by rhyme.

III

Although Naruszewicz flourished a century later than John Dryden (1633-1700), some comparisons may be drawn between both the individuals and their poetry. Dryden's career began with the Restoration, he survived three revolutions, and some abortive ones, and his career ended after King James II went into exile (as did King Stanisław at the end of his reign in 1796). Both enjoyed writing panegyrics to their patrons, and commenting on current events, e.g. Dryden's long poem *Astrae redux. A Poem on the Happy Restoration and return of his Sacred Majesty Charles the Second*, not to mention numerous 'complimentary' addresses, odes, fables and translations from Latin authors. However, Naruszewicz never tried his hand at writing for the stage, where Dryden had his greatest successes. The Warsaw theatre of the 1770's was hardly the milieu for a court poet to display his talents. There are similarities in their use of language: Dryden inherited compound epithets from Spenser ('sharp-keeled boats,' 'salt-sea waves') and could commit such barbarisms as 'unctuous exhalations' (*Annus mirabilis*).

They hold somewhat similar places in the development of their respective national literatures. Naruszewicz paved the way for Krasicki, as Dryden paved the way for Pope. Both looked back to their national traditions: Kochanowski in Polish, Chaucer and Spenser in English. But literary history has been considerably less kind to Naruszewicz than to Dryden, for the reasons already briefly sketched here.

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PUSHKIN'S *POLTAVA* AS A REACTION
TO THE REVOLUTIONARY POLITICS AND HISTORY
OF MICKIEWICZ'S *KONRAD WALENROD* AND RYLEEV'S
VOJNAROVSKIJ

INTRODUCTION

The history of the relationship between Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855) and Alexander Sergeevich Pushkin (1799-1837), the greatest poets of Poland and Russia respectively, was recorded by their contemporaries and has been commented upon by scholars ever since. By now, it has a rich and varied literature. In the past, the terms of assessment and comparison of the two poets frequently depended on the nationality of the critic. Today, they often depend on the ideology. Thus, we have a Soviet Marxist scholarship and a slightly different Polish Marxist scholarship. There is also an objective scholarship abroad which, in view of the growing contributions of non-Slavonic scholars, can no longer be called strictly émigré. It is mainly this scholarship which has raised the relationship between Mickiewicz and Pushkin to the dignity of a literary problem with a universal appeal.

In this essay, an effort will be made to consult, besides the works of the poets concerned, critical works representative of the levels of scholarship mentioned above. Equally important are the letters of the two poets, as well as those of their mutual friends. Of these, the correspondence between Vjazemskij and A. I. Turgenev is particularly revealing, since it is a sort of running commentary on the literature and life of the time. The biographies of the poets are readily available, and there is no need to go into them in detail. However, certain parallels and contrasts between the poets deserve mention.

Pushkin and Mickiewicz were almost exact contemporaries. Both came from the middle gentry and from geographically neighbouring areas. Both attended excellent schools. Pushkin's Lyceum of Tsarskoe Selo, established under the direction of Alexander I, had good teachers and an excellent curriculum. Pushkin revealed unmistakable literary talent very early and was more or less permitted to concentrate on what interested him most. Mickiewicz was a student at the University of Wilno, which at that time was at the height of its scholastic development. He took advantage of the opportunities offered and, consequently, his studies were serious, extensive and deep. The difference in the education

of the two poets lies, ultimately, in depth, but this does not alter the fact that both poets found in their schools favourable conditions for the development of their great innate talents.

Talent was the one thing above all that both Pushkin and Mickiewicz had in common. However, it was not always at the service of purely literary endeavours. Throughout their literary careers, both poets experienced a conflict between political obligations on the one hand and artistic aspirations on the other. Mickiewicz resolved this conflict early and decisively, first, by writing the revolutionary *Konrad Wallenrod* in 1828 and second, by abandoning creative writing in favour of political activity after completing *Pan Tadeusz* in 1834. Pushkin never succeeded in resolving it completely, despite his repeated statements that "the purpose of poetry is poetry." The whole period of Mickiewicz's stay in Russia (1824-1829), during which he crystallized his political ideas, was for Pushkin a period of conflicting political loyalties between his revolutionary friends and the autocracy. His literary activity was punctuated by works reflecting this conflict. One of them was *Poltava*, written also in 1828, almost immediately after *Konrad Wallenrod*.

It will be the purpose of this essay to show *Poltava* as a reaction to *Konrad Wallenrod*, and to demonstrate the pivotal role of a poem which influenced them both—Ryleev's *Vojnarovskij*. It will be necessary to examine the interrelationship of the works in the light of the poets' mutual attitudes and, to a certain degree, their backgrounds. It will be shown that the paths of Mickiewicz and Pushkin separated as early as 1828 and not, as is commonly believed, after the Polish Insurrection of 1830-1831.

A cursory study of Mickiewicz and Pushkin up to the year 1828 reveals a curiously similar pattern. It is only after closer scrutiny that striking paradoxes may be seen in the lives of the two poets. The first paradox concerns the punishment administered to both Mickiewicz and Pushkin by the reactionary government of Alexander I. The punishment seemingly followed the same pattern, yet, Mickiewicz, the enemy, during his stay in Russia, never suffered the humiliations Pushkin did. All his life Mickiewicz, supposedly a "slave," was a free man, even in Russia. Pushkin, on the other hand, supposedly "free," was in a way, all his life, a prisoner. The paradox goes further. Mickiewicz, the *wieszcz* (seer, poet, prophet) of Poland, never in his life set foot in what was at that time a semblance of the old Commonwealth—Congress Poland. Pushkin, despite all his desires and plans, never set foot outside Russia. It is the paradoxes that make the study of the Pushkin and Mickiewicz relationship the more interesting. Added to them must be the friendship between the two poets. It survived political and historical differences, and left behind it a legend. This legend, together with the facts concerning the friendship between the two poets, has contributed to the great popularity of Mickiewicz and Pushkin in each other's countries. Just as Poland's interest in Pushkin is indicated by the fact that more translations of the great Russian poet's works have appeared there than in any other country, it is

Russia which leads the world in the number of translations of Mickiewicz's works. Of these, one of the most popular is the poem which, again paradoxically, was first published in Russia and has remained popular with the Russians ever since, the poem which is perhaps the most controversial and most anti-Russian of all Mickiewicz's works—the Machiavellian *Konrad Wallenrod*.

PART I

THE BACKGROUND OF *KONRAD WALLENROD* AND *POLTAVA*

CHAPTER I

KONRAD WALLENROD, A REFLECTION OF THE “ETERNAL REVOLUTIONARY” IN MICKIEWICZ

Matthew Arnold, in discussing the conditions necessary for a real work of literary genius, said that

It must have the atmosphere, it must find itself amidst the order of ideas, in order to work freely; and these it is not so easy to command. This is why great creative epochs in literature are so rare, this is why there is so much that is unsatisfactory in the productions of many men of real genius; because, for the creation of a master-work of literature two powers must concur, the power of the man and the power of the moment, and the man is not enough without the moment; the creative power has, for its happy existence, appointed elements, and these elements are not in its own control.¹

This statement can be applied to a specific period in Polish literature. It has been said that without the partitions of Poland and the Insurrection of 1830 there would not have been a great Polish romantic literature. Further it can be applied to Mickiewicz, whose poetical world, according to Manfred Kridl, was “determined . . . by two factors: the epoch which furnished the material for his imagination . . . and his poetic personality, which formed and transformed this material.”² Finally, it can be applied to *Konrad Wallenrod*,³ a poem in which the powers of the poet blend with the almost autobiographical authenticity of the moment to produce

Unless otherwise indicated, all references to Mickiewicz's works are to *Dzieła*, Warszawa, Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza “Czytelnik,” 1955, Vols. I-XVI. Similarly, all references to Pushkin's works are to *Polnoe sobranie sochinenij* 2nd edition, Moscow, Akademija Nauk, 1956-1958, Vols. I-X. For the sake of brevity, such references list only the name of the author, the title of the specific work, followed by an indication of volume and page numbers in parenthesis.

¹ Matthew Arnold, “The Function of Criticism at the Present Time,” *Matthew Arnold*, Lionel Trilling, ed., *Major British Writers*, G. B. Harrison, gen. ed., New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1959, p. 632.

² Manfred Kridl, “Adam Mickiewicz,” *Adam Mickiewicz, Poet of Poland*, a Symposium ed. by Manfred Kridl, New York, Columbia University Press, 1951, p. 11.

³ Adam Mickiewicz, *Powieści Poetyckie*, (II, 67).

a work of literature which even now, because of its controversial nature, provokes more critical comment than any other work of Mickiewicz.

The criticism of *Konrad Wallenrod* invariably is concerned with the correct interpretation of its allegorical content. Mickiewicz provided *Konrad Wallenrod* with a subtitle: *Powieść historyczna z dziejów litewskich i pruskich*⁴ (An Historical Tale from the History of Lithuania and Prussia).⁵ The epic element of the tale is the story of a tragic patriot, a Lithuanian of the fourteenth century, who as a child had been kidnapped by the Teutonic Knights, baptized, given the name of Walter Alf, and reared at the court of the Master of the Knights. He would have become a German had not a Lithuanian bard, Halban, helped him to remain a Lithuanian patriot. At the first opportunity, they both fled and joined the Lithuanians. They were well received by Prince Kiejstut, whose daughter, Aldona, fell in love with Walter. He converted her to Christianity and married her. However, Walter "did not find happiness at home, since it was absent from his fatherland": the German menace was growing stronger. To defeat it Walter left Lithuania, and after years of wandering re-appeared in Prussia as a renowned knight, Konrad Wallenrod, whose goal was to get himself elected Master of the Order and thus be in a position to bring about its downfall. In this he succeeded, at the expense of his family happiness and his life. Broken morally, he died by suicide, leaving behind the bard, Halban, to tell his story. In the poem, the development of the plot does not follow traditional epic patterns either in chronology or in motivation. In the words of Wiktor Weintraub,

Konrad Wallenrod is the most uneven and controversial of Mickiewicz's major works. It has serious blemishes. But some fragments of it are superb poetry, and it marks an important phase in Mickiewicz's spiritual development. Wallenrod was the first poem in which Mickiewicz grappled with the national problem.⁶

The "serious blemishes" referred to concern the poem's structure. Yet, because of the poem's obvious ideological content and its importance in Mickiewicz's "spiritual development," its structural blemishes appear less important: when a poet of Mickiewicz's rank disrupts the composition of a poem, violates its chronological sequence of facts and over-stresses minor themes, he probably has a good reason for doing so. In Kridl's opinion,

Such was the poet's intention, partly under Byron's influence, partly with the aim of concealing from Russian censorship the patriotic spirit of the poem. And it is an ardent, zealous patriotism, one which requires absolute sacrifice, a desperate tragic patriotism that fills the entire work, . . .⁷

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁵ G. R. Noyes, *Poems by Adam Mickiewicz*, New York, The Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, 1944, p. 165.

⁶ Wiktor Weintraub, *The Poetry of Adam Mickiewicz*, 'S-Gravenhage, Mouton & Co., 1954, p. 124.

⁷ Manfred Kridl, *A Survey of Polish Literature and Culture*, Columbia University Press, The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1956, p. 231.

At the very beginning of the poem, on its title-page, an epigraph makes the poet's real intention obvious:

Dovete adunque sapere, come sono
due generazioni do combattere. . .
bisogna essere volpe e leone.⁸

(You must know, therefore,
that there are two ways of fighting:
one must be both a fox and a lion).⁹

The quotation from Machiavelli functions prescriptively: it advocates the use of fox-like deceit when the bravery of a lion is not sufficient. Read into the texture of the poem, it is a confirmation of Konrad's scheme. It was of no avail for the Lithuanians to be lions against the Teutonic Knights. They had no choice but to resort to treachery, accomplished in a superhuman act of self-sacrificing patriotism by Konrad. The question arises as to what connection this medieval tale has with Mickiewicz's own times. His other Lithuanian tale, *Grażyna*,¹⁰ is very similar in some respects, yet does not provoke similar critical response. The reason is that *Konrad Wallenrod*, unlike *Grażyna*, was written in Russia, and has autobiographical overtones. Furthermore, the figure of Konrad himself is unlike anything encountered in Mickiewicz's poetry until then.

Konrad belongs to the species of Byronic Hero, the only representative in Mickiewicz's poetry; a superior man, lonely, morose, with a mysterious flaw in his soul. He differs, however, from other members of the species in one important respect. The Byronic hero's mysterious crack of the soul is something predetermined. Here it has psychological motivation in Konrad's past, in his situation among the German Knights and, above all, in the task he has imposed on himself.¹¹

In other words, Konrad is a man of Mickiewicz's own epoch. As such, he is not really an historical character, but the symbol of the poet's own inner struggles in Russia. The poet's inner struggles at that time, as will be seen later, concerned his conflict between political obligations on the one hand and artistic aspirations on the other. By combining them in *Konrad Wallenrod*, he attempted to disguise the one with the other. He succeeded in creating a well-masked political work with a revolutionary programme. Concerning this programme, Jan Lechoń writes that "Mickiewicz reached the conclusion that treason was the only weapon available to the Poles in their struggle against the Russian colossus."¹² This is the essential meaning of *Konrad Wallenrod*.

For the literary historian the problem of explaining why *Konrad*

⁸ Adam Mickiewicz, *Konrad Wallenrod*, (II, 67).

⁹ G. R. Noyes, *op. cit.*, p. 441.

¹⁰ Adam Mickiewicz, *Grażyna*, (II, 7).

¹¹ Wiktor Weintraub, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

¹² Jan Lechoń, "Adam Mickiewicz, a Critical Appreciation," *Adam Mickiewicz, 1798-1855, Selected Poems*, Clark Mills, ed., New York, The Noonday Press, p. 42.

Wallenrod differs so radically from the other poetry Mickiewicz wrote during his stay in Russia remains an important issue. Scholars who stress Mickiewicz's profound concern with the plight of Poland are chiefly preoccupied with the political motives and implications of the poem.¹³ Others point out that the central theme of *Konrad Wallenrod* is not strictly political or moral, but involves both political and artistic values. Yet, the previously mentioned conflict between the poet's political obligations and artistic aspirations appears to be not the only problem he was faced with in Russia at the time of writing *Konrad Wallenrod*. Of equal importance is the consideration of the favoured position he enjoyed there.¹⁴ To be able to account for the poem under such circumstances, it is necessary to examine in greater detail Mickiewicz's life in Russia, as well as the conditions under which he arrived there.

Mieczysław Giergielewicz, reviewing a book which examines the destructive effects of exile on poets, has this to say concerning Mickiewicz's stay in Russia:

Before leaving his native country the poet was unknown outside of his own land; his best works had not yet been written. Only abroad did he become one of the literary giants and a personality of international stature. The blind but clairvoyant Russian poet, Kozlov, observed that Mickiewicz came to Russia strong, but left it powerful.¹⁵

Mickiewicz achieved this stature despite the fact that he was for all practical purposes a political exile in Russia. The character of this exile constitutes one of the most extraordinary aspects of the poet's life. He had been sent to Russia as an enemy, in punishment for his supposed anti-Russian activities. Yet, there is not the slightest evidence of enmity between him and the Russians during his stay there. Quite the contrary, all the available evidence points to friendship rather than animosity. This opinion is shared by numerous scholars. For example, Waclaw Lednicki's book, devoted to the subject, bears the revealing title: *Muscovite Friends*.¹⁶ In a different work, he speaks of the poet's "brilliant existence" in Russia.¹⁷ The chapter in Wiktor Weintraub's book dealing with Mickiewicz's exile is entitled, "The Triumphant Exile."¹⁸ Mickiewicz himself, long after leaving Russia, dedicated his "Digression"¹⁹

¹³ Kenneth F. Lewalski, "Mickiewicz' *Konrad Wallenrod*: An Allegory of the Conflict Between Politics and Art," *The American Slavic and East European Review*, Vol. XIX (1960), p. 423.

¹⁴ Jean Fabre, "Adam Mickiewicz and European Romanticism," *Adam Mickiewicz*, UNESCO, 1955, p. 83.

¹⁵ Mieczysław Giergielewicz, review of Robert Vlach, *L'exil et le poète, Essai sur la psychologie de l'exil dans l'œuvre l'Adam Mickiewicz*, *American Slavic and East European Review*, Vol. XIX (1960), pp. 614-617.

¹⁶ Waclaw Lednicki, *Przyjaciele Moskale*, Kraków, Gebethner i Wolff, 1935.

¹⁷ _____, *Bits of Table Talk on Pushkin, Mickiewicz, Goethe, Turgenev and Sienkiewicz*, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1956, pp. 115-116.

¹⁸ Wiktor Weintraub, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

¹⁹ Adam Mickiewicz, *Ustęp* (III, 265).

which follows *Forefathers' Eve, Part Three*,²⁰ as well as a separate poem, "To My Muscovite Friends"²¹—to his Russian friends. And Pushkin, one of these friends, answered the dedication with a reminiscing poem of his own, "He Lived Among Us."²² Undoubtedly, Mickiewicz was a popular figure on the Russian literary scene. Moreover, it was Russia and his Russian friends who, by reading his works, praising and translating them, helped him to become an internationally known poet. Yet, his most important and most popular work of the period was *Konrad Wallenrod*. We know now that it was more than a poem—it was a plan, a scheme, a warning and, finally, a coming to grips for the first time with the national problems. What we do not know for certain are the exact circumstances of its conception and the extent of its influence on Mickiewicz's contemporaries, particularly Pushkin.

The image of Mickiewicz, a century after his death, is one of symbolic dimensions. It is the image not only of a fiery patriot, but also of a universal fighter for freedom—the perfect symbol of romantic discord with the world. According to Manfred Kridl:

That same disharmony with the world found a different outlet among more vigorous individuals, those who felt the need for actively carrying out their ideals; rather than resorting to introversion or placing barriers between themselves and the world, they resolved to fight it, in an effort to refashion according to their own beliefs. One of the outstanding representatives of just this type of romantic personality was Adam Mickiewicz, *the eternal revolutionary*, a destroyer of old forms and orders, always seeking a new, dreamed of order in things, while keeping pace—especially in the last period of his life—with the most radical political and social movements.²³

As Kridl points out, it is a description that fits the poet better in his later period. In the first part of his life, before exile, these qualities had not yet crystallized in him. He was a patriot, but his patriotism had none of the revolutionary zeal which he was to acquire later. There was in him a tendency, if not exactly to compromise, then to try to do the best under given circumstances. His early development was guided by the needs of his education which was dictated by what appeared to be a long period of Polish dependence on Russia. In other words, he was guided by a sober evaluation of the established order and a rational search for improvements. This rationalism and common sense, partly inherited from the Enlightenment and partly in keeping with the poet's Philomathian background, soon gave way to the passion and enthusiasm of Romanticism.

Following his graduation in 1819, Mickiewicz was obliged to accept a teacher's post in Kowno, a backward provincial town. Separated from his Wilno friends, he felt lonely and unhappy, and gave expression to

²⁰ Adam Mickiewicz, *Dziady*, Część III (III, 127).

²¹ _____, "Do przyjaciół Moskali" (III, 307).

²² Aleksandr S. Pushkin, "On mezhdu nami zhil" (III, 279).

²³ Manfred Kridl, *A Survey of Polish Literature and Culture*, p. 214.

these feelings in numerous letters. But these lonely years were at the same time years of spiritual and intellectual maturation. He discovered Romantic poetry. In his reading, according to Weintraub,

he passed through a short period of what he jokingly called "Germanomania." He found a kindred soul in Schiller who responded to his idealism. He also read [Goethe's] *Werther* and was duly impressed by the novel. Shortly afterwards, "Germanomania" was replaced by "Anglomania." . . . He was enraptured by Byron, whom he considered the greatest poet of his time. It was Byron's staunch individualism and spirit of revolt that appealed especially strongly to him.²⁴

The influence of these new directions told upon his relations with his fellow Philomaths too: he began to feel a conflict between the virtue of the Philomath friendship, which demanded absolute allegiance to a group and to social duties, and his developing individualism. This conflict may be seen in his poetry, particularly in the poem "The Sailor," written in April, 1821.²⁵

Like the "Ode to Youth"²⁶ a year earlier, "The Sailor" represents many things. First of all, it develops one aspect of romantic attitude, that is, a highly individualistic attitude towards the external world. It is at the same time an expression of a romantic feeling of isolation. It is finally —despite a temporary departure from the social ideals of the "Ode"— a literary link with *Konrad Wallenrod*. Under the classic allegory of a sailor fighting a storm, the poet is showing that he is alone. The alienation from his former friends, whom the poet presents as onlookers and who do not understand the desperate situation of the sailor, is accentuated in the last lines:

What I feel others would like to feel in vain!
To judge us, nobody can, except God!
To judge me, it is not enough to be with me, but within me.
—I sail on, you go homeward.²⁷

In the last line, the poet throws his friends, who only watch him in his struggle with the "elements," a sad but final farewell. His farewell is neither betrayal nor escape. A man who was already of a changed moral fibre, a passionate man, was simply taking leave of friends who remained true to a quiet virtue. They could not be of help to him in his struggle for ideals they did not understand, in his stubborn aspirations towards such an irrational, undefined, and alien "sphere of torrent and thunder." They stopped at the gate of the new regions and returned to their Philomathian "home."

The home of the Philomaths soon began to crumble: they were arrested during the Wilno persecutions in 1823-1824. For them, suddenly,

²⁴ Wiktor Weintraub, *The Poetry of Adam Mickiewicz*, pp. 15-16.

²⁵ Adam Mickiewicz, "Żeglarz" (I, 79).

²⁶ ———, "Oda do młodości" (I, 73).

²⁷ ———, "Żeglarz" (I, 80).

there was no longer a purpose left. They were not prepared for such a development. Mickiewicz was arrested too. Very probably it was during his arrest, that the idea of *Konrad Wallenrod* first occurred to him.

The impact of the Wilno drama was important to Mickiewicz for another reason. For the first time he came up against the naked power of the Russian state. It overwhelmed him and for several years seemingly suppressed his natural revolutionary tendencies. But it is exactly this that contributed to his search for means of solving the Polish national question, means, that eventually were to find expression in *Konrad Wallenrod*. As it was, he was experiencing the first stage of his future hero's fate: captivity in the hands of the enemy.

It is impossible to say what was Mickiewicz's exact attitude towards Russia as he set out for Petersburg in October 1824. For all practical purposes he was a political exile. He was being forcibly removed from his homeland for practicing "senseless Polish nationalism." According to Novosilcov, the Tsar's commissar at the viceroy's court in Warsaw, Mickiewicz was a revolutionary.²⁸ However, the poem reflecting his revolutionary tendencies, *Konrad Wallenrod*, was yet to be written. It is possible that Mickiewicz started working on it while still in Wilno but, as will be shown, the final stimulus was probably provided by a similar poem, *Vojnarovskij*, written by the Russian revolutionary poet, Kondratij Ryleev, in 1824-25.²⁹ The relationship with Ryleev, as well as at least a portion of Mickiewicz's subsequent life in Russia, is strikingly parallel to a similar period in the life of Mickiewicz's great Russian counterpart—Alexander Sergeevich Pushkin. The parallelism between Mickiewicz and Pushkin in Russia was terminated in 1828, the year of the publication of both *Konrad Wallenrod* and *Poltava*.³⁰

CHAPTER II

POLTAVA, A STAGE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE THEME OF "ORDER VERSUS CHAOS" BY PUSHKIN

It is a purpose of this essay to show *Poltava* as a reaction to *Konrad Wallenrod*. But, partly within this relationship and partly outside of it, *Poltava* is more than that. It is a stage in the development of a theme appearing in a series of historical and political works written by Pushkin towards the end of the reign of Alexander I and during the reign of his successor, Nicholas I. The development of the theme is closely connected with the transformation that took place within Pushkin during his exile.

Before and during the first part of his exile Pushkin hailed himself

²⁸ Marion Moore Coleman, *Young Mickiewicz*, Alliance College, Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania, 1956, p. 303.

²⁹ K. F. Ryleev, *Stikhotvorenija...*, Moskva, Gosizdat. Khudozh. Lit., 1956, p. 167.

³⁰ A. S. Pushkin, *Poltava* (IV, 251).

as the “proud singer of freedom,”³¹ a reputation earned by such poems as “Noel”³² and “Ode to Freedom.”³³ These poems amounted to a deliberate warning to all tyrants of the bloody fate that awaited them. Even the most ardent reformers of those days must have been shocked by such lines as these, addressed to the Tsar:

Despotic villain,
You and your throne I hate,
Your ruin, the death of your children
I see with cruel joy.³⁴

In another poem, “The Dagger,”³⁵ Pushkin glorifies assassination as a desirable fate for tyrants:

Secret guard of freedom, punishing dagger,
Last judge of infamy and wrongs.³⁶

There was an element of colossal bravado in Pushkin’s poetry of that period. His literary activity had such daring that it must have frightened even his radical friends: by endangering himself, Pushkin was endangering the whole liberal movement, of which he had made himself unofficial spokesman. It was only through the intervention of such influential friends as Karamzin and Zhukovskij, who sincerely believed that Pushkin’s talent would one day bring glory to Russia, that the poet avoided severe punishment.³⁷ No doubt fear and his narrow escape from a more severe punishment than banishment had chilled his liberal zest and caused his writings to show a marked departure from dangerous political subjects. Of equal importance in Pushkin’s transformation was also the change of surroundings. His facility, perhaps even compulsion, for responding to events and surroundings is reflected in his reaction to the exoticism of South Russia—this, together with the influence of Byron, resulted in a series of so-called Byronic poems, the most significant of which is *The Gypsies*.³⁸

The Gypsies can justifiably be regarded as marking the transition in Pushkin’s poetry from concern for the individual to concern for society. The poet is saying that “individualistic, proud freedom is slavery to one’s own passions, to prejudices . . . and egoism, . . . [and] is incompatible with the interests of others.”³⁹ This theme reappears strongly later in *The Bronze Horseman*.⁴⁰ In this poem, Pushkin opposes the little man’s chance of happiness to the relentless progress of society, personified by

³¹ A. S. Pushkin, “Vol’nost” (I, 321).

³² ———, “Noel” (I, 42).

³³ ———, “Vol’nost” (I, 321).

³⁴ ———, *ibid.* (I, 323).

³⁵ ———, “Kinzhal” (II, 37).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, (II, 37).

³⁷ Ernest J. Simmons, *Pushkin*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1937, p. 48.

³⁸ A. S. Pushkin, *Cygany*, (IV, 203).

³⁹ Ivan Vinogradov, “Put’ Pushkina k realizmu,” *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*, Vols. 16-18, p. 72.

⁴⁰ A. S. Pushkin, *Mednyj vsadnik* (IV, 377).

the figure of Peter the Great. Thus, from a strictly romantic treatment of the problem in *The Gypsies*, Pushkin arrived at a concrete social question in *The Bronze Horseman*: the irreconcilable conflict of the rights of the community and those of the individual. The poet makes no attempt to reconcile the two in any superior harmony. They are irreconcilable. *The Bronze Horseman* begins with a splendid hymn to Peter and Petersburg, in which the figure of the great emperor is exaggerated to semi-divine proportions. Confronted with him the underdog Evgeny recedes into total insignificance.

The dominant theme which emerges from *The Bronze Horseman* is one of order versus chaos, a theme closely related to the idea of historical inevitability. This is one, important, way of interpreting a considerable body of Pushkin's works. In all of them, Pushkin stands for order. It is as a spokesman for order that he writes his "Stanzas,"⁴¹ dedicated to Nicholas I. It is also as a spokesman for order that he voices "group feelings" in his famous retort to the French friends of Poland, "To the Detractors of Russia."⁴² He stands for order also in some of his historical writings, notably *The Captain's Daughter*⁴³ and *Poltava*. Viewed in this light, his relationship with Mickiewicz becomes clearer and easier to explain. The destructive ideas of Mickiewicz, expressed in *Konrad Wallenrod*, Pushkin opposes with his own ideas of historical inevitability and the necessity of fighting chaos, resulting from potential or existing disturbances, no matter how justified, with order. This, as will be seen, he does in *Poltava*, a poem which, perhaps more than any other, demonstrates the extent of Pushkin's transformation. It is against the background of such changes taking place in the "rebel" poet that his strange passivity during the Decembrist revolt can be properly understood.

One of the deciding factors in Pushkin's behaviour at the time of the revolt was the change on the throne of Russia. The importance to him of the event is indicated in a letter to Zhukovskij early in 1826:

The ascension to the throne of Tsar Nikolaj Nikolaevich gives me joyful hope. It is possible that it will suit His Majesty to alter my fate.⁴⁴

In an even earlier letter he expresses readiness for a compromise:

. . . Now assuming that the government will want to terminate my disgrace, I am ready to come to an agreement (an understanding will be indispensable) . . .⁴⁵

This readiness is even more obvious in a letter to Del'vig at about the same time:

⁴¹ A. S. Pushkin, "Stansy" (II, 342).

⁴² ———, "Klevetnikam Rossii" (III, 222).

⁴³ ———, *Kapitanskaja dochka* (VII, 391).

⁴⁴ ———, *Pis'ma*, No. 189 (X, 203).

⁴⁵ ———, *Pis'ma*, No. 183 (X, 198).

Whatever happens, I would desire to become *fully* and *sincerely* reconciled with the government but, of course, this does not depend on anybody but the government. In this desire there is more prudence than pride on my part.⁴⁶

In a letter to Zhukovskij, there sounds, besides the readiness for a compromise, another, new, note. After expressing a hope for the new Tsar's good intentions towards him, Pushkin adds:

Whatever may have been the form of my thoughts, political and religious, I shall keep them to myself, but I do not intend to contradict senselessly the generally accepted order . . .⁴⁷

This is as close as we can get to Pushkin in connection with his complicated attitude toward the Decembrist revolt. Had it not been for the fact that so many of his friends were involved, he would have had no difficulty in expressing his judgement of it. Even so, though mixed with and complicated by sympathy for his friends, the judgement remains the same. The defeat of the uprising was historically inevitable. The power of Russia was too great to be upset by conspiracy. A conspiracy, or revolt is, in the last analysis, a manifestation of chaos opposing "generally accepted order."

Pushkin's final bid was a letter to Nicholas I, to which he attached a testimony concerning his relations with the conspirators:

I, the signatory below, pledge myself henceforth not to belong to any secret societies, under whatever name they may exist; and I testify that I never belonged to any such society, do not belong now, and that I never knew about any.⁴⁸

The testimony has only some factual justification. Primarily, it was dictated by the instinct for self-preservation, but not entirely. It is hard to accept the image of Pushkin as a frightened man saving his skin at all costs without a deeper motive. A Polish scholar, Bohdan Galster, in an essay entitled "Pushkin against the background of his epoch"⁴⁹ puts forth an interesting theory that Pushkin, in his relations with Nicholas, was governed by a kind of utopianism. According to Galster, Pushkin believed not only in the Tsar's good intentions, but also in his own ability to influence the ruler's internal policy. Thus interpreted, Pushkin's compromise with the Tsar assumes the appearance of a modified kind of Wallenrodism in which the end, although not as drastic as in *Konrad Wallenrod*, justifies the means. However, the inviting parallel between Mickiewicz and Pushkin breaks down entirely on the question of the ends to be achieved. Even if Pushkin had any plans of how to use his influence, they are at best only vaguely hinted at, as for example in his

⁴⁶ A. S. Pushkin, *Pis'ma*, No. 184 (X, 199-200).

⁴⁷ ———, *Pis'ma*, No. 189 (X, 203-204).

⁴⁸ ———, *Pis'ma*, No. 197 (X, 209-210).

⁴⁹ Bohdan Galster, "Puszkin na tle epoki," *Slavia Orientalis*, VIII, 2-3 (1959), pp. 152-153. This article is actually a review of a book by B. Mel'nikh, *Pushkin i ego epokha*, Moskva, 1958.

attitude towards the peasant question in Russia in the poem "The Village."⁵⁰ But the truth is that he never even achieved the first stage of Mickiewicz's Wallenrodian scheme, which was to "try to gain influence and then see what could be done."⁵¹ Quite to the contrary. It was Nicholas who, having finally considered Pushkin's case, had plans of his own for him. It was the poet and not the ruler who was going to be guided and his pen exploited. In September, 1826, an order came from the Tsar summoning Pushkin to Moscow, permitting him to travel "not in the position of a prisoner,"⁵² a phrase which, according to Ernest Simmons, describes Pushkin's status for the rest of his life.⁵³

The remaining years of Pushkin's life must be viewed as a continuous effort to establish and maintain a *modus vivendi* with the government personified by the figure of Nicholas I. Closely related to it was a need to justify himself in his own and society's, or rather his friends' eyes. The "new" Pushkin needed very strongly to be understood, especially after his interview with the Tsar in September, 1826. Up to that time his life had been a succession of continuous changes, in which the impulsiveness and bravado of a young man were gradually replaced by the political common sense of a mature poet. Definite periods, marking the stages of his development, can be distinguished. But because of the relative isolation of the last stage of his banishment, at Mikhailovskoe, the changes going on within him went unnoticed and he was remembered chiefly as "the proud singer of freedom."⁵⁴ Consequently, during the reaction following the uprising, people expressed surprise that Pushkin had not been numbered among the guilty. A good deal of speculation has arisen on this point and on his subsequent dealings with the government. The origin of these dealings lies in the famous interview between the poet and the Tsar. One cannot overstress the importance of this meeting. It marks the culmination of Pushkin's earlier life and the beginning of the new one. It is at this point that the most important transformation takes place in him and his views begin to crystallize, not only concerning his own person, but also, closely related to his position and his rôle in society, his views on literature, politics and history.

In literature Pushkin expressed a sort of *ars poetica* in a group of lyrical poems. The poems are remarkable in that they reflect the changing moods and preoccupations of the poet. In the first poem in this group, "The Prophet" (1826),⁵⁵ Pushkin reached new heights. He took the idea and the imagery of the poem from the Bible, thus demonstrating how far he had progressed since the blasphemous "Gavriiliada."⁵⁶ "The Prophet" is a poem about the poet's calling where the poet is represented as a prophet visited by a seraph, reborn and purified in pain in order

⁵⁰ A. S. Pushkin, "Derevnja" (I, 359).

⁵¹ Adam Mickiewicz, *Konrad Wallenrod* (II, 107).

⁵² P. V. Annenkov, *Pushkin v aleksandrovskuju epokhu*, St. Petersburg, 1874, p. 321.

⁵³ E. J. Simmons, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

⁵⁴ See footnote 31.

⁵⁵ A. S. Pushkin, "Prorok" (II, 338).

⁵⁶ _____, "Gavriiliada" (IV, 135).

to be worthy of his vocation. The ending reflects Pushkin's aspirations:

And God's voice called to me:
"Arise, prophet, see and apprehend,
Be filled with my will,
And, going around seas and lands
With thy word inflame the hearts of people." ⁵⁷

This poem was greatly admired by Mickiewicz who selected it for discussion in his Parisian lectures in 1842. With a remarkable understanding of Pushkin's psychological problems and a fine insight into his poetry, Mickiewicz said about "The Prophet":

It is the beginning of a new era in Pushkin's life; but he had no strength to realize the premonition; he lacked courage to raise his inner life and his creative work to the lofty ideals of the poem. The poem is unusual among his works, being something quite different, something higher in his nature, the fate of which nobody knows. The poet wrote it after the discovery of the conspiracy of 1825. The exceptional state of mind in which he composed it lasted only for a few days and from then begins the moral decline of the poet.⁵⁸

The "decline" was proved to Mickiewicz's satisfaction by "The Poet and the Crowd,"⁵⁹ a poem written in 1828, in which Pushkin makes a proud affirmation of the independence of art from any moral or otherwise extraneous aims. He is obviously answering his critics who were attacking him on all sides. In his analysis of the poem, Mickiewicz shows that he had a keen insight into the problems that Pushkin faced as a Russian poet. But he also reaches some devastating conclusions concerning the poet. He says in regard to Pushkin:

He was still an incomparable artist, but was unable to create anything equal to "The Prophet"; he seems to be moving backwards. He wrote another verse, in which he considers poetry only as an art, adding however, that it is also a prayer. This poem is a conversation between the poet and the crowd. He wrote it irritated by the opinions of critics about his works, worried about not being understood.⁶⁰

On this basis of the "Poet and the Crowd," Mickiewicz characterizes Pushkin as a disappointed man who had "lost his goal" and subsequently "could no longer conceive of the future." He "was devoured by the government, whom he had no strength to oppose."⁶¹ This, although partly true, shows a lamentable ignorance by Mickiewicz of Pushkin's later works. While it is correct to say that the later poems of his *ars poetica* group show increasing withdrawal from the stream of life and utter indifference to practical politics culminating in such poems as

⁵⁷ A. S. Pushkin, "Prorok" (II, 339).

⁵⁸ Adam Mickiewicz, *Literatura Słowiańska* (XI, 30).

⁵⁹ A. S. Pushkin, "Poet i tolpa" (III, 87).

⁶⁰ Adam Mickiewicz, *op. cit.* (XI, 30).

⁶¹ *Ibid.* (XI, 55).

“From Pindemonti”⁶² and “Monument,”⁶³ it is also true that Pushkin, except for the last years of his life, was unable to remain passive to political events and frequently gave free expression to his feelings, notably during and after the Polish-Russian war of 1830-1831. But, as pointed out by Wiktor Weintraub in his monograph *Literature as Prophecy*,⁶⁴ Mickiewicz knew of Pushkin’s works only up to the moment he left Russia in 1829, and was almost completely unfamiliar with Pushkin’s literary products of the last eight years. It is easy to understand this negligence. Mickiewicz was convinced in advance that there was no point in studying works written after the start of Pushkin’s “decline.” This decline, according to the Polish poet, came as an aftermath of the events following the Decembrist uprising. With it came the divorce between the poet and the public. Mickiewicz says that the public was right:

The public deserted him not from envy or anger but because it did not find in him any support, and wanted to have in its favourite poet a leader of conscience, so to speak, or, rather, a leader of opinion. The public said to him: “You predicted in your first poems the bloody conspiracy—it came. You predicted the disillusionment, the defeat of exuberant, too romantic ideas—that all came true. But now, what would you predict for the future? What have we to do? What to await?” Pushkin could not answer, he himself was in despair. He looked inquiringly around and wherever he looked, he saw absolutely nothingness. Previously he had brought up everything there was in the heart of the civilized Slavic public, the political ideas of the noble youth, the dreams of Byron, the memories of old Slavic times. He wrote about all this in his beautiful poems and brought it before the eyes of the public. Now he had to take one step further, but did not have the strength for it.⁶⁵

The additional step desired by Mickiewicz was one that would have taken Pushkin directly into the area of political activity. The political activity he had in mind for Pushkin was similar to his own, a romantic Slavic Messianism. And he was disappointed when Pushkin failed to measure up to his expectations, particularly since he knew him personally during the time under consideration, and must have been aware of Pushkin’s frustrated attempts at politics.

In his attempts at *politics* Pushkin was under a great illusion when he thought that he could play a positive part in his country’s destiny. His interview with Nicholas was the starting point of that illusion. He was sincere and believed that the Tsar was equally guided by sincerity. In this respect he never understood the Tsar’s real opinion of him, for the Tsar was careful never to express it. Yet, there is little doubt that at the time Pushkin sincerely admired Nicholas as a man and believed in his greatness as a ruler and a patriot. The understanding between him

⁶² A. S. Pushkin, “Iz Pindemonti” (III, 369).

⁶³ _____, “Ja pamjatnik sebe vozdvig nerukotvornyi” (III, 373).

⁶⁴ Wiktor Weintraub, *Literature as Prophecy*, ’S-Gravenhage, Mouton & Co., 1959, pp. 58-59.

⁶⁵ Adam Mickiewicz, *Literatura Słowiańska* (X, 359-360).

and the Tsar afforded Pushkin an opportunity to influence him. One of the first attempts in this direction was the poem "Stanzas" in 1826. In the first stanza of the poem Pushkin draws a striking parallel between Nicholas and Peter:

In the hope of glory and good
I hail the future unafraid:
The beginning of glorious days of Peter
Was also darkened by revolts and executions.⁶⁶

The poem is significant since it points out the degree to which Nicholas impressed Pushkin: like many other people, the poet saw in Nicholas, at the beginning of his reign, a reincarnation of Peter the Great.⁶⁷ This is of particular value in interpreting Pushkin's political poems of 1826-1828, the years of his infatuation with Nicholas. Pushkin ends the "Stanzas" with an appeal for moderation and advice to Nicholas to imitate the virtues of his great ancestor:

Be proud then of this family resemblance;
Be like your ancestor in every sense:
Like him, tireless and firm;
And like him, unmindful of offence.⁶⁸

The "Stanzas" can be viewed both as a programme and as a result of Pushkin's anticipated role in his agreement with the Tsar. However, in spite of all the sincerity of his sentiments, it made a negative impression on the public who accused Pushkin of flattery. The poet defended himself in another poem, "To Friends":

No I don't flatter when in free
Praise of the Tsar I use my art;
I boldly give vent to my feelings,
I speak the language of my heart.

I simply have grown to love him.
Firmly, honestly he leads us;
Again he gives new life to Russia
In battle, in hope, and in deeds.

My life was spent in exile;
I dragged out a separation from dear ones,
But he stretched out his imperial hand to me
And I am again with you.

In me he honoured inspiration;
He freed my thoughts.
Shall I not in heartfelt emotion
Sing praises to him? ⁶⁹

⁶⁶ A. S. Pushkin, "Stansy" (II, 342).

⁶⁷ B. Galster, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

⁶⁸ A. S. Pushkin, "Stansy" (II, 342).

⁶⁹ ———, "Druz'jam" (III, 48).

This is an extraordinary poem. It is first of all a justification and an expression of gratitude. Further, it is a testimony of the degree of Pushkin's commitment to the Tsar. The monarch himself was immensely pleased with it and promised the poet a reward. This was the summit of their relationship. From then on Pushkin began to lose some of his illusions, concerning not only his rôle in the understanding, but even the degree of his "freedom." The first blow was the Tsar's (or Beckendorff's) tampering with *Boris Godunov*⁷⁰ and Pushkin's refusal to change it. The next disappointment was the rejection by the Tsar of Pushkin's first attempt at a positive role in Russian life—his project *On Public Education*.⁷¹ Then the difficulties with the royal censor came into play. All the poet's writings had to be submitted before publication; the result was rejection or suggestions for changes and the inevitable delays. These were important factors for a poet who gained most of his livelihood from literature. Finally, the scandal over the authorship of "Gavriiliada," and the Tsar's dropping of the affair following Pushkin's private admission of authorship, made the poet's obligation to the Tsar even more binding than ever. But such relationship had no longer any of its earlier sincerity on the part of the poet and it is no wonder that almost simultaneously with "To Friends" he also wrote another poem, the highly secret "Message to Siberia":

In the depth of the Siberian mines,
Retain your proud patience,
Your mournful toil will not perish,
Nor your high strivings of the mind.

.

The heavy chains will fall,
The dungeon will collapse—and freedom
Will greet you gladly at the gate,
And brothers will give you swords.⁷²

Chronology is important to an analysis of this poem. It was written before "To Friends." Consequently, we are tempted to view it as a reaction to the disappointments which were piling up all around Pushkin, to a moment of depression and desperation during which he remembered his old friends. It must also be viewed as a part of the Pushkinian pattern of action and reaction, of his compulsive response to events, a pattern that, as we have said before, was to remain with Pushkin throughout his life. But it cannot be viewed as announcing a change in Pushkin's views regarding order and historical inevitability. These views, despite his disillusionment with the Tsar, were by now too strongly rooted in the poet, and he reasserted them decisively and vigorously in a long poem, *Poltava*.

⁷⁰ A. S. Pushkin, *Boris Godunov* (V, 217).

⁷¹ ———, *O narodnom vospitanii* (VII, 42).

⁷² ———, "V glubine sibirskikh rud" (III, 7).

Poltava, among other things, is a return by Pushkin to a creative interest in Russian history first manifested in *Boris Godunov*. It is an unusual combination of two themes, one purely romantic, the other heroic. The romantic theme concerns the love of old Hetman Mazepa for his goddaughter, Maria Kochubej. The heroic theme concerns the struggle between Peter the Great and Charles XII. The two themes are fused together by Mazepa's treason. Maria's father, offended by Mazepa's love for his daughter, reveals the Hetman's plans of treason to Peter. However, Peter trusts Mazepa completely, and turns Kochubej over to him. Kochubej is executed and his daughter goes mad and leaves Mazepa. The end of the poem is devoted to the description of Peter's victory over Charles and Mazepa at Poltava. The poem represents a significant step in Pushkin's literary development, both artistically and ideologically. Artistically, it is a temporary return to the Byronic narrative-poem form, but of the influence of Byron nothing is left except the idea of a narrative in verse and abrupt passages from episode to episode. Ideologically, it is contribution to national poetry, a powerful voicing of patriotic sentiments and a hymn to the glory of Peter and Russia. It is the ideology that surrounds the poem with a great deal of controversy.

The controversy concerns Pushkin's political ideas at the time of writing *Poltava*. The poems quoted earlier indicate a state of confusion and lack of direction in the poet. He was torn between conflicting loyalties to the Tsar and his revolutionary friends. The "Stanzas" and the "Message to Siberia" bear witness to his frustrations. The accumulation of adversities and disappointments reached a climax in 1828.⁷³ Pushkin was responding to them in a typical fashion by submerging himself in dissolute life in Petersburg. Then, suddenly, he forsook worldly pleasures, shut himself up in his room and, in a frenzy of inspiration, devoted himself completely to the writing of *Poltava*. Viewed in the light of Pushkin's ideas concerning historical inevitability, the dominant theme of the poem is one of order, symbolized by Peter, versus chaos, symbolized by Mazepa. In the "Stanzas" Pushkin compared Nicholas to Peter. In *Poltava*, by elevating Peter to godlike proportions, he indirectly praises Nicholas, the same Nicholas whose patronage was throttling the poet's natural impulses. It seems that, rather than the praise of the Tsar, it is the condemnation of Mazepa that Pushkin was attempting to achieve. By contrasting the two, he achieved the desired effect. Closely connected with the condemnation of Mazepa is Pushkin's defence of the indivisibility of Russia, a theme that will re-emerge in Pushkin's poems on the Polish Insurrection of 1830-1831, notably the "Anniversary of Borodino,"⁷⁴ in which the poet poses a rhetorical question pertaining to the ultimate fate of "the heritage of Bogdan" [Khmel'nickij]. But *Poltava* was written in 1828 when Russia was in no danger. It is true that some of the Decembrists held far-reaching, liberal views concerning Russia's

⁷³ E. J. Simmons, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

⁷⁴ A. S. Pushkin, "Borodinskaja godovshchina" (III, 224).

fate. Ryleev, for example, praised Peter but at the same time, in his poem *Vojnarovskij*, "he idealized Mazepa, who was fighting against Peter in the name of the independence of the Ukraine and the ancient rights of the Cossack elders."⁷⁵ However, the most outspoken of the Decembrists were dead and it is hard to accept a theory that Pushkin was entering into a polemic with them. Yet, the similarity of the subjects of *Poltava* and *Vojnarovskij* appears not to be accidental. According to Ernest Simmons, "the design of the work had been in his [Pushkin's] mind for some time, and the poem advanced with incredible swiftness."⁷⁶ As will be seen, Pushkin was familiar with *Vojnarovskij* before the poem was even finished in 1825. Why then the sudden speed in writing *Poltava*, speed that, as will be shown, resulted in several weaknesses in the poem? Clearly Pushkin was motivated by reason other than the desire to glorify Nicholas or to enter into a belated polemic with the Decembrists. Aside from *Vojnarovskij*, at the time of writing *Poltava*, Pushkin was also familiar with another poem with a subject similar in many respects, particularly concerning the question of treason. That poem was *Konrad Wallenrod*, published shortly before *Poltava*. The destructive ideas contained in it, voiced by a revolutionary in the midst of Russian society, appear to be the only possible stimulus capable of terminating Pushkin's temporary period of doubt and purposelessness, and directing him to resume his function of a spokesman of order versus chaos.

The connection between the two poems, in which *Poltava* appears as an "answer" to *Konrad Wallenrod* is a complicated subject and it will be investigated in greater detail. But first, it will be necessary to demonstrate the pivotal rôle of a poem which influenced them both—Ryleev's *Vojnarovskij*.

⁷⁵ S. S. Volk, *Istoricheskie vzglyady dekabristov*, Moskva-Leningrad, Izd. Ak. Nauk SSSR, 1958, str. 413.

⁷⁶ E. J. Simmons, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

PART II

MICKIEWICZ, RYLEEV, PUSHKIN — A CASE OF A TRIANGULAR LITERARY INFLUENCE

CHAPTER III

VOJNAROVSKIJ AND KONRAD WALLENRÖD

Mickiewicz's exile in Russia has always been interpreted in a variety of ways. Wiktor Weintraub's summary:

In some old Polish books the years of Mickiewicz's stay in Russia are presented as a period of gloomy exile among national foes. In present-day Communist-dominated Poland, this stay is depicted, on the contrary, as a kind of four-year festival of Russian-Polish friendship. The truth is far more complicated. Mickiewicz found in Russian literary circles a congenial atmosphere, warmth and appreciation, conditions favourable to the widening of literary horizons and spiritual maturing. He grew stronger on the beef-steaks of the Moabites. But he did not forget his Jerusalem. *Konrad Wallenrod* bears witness to the strength of his national feelings, all the stronger because hurt and, of necessity, repressed.⁷⁷

The various interpretations revolve not only around the degree of the "strength of his national feelings," but also around the degree of his political involvement. It is here that the controversy surrounding Mickiewicz's exile in Russia lies. The controversy is caused mainly by critics who are unable to separate the period of the poet's exile in Russia from the remaining, later part of his life. It is because Mickiewicz's enduring image depends largely on his later works that his activities in Russia tend to be distorted by critics who stress the political aspect of his exile. To an impartial observer "the acts of Mickiewicz in Russia, as far as one can judge of them from the records, were those of a genial, gifted young man totally unconcerned with politics."⁷⁸ To arrive at this conclusion, one would have to accept *Konrad Wallenrod*, the poet's chief work in Russia, as devoid of political aim, and that, as this paper has shown elsewhere, is not possible. It is only when the controversial poem is regarded as a unique, spiritually isolated work, that Mickiewicz's stay in Russia can be viewed impartially. In order to do so, not only *Konrad Wallenrod*, but the entire period of the poet's exile in Russia has to be

⁷⁷ Wiktor Weintraub, *The Poetry of Adam Mickiewicz*, p. 86.

⁷⁸ G. R. Noyes, *Poems by Adam Mickiewicz*, p. 21.

interpreted not on the basis of his later career and his later writings, but on the basis of what we know of his conduct and what we may justly infer concerning his ideas and feelings between 1824 and 1829. His later writings, however, cannot be disregarded entirely, since they provide clues to events and people which, for various reasons, the poet could not mention during his stay in Russia. Such a clue is provided in the poem "To My Muscovite Friends," and it concerns the poet-revolutionary Kondratij Ryleev.

"To My Muscovite Friends" belongs to a series of six short narrative poems bearing the collective title *Digression* following and loosely forming a part of *Forefather's Eve, Part Three*. Although the sequence of the poems in the *Digression* has a certain chronological order, each poem forms a whole. In each of them the poet-narrator tells of his impressions in Russia. On the surface, the *Digression* gives the impression of a diary in verse, written by the poet on his way to exile. In this respect, it is important as a barometer of the poet's reactions to various aspects of Russian life. The individual poems represent consecutive stages of the journey: "The Road to Russia,"⁷⁹ next, "The Suburbs of the Capital";⁸⁰ then, the centre of the city, "St. Petersburg,"⁸¹ with its characteristic "Monument of Peter the Great"⁸² and its martial aspect, "The Review of the Army."⁸³ The sixth poem has a double title: "The Day Preceeding the St. Petersburg Flood of 1824" and "Oleszkiewicz."⁸⁴ It stands out from the group in that it is not dedicated to the description of Russian scenery, but to the personality of a friend in St. Petersburg and to the flood he has predicted. The flood is not the only detail in the *Digression* that gives it the features of a diary: Mickiewicz includes other facts and observations. Yet, the *Digression* is not a work contemporary with the facts it describes, but a product of 1832, when the poet's hatred for Russian autocracy reached its limits, under the influence of the events of 1830-1831. The *Digression* then is not a diary, but memoirs *sui generis*, and one-sided ones at that: among his impressions of Russia, Mickiewicz selected only the unpleasant memories and omitted the pleasant ones. Thus he bestowed on his memoirs only a partial truth. Such an explanation of his Russian experiences gives the poems the characteristics of a satire, and the *Digression* becomes a negative appraisal of despotic Russia, centred in St. Petersburg. The statue of Peter the Great, the founder of the city, symbolizes the evil forces behind the tsarist autocracy, and the last poem, "Oleszkiewicz," foretells the terrible flood, as if it were a punishment for the sins of autocracy. Although Oleszkiewicz's prophecy refers to a concrete fact,⁸⁵ it evokes an impression of doom hanging over the Empire of the tsars.

⁷⁹ Adam Mickiewicz, "Droga do Rosji" (III, 267).

⁸⁰ _____, "Przedmieścia stolicy" (III, 273).

⁸¹ _____, "Petersburg" (III, 276).

⁸² _____, "Pomnik Piotra Wielkiego" (III, 283).

⁸³ _____, "Przegląd wojska" (III, 286).

⁸⁴ _____, "Dzień przed powodzią petersburską 1824. Oleszkiewicz" (III, 301).

⁸⁵ The flood took place in St. Petersburg on November 7 and 8, 1824.

The poem in question, "To My Muscovite Friends," represents a kind of afterthought on the part of the poet. It is a part of the *Digression* itself, inasmuch as it digresses, in the same way as the six narrative poems, from *Forefathers' Eve, Part Three*. But at the end of the sixth epic poem, "Oleszkiewicz," Mickiewicz wrote the words "End of *Digression*," and in that way separated himself from its content with another poem, "To My Muscovite Friends." This lyrical poem, representing the author's "last word" in *Forefathers' Eve, Part Three*, Mickiewicz dedicated to those whom he omitted in the other poems, that is, his Russian friends. Of the numerous friends the poet had in Russia he mentions by name only two, Bestuzhev and Ryleev:

Do ye remember me? When musing traces
My friends' deaths, banishments, and baffled schemes,
Ye also gather, and your foreign faces
Have right of citizenry in my dreams.

Where are ye now? Ryleyev's noble shoulders
That once I clasped, now by the tsar's decree
Hang slowly rotting where a gibbet moulders;
A curse on fold that murder prophecy!

The hand Bestuzhev, that brave knight and poet,
Stretched out to me, is torn from sword and pen;
On mine-pit toil the tsar's commands bestow it,
By Polish mates in a Siberian den.

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The relationship between Ryleev and Mickiewicz, although short-lived, is significant in many respects. First of all, Ryleev and Bestuzhev, together with several of Mickiewicz's later friends, belonged to the small but important group of Russian men of letters who had a genuine interest in Polish literature, as well as a deep sympathy with Poland's fate. It was Mickiewicz's good fortune to meet representatives of this group almost immediately after he arrived in Petersburg in November, 1824. The poet was greatly impressed by the capital of the tsars and by the evidence of power centred in it. It was a relief to find a large Polish colony there, but more important was his acquaintance with Russians in Petersburg. According to Lednicki:

It is an episode which thus far has been obscure but is nevertheless significant—the rapid establishment by Mickiewicz of intimate relations with those who one year later became the Decembrists, the insurrectionists of December 14, 1825. It was probably through Masonic channels that Mickiewicz reached these circles. How much Mickiewicz learned about the Decembrists and their purpose is evident from his Parisian lectures, in which he gave strikingly detailed information about them.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ G. R. Noyes, "To My Russian Friends," *op. cit.*, pp. 367-368.

Inevitably, whenever the friendship of Mickiewicz with Ryleev and Bestuzhev is discussed, the Decembrist aspect of it arises. This is understandable in view of the nature of Mickiewicz's exile and the political activities of his Russian friends. Ryleev was, after all, a leader in the Northern group of the future Decembrists, and one of the editors of the *Polar Star*.⁸⁸ But it seems that literary considerations played a larger part in the friendship. Both Bestuzhev and Ryleev knew Polish and were familiar with Polish literature. Ryleev was particularly fascinated with Niemcewicz's *Śpiewy historyczne* (Historical Songs) and translated one of them, "Gliński," which he included in his *Dumy*.⁸⁹ He also began translating Trembecki's "Sofijówka," a poem highly valued by Mickiewicz himself. But of more importance to Mickiewicz was the fact that Ryleev was familiar with Mickiewicz's own works and, as early as 1822, the year of their publication, had translated two of his ballads: "The Lilies"⁹⁰ and "The Nixie,"⁹¹ and in the following year wrote a poem "Reminiscences"⁹² in imitation of one of Mickiewicz's sonnets of the same name ("Przypomnienie"). No doubt the literary aspects of the relationship between the two poets was of primary importance in their friendship, yet there are political overtones in the letters of recommendation that Ryleev and Bestuzhev gave Mickiewicz on his departure from Petersburg to Odessa in January, 1825. To his close friend and a possible Decembrist sympathizer, Tumanskij, Ryleev wrote concerning Mickiewicz:

I fell in love with Mickiewicz and his friends Malewski and Jeżowski: they are fine fellows . . .

Judging by their feelings and their way of thinking, they are already our friends, and Mickiewicz, in addition, is a poet—the favourite of his nation.⁹³

If Ryleev's letter can be interpreted as an indication of Mickiewicz's solidarity with the Decembrist cause, some of the subsequent developments can be read accordingly, particularly Mickiewicz's choice of the next location of his exile. Here a word of explanation is necessary. Mickiewicz was under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. He came to Petersburg in order to get his teaching assignment. The first proof of the mild treatment he received in Russia came when he was given a choice of location by the Minister—the Slavophile Shishkov himself. Mickiewicz chose the Richelieu Lyceum in Odessa. This choice, according to some scholars, "was not accidental."⁹⁴ South Russia was the

⁸⁷ Wacław Lednicki, "Mickiewicz's Stay in Russia," *Adam Mickiewicz in World Literature*, a symposium edited by Wacław Lednicki, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1956, p. 33.

⁸⁸ Henryk Szyper, *Adam Mickiewicz . . .*, pp. 65-66.

⁸⁹ K. F. Ryleev, *Stixotvoreniya . . .*, Moskva, Gosizdat. Khudozh. Lit., 1956, p. 106.

⁹⁰ ———, "Lilli," *ibid.*, p. 331.

⁹¹ ———, "Svitezjanka," *ibid.*, p. 329.

⁹² ———, "Vospominanija," *ibid.*, p. 267.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 415.

⁹⁴ Mark Zhivov, *Adam Mickiewicz*, Moskva, Gosizdat. Khudozh. Lit., 1956, p. 130.

meeting ground between the Southern group of the Decembrists and the representatives of the Polish Patriotic Society, who were negotiating the possibility of common action. At the time Mickiewicz arrived in Russia, these meetings had reached an impasse. According to Soviet sources, the difficulties were created by the Poles who

by placing the privileges of the *szlachta* [gentry] above the interests of the nation, did not show a genuine desire towards an alliance with the Russian revolutionaries for a common fight against the tsarist autocracy.⁹⁵

The Polish version of the breakdown is entirely different. A recent study of the problem, entitled "Contacts of the Patriotic Society with the Decembrists in the Light of Acts of the Diet,"⁹⁶ points out that for the Polish Patriotic Society, the main topic of negotiation was the problem of the Polish-Russian border, and the only purpose of the negotiations was the independence of all Poland, within her pre-partition borders. On this point, there was no agreement among the Russian officers. Various solutions were offered, most of them designed to keep Poland within Russia. Among the few advocates of Polish independence was the leader of the southern group, Pestel, who worked the whole problem out in his "Russian Truth"⁹⁷—the social-political programme of the Decembrists. Another advocate of Polish independence was Ryleev, but he was opposed to the plans of returning to Poland parts of Byelorussia and the Ukraine. According to him

the frontiers of Poland begin where Little Russian and Russian, or rather 'peasant,' dialects end, where the majority of people speak the above mentioned dialects and are of Greco-Russian or Uniate religion, where there is Rus', our ancient heritage.⁹⁸

Ryleev's solution, unacceptable to the Poles, makes the hypothesis of Mickiewicz's choice of location credible. Assuming that Ryleev took Mickiewicz into his confidence, it would have been to his advantage to send to the meeting a popular Polish poet with the mission of establishing a common ground between the warring parties. The weakness of the argument, however, lies in the impossibility of determining Mickiewicz's own feelings in the matter. There is nothing written by him during that period. His first letter to his friends after his departure from Wilno is dated February 7th, 1825, from Kiev. Here he writes: "I am healthy, and am travelling from the north to the other end of Europe in good humour."⁹⁹ Apparently, his affairs in Russia were turning out better than he had expected. Also, after the initial devastating impact of the power of Russia on his morale in Petersburg, he noticed that the capital was in

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁹⁶ Jadwiga Włodarczyk, "Kontakty Towarzystwa Patriotycznego z dekabristami w świetle akt Sądu Sejmowego," *Slavia Orientalis*, Warszawa, Komitet Słowianoznawstwa Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1960, nr. 1, s. 85-116.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁹⁹ Adam Mickiewicz, *Listy*, No. 124 (XIV, 270).

reality a hot-bed of conspiracy, and now he found himself in an even greater centre of dissension—Kiev. His arrival there was leisurely, delayed, again “not accidental,” to coincide with the famous *kontrakty*,¹⁰⁰ the yearly gatherings of the gentry for the transaction of business. There Mickiewicz had a chance to make contacts with members of the Polish gentry from the Ukraine; it was there, too, the secret meeting were taking place. There is absolutely no evidence that the poet participated in these meetings, apart from the intimate knowledge he had of them as he demonstrated years later in his lectures at the Collège de France. But he could have acquired this knowledge by means other than direct participation.

The lack of evidence does not exclude the possibility that Mickiewicz was politically active. There was one factor in his existence in Russia that probably enabled him to disguise his political activities. Here again the parallel with Pushkin is striking. Like Pushkin before him, Mickiewicz was not a master of his own fate in Russia. The authorities ordered him to move from one place to another, and thus he frequently left the area of danger before becoming too involved. His stay in Petersburg was too short to attract official attention to the circle of his friends. In Kiev he stopped only for a short time in passing. In Odessa itself, he did not receive the promised teaching post at the Richelieu Lyceum. Shishkov wrote to General de Witt, the head of the southern military settlement, communicating the order of Alexander I not to employ the Wilno exiles in the Lyceum and in general not to allow them to seek employment in the south of Russia but to direct them to other provinces. A bureaucratic correspondence ensued, as a result of which Mickiewicz, before going on to Moscow to his next assignment, managed to stay in Odessa for about ten months.

Mickiewicz's stay in Odessa is commonly described as one of care-free social life, by no means negligible literary production and intensive philandering. In this respect it parallels to a considerable degree a similar (although much longer) stage in Pushkin's exile, which had ended only the previous year. The poetry of the Odessa period is considerable. It consists chiefly of forty sonnets, divided into two equal parts. The first part deals with love. The second part is a cycle of exotic poems, rich in poetic language and oriental in colouring, under the general title *Crimean Sonnets*.¹⁰¹ But neither the character of the poetry, nor the mode of the poet's life are of primary importance here. They merely serve to make a point concerning the conception of *Konrad Wallenrod*.

There is a considerable body of opinion maintaining that Mickiewicz conceived the idea of the first version of his long poem in Odessa.¹⁰² This is difficult to accept, considering the general character of his poetry and his way of life at the time. Most critics are inclined to think that

¹⁰⁰ Wiktor Weintraub, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

¹⁰¹ Adam Mickiewicz, *Sonety Krymskie* (I, 257).

¹⁰² Serge Sovietov, “Mickiewicz in Russia,” *Adam Mickiewicz*, UNESCO, 1955, p. 83.

Mickiewicz conceived the idea of *Konrad Wallenrod* either earlier, in Wilno, or later, in Moscow. In the words of Manfred Kridl,

The conception of his new work, *Konrad Wallenrod*, occurred during his stay in Moscow. It marks a return to the grim and despairingly “romantic” atmosphere, from which the poet had temporarily freed himself in the *Sonnets*.¹⁰³

The main argument against Odessa is the incompatibility of the mood of *Konrad Wallenrod* with the mood of the erotic and oriental sonnets. Still, there are several arguments in favour of the Odessa theory. First of all, *Konrad Wallenrod* was primarily addressed to the Poles living in Russia. Two things impressed the poet profoundly in his first year there: the power of the country and the great number of Polish people there, some in positions of importance. These people, if properly motivated, could influence the destiny of their adopted country in a negative manner. It was particularly in Odessa and in the Ukraine in general, that the Polish element was numerous. It is probably no accident that Mickiewicz dedicated *Konrad Wallenrod* to a Polish family, the Zaleskis, who had befriended him in the Ukraine. Another argument in favour of the Odessa theory is a letter from Mickiewicz to Zan, written from Moscow in June, 1826:

... Since my departure from Odessa, where I lived like a Pasha, my Muse has become lazy: I cannot finish the Lithuanian tale...¹⁰⁴

The “Lithuanian tale” referred to is *Konrad Wallenrod*, which the poet could not finish since his departure from Odessa. It seems almost certain that he is indicating that he had started it while still in Odessa.

A final argument for the Odessa theory is connected with Kondratij Ryleev: Serge Sovietov expresses an opinion, shared by Polish scholars like Kleiner and Gomolicki, that

in planning *Konrad Wallenrod*, Mickiewicz was under the immediate influence of ... Ryleev's poem *Vojnarovskij*, which ... the poet probably read in manuscript in the house of Vasily Tumansky in Odessa. The name of the heroic Wallenrod fused, in the poet's creative consciousness, with the name of the author of *Vojnarovskij*, his close friend the Decembrist Kondraty Ryleev.¹⁰⁵

Until convincing proof is found, the possibility that the name of *Konrad Wallenrod*'s hero derives from Ryleev's name must remain a supposition. On the other hand, the influence of *Vojnarovskij* itself on *Konrad Wallenrod* is a strong possibility. It is confirmed by Leon Gomolicki in his *Introduction to the Polish translation of Vojnarovskij*:

If there existed another poetic work in contemporary literature with equally strong political expression, this work could only have been the poem of the Polish friend of the Decembrists—*Konrad Wallen-*

¹⁰³ Manfred Kridl, *A Survey of Polish Literature and Culture*, p. 280.

¹⁰⁴ Adam Mickiewicz, *Listy*, No. 135 (XIV, 291).

¹⁰⁵ Serge Sovietov, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84.

rod, related to *Vojnarovskij*. It is a fact that the purpose of both poets—Ryleev and Mickiewicz—the purpose to transform poetry into an instrument of fight and to direct the force of romanticism into the area of political literature was realized in both works with an undoubted success.¹⁰⁶

However, in order to translate these similarities into a direct influence of *Vojnarovskij* on *Konrad Wallenrod*, one has to be certain whether Mickiewicz had read Ryleev's poem at all. Chronology seems to indicate that he might well have. It is possible that Mickiewicz conceived the idea for his poem during the Wilno events in 1824. Even so, by the end of that same year he was acquainted with Ryleev, who had only recently completed *Vojnarovskij*. It can be justifiably assumed that Mickiewicz was interested in the works of his Russian friend, especially since Ryleev was the first translator of Mickiewicz. Assuming that he was interested and that he read *Vojnarovskij*, the hero of the poem was bound to attract his attention. If the image of Wallenrod was already fixed in the poet's mind, he must have noticed the similarity between it and *Vojnarovskij*. But if Wallenrod was not yet thought out, then *Vojnarovskij* could have served as one of the models. The hero of Ryleev's poem is a young Cossack, the nephew of Hetman Mazepa. We meet him first in exile in Siberia, where he tells his story to the ethnographer, Miller. His story represents Ryleev's version of the conflict between Peter the Great and Mazepa. In this version Mazepa emerges as a man ready, like Wallenrod, to try "all possible means" in his fight with the enemy of his fatherland, not even afraid to be called a traitor. But it is in the mouth of the nephew that Ryleev puts his political *credo*. Informed of his uncle's plans and convinced by him of their righteousness, *Vojnarovskij* sacrifices everything for what he considers a just cause. After the defeat at Poltava and the death of Mazepa, *Vojnarovskij* returns home and is captured and exiled. In Siberia he dreams of his native land and deplores his inability to act. His wife follows him into exile and dies there shortly afterwards. He buries her and not long afterwards dies himself on his wife's grave. Like *Konrad Wallenrod*, *Vojnarovskij* ends on a sad romantic note.

The similarities between the poems are striking. The poets not only shared a common themes—"Wallenrodism"—a common hero—"a defender of freedom"—but also a faith in the power of their poetry. The similarities are even closer when the tragic figures of the protagonists are compared. This is how Ryleev depicts his exiled hero:

... Restless and gloomy gaze,
Stern and melancholy features,
And on his brow
The hand of hostile fate
Lightly draws troubled thoughts.

.

¹⁰⁶ Leon Gomolicki, "Introduction," *Konrad Rylejew, Wojnarowski*, Wrocław, 1955, pp. XCIX-C.

A smile of greeting is never seen
On the face of the stranger,
And his beard and moustache
Have already become visibly grey.

.

Always shunning and silent,
Alienated, he roams alone,
Seeking no one's acquaintance,
Looking sternly at everybody.¹⁰⁷

The hero of Mickiewicz's poem is depicted in similar spirit:

Among the courtiers Konrad was not famed
For a smooth tongue, or supple-bending knee;

.

And now no earthly honour or reward,
Not beauty's favour, nor the minstrel's art,
Had power to break the winter of his heart.
With an indifferent ear he turned from praise,
On lovely faces bent a distant gaze,
From charming discourse drew himself apart.

Whether he was by nature cold and proud,
Whether the years had marked him with a chill
And ageing sorrow, it were hard to say:
He still was young, though cheeks and hair were grey . . .¹⁰⁸

As a young boy, Wallenrod had been captured by the Teutonic Knights. Kept among them against his will, he was sustained by his undying love for his homeland, Lithuania. This love of country echoes an equally strong longing voiced by Vojnarovskij in his exile. Similarly, the tragedy of Vojnarovskij's love could not have escaped the attention of Mickiewicz. Like Alf, Vojnarovskij found happiness in love, but had to sacrifice it in order to accomplish his purpose. Like Aldona, Vojnarovskij's wife found her husband in a foreign land but could no longer make him happy as in the past. Above all, however, Mickiewicz must have been particularly impressed by the patriotic feelings and dreams of freedom in *Vojnarovskij* and the pathos of heroic self-sacrifice which Ryleev embodied in his hero. Of particular interest to Mickiewicz must have been "The Biography of Vojnarovskij,"¹⁰⁹ written by A. Bestuzhev, and preceding the poem itself. This prose narrative compliments the poem by providing a kind of *Vorgeschichte* of the hero, and in so doing it performs, roughly speaking, the same function as the "Song of the Wajdelota" in *Konrad Wallenrod*.

¹⁰⁷ K. F. Ryleev, "Vojnarovskij," *op. cit.*, pp. 175-176.

¹⁰⁸ Adam Mickiewicz, *Konrad Wallenrod* (II, 74).

¹⁰⁹ A. Bestuzhev, "Zhizneopisanie Vojnarovskogo," K. F. Ryleev, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-173.

But there are also serious differences between the poems. What in *Wallenrod* is principally a fight for freedom against an outside enemy, in *Vojnarovskij* it is pushed in the background and replaced by internal struggle. "Freedom" in Ryleev's poem is understood in the sense of civic freedom, and "fatherland" is a fatherland of realized political reforms.

But still it is obvious that the impact of Ryleev on Mickiewicz cannot be disregarded. The difficulty of establishing its extent lies in the fact that, outside of the poem "To my Muscovite Friends," there is no direct reference to the Decembrist poet in the entire works of Mickiewicz, including his letters. This is understandable: Ryleev was hanged following the Decembrist Insurrection. This alone prevented Mickiewicz from making even the slightest allusion to him, especially since Mickiewicz, like Pushkin, must have been frightened during the terror following the insurrection. This is not merely speculation. It does not matter how involved he was politically; the fact remains that he had known Ryleev and had carried his letters of recommendation. Mickiewicz's own correspondence after arriving in Moscow in December, 1825, is scanty and full of masked allusions. In a letter to Odyniec, in March, 1826, he tries to account for his silence:

. . . According to you, when one writes, or doesn't, there must be a reason in passion, love, anger, etc., etc.; laziness and other factors don't matter! If you search for a hypothesis to explain my silence, you could have assumed, as others, that I died . . . However, there was a small reason for my breaking off our correspondence . . . You wrote a lot: I could not stop you, and I did not want to lead you astray . . .

It is difficult to explain more clearly what I mean, you would only understand it as another peculiarity.¹¹⁰

Under these circumstances Ryleev had to be, for the time being, forgotten, to be remembered only later, in Mickiewicz's poem, "To my Muscovite Friends." By then, Mickiewicz had already written his *Forefathers' Eve, Part Three*, and was assuming a new, non-literary career. For this reason Ryleev's impact on him can be detected in one poem only, *Konrad Wallenrod*. Indirectly, however, Ryleev and Mickiewicz are connected in still another way. This connection concerns a poem which was influenced by both, Mickiewicz's *Konrad Wallenrod* and Ryleev's *Vojnarovskij*—namely, Pushkin's historical poem *Poltava*.

¹¹⁰ Adam Mickiewicz, *Listy*, No. 133 (XIV, 281-282).

CHAPTER IV

VOJNAROVSKIJ AND POLTAVA

The relationship between Pushkin and Ryleev is easy to trace because, unlike the brief Mickiewicz-Ryleev contact, it is of longer duration. In the words of a pre-revolutionary Russian critic, V. Sipovskij:

Contemporary with the great poet, almost the same age, K. F. Ryleev profited by his [Pushkin's] constant attention in the course of his whole literary activity. It can be said without exaggeration that he was under his "special supervision." At least he, one among few, provoked many responses from Pushkin.¹¹¹

Pushkin's first direct reference to Ryleev is contained in a letter to his brother, in January 1822, in which he twice refers to Ryleev ironically as "znamenityj" (celebrated), and at the same time laughs at the word "duma," which Ryleev uses for a series of his lyric-epic works.¹¹² But already in the following year he writes: "I am reconciled with Ryleev—*Vojnarovskij* is full of life."¹¹³ Almost simultaneously he writes to A. Bestuzhev, Ryleev's close friend:

Ryleev's *Vojnarovskij* is incomparably better than any of his *Dumy*. His style has matured and is becoming truly narrative, something which we do not have yet in Russia.¹¹⁴

With Pushkin's return to Mikhailovskoe the relationship between the poets became close. Until then, there was no direct correspondence between them except Ryleev's postscript to A. Bestuzhev's letter in 1822—a formal request to contribute to the *Polar Star for 1823*.¹¹⁵ Now a direct contact was established. In January, 1825, Pushchin brought Pushkin a letter from Ryleev—unsigned, undated, without a formal address, written in the third person—a conspiratorial letter rather than a conventional communication.¹¹⁶ There is no doubt that Pushchin's mission was to inform Pushkin not only about the existence of a secret society, but also about the rôle in it of Ryleev, Bestuzhev and himself. Without such an assumption, the tone of Ryleev's letter would be tactless and pretentious. There is no proof that Pushchin carried out his commission; the subsequent letters between the poets centre mainly on literary subjects. At any

¹¹¹ V. Sipovskij, "Pushkin i Ryleev," *Pushkin i ego sovremenniki*, S. Petersburg, 1905, Vol. I, Issue III, p. 68.

¹¹² A. S. Pushkin, *Pis'ma*, No. 43 (X, 53-54).

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, No. 67 (X, 81).

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 65 (X, 78-79).

¹¹⁵ K. F. Ryleev, *Stikhotvoreniya...*, p. 392.

¹¹⁶ ———, *Pis'ma k Pushkinu*, *ibid.*, No. 1, p. 302.

rate, Pushkin's answer gives no indication of any conspiratorial contacts but, on the other hand, there is a noticeable respect for Ryleev:

I thank you for the "ty" [thou] and for the letter. Pushchin will bring you excerpts from my *Gypsies*. I hope that they will please you. I await the *Polar Star* with impatience, do you know why? Because of *Vojnarovskij*. This poem was necessary for our literature. . . . Farewell, poet.¹¹⁷

Pushkin's praises become so generous that he has to defend himself from accusations of partiality to Ryleev. In this connection, he writes to Bestuzhev in March, 1825:

I will not write to Ryleev until I receive *Vojnarovskij*. Tell him that he was right about Byron. . . . Where did you get the idea that I am flattering Ryleev? I expressed my opinion about his *Dumy* loud and clear; also about his poems. I know very well that I am his teacher in the language of poetry, but he goes his own way. He is a poet in his soul and I am seriously afraid of him and sorry that I did not shoot him when I had the occasion—but the devil only knew then. I await *Vojnarovskij* with impatience and I will send him all my remarks. In God's name! If only he'd go on writing—more and more!¹¹⁸

It is characteristic of the relationship between the two poets that Pushkin speaks of his ascendancy over Ryleev only after the latter himself acknowledged it in an earlier letter:

You are a great flatterer: that is all I can say concerning your opinion about my poetry. You will forever remain my teacher in poetic language.¹¹⁹

In a later letter, Ryleev, expressing his critical opinion of the *Gypsies*, adds: "Ah, if only you were equally severe with me; how grateful I would be to you."¹²⁰ Instead of an answer, Pushkin returns to him a copy of *Vojnarovskij*, with his own remarks in the margins. He refers to them in a letter of May, 1825:

I think that you already received my remarks on *Vojnarovskij*. I will add one more thing: wherever I said nothing, I implied praise, exclamation marks, excellent, etc.¹²¹

While continuing to praise the poem unreservedly, Pushkin repeats in the same letter his criticism of Ryleev's *Dumy*. He writes in the same pattern to his brother and to Prince Vjazemskij shortly afterwards. Discussing Kozlov's poem "Chernec," he compares it with *Vojnarovskij*:

This poem, of course, is full of feeling and it is more intelligent than *Vojnarovskij*, but in Ryleev there is more sweep in style. He

¹¹⁷ A. S. Pushkin, *Pis'ma*, No. 106 (X, 118).

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 119, (X, 131).

¹¹⁹ K. F. Ryleev, *Pis'ma k Pushkinu*, *op. cit.*, No. 3, p. 304.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 5, p. 306.

¹²¹ A. S. Pushkin, *Pis'ma*, No. 133 (X, 143).

has a kind of executioner [palach] there, with his sleeve rolled up, for whom I would give a lot.¹²²

(This “palach” figures prominently in *Poltava*.) Continuing his letter, Pushkin goes on from his strange fascination with *Vojnarovskij* to the criticism of *Dumy*:

But the *Dumy* are rubbish, and their name comes from German “dumm,” and not from Polish, as it would seem from first glance.¹²³

As he had already pointed out to Ryleev himself, he saw nothing original in them:

They are weak in inventiveness and exposition. They are all in the same style: . . . description of action, speech of the hero and—a moral. There is nothing national or Russian in them except names.¹²⁴

The generally unfavourable attitude to Ryleev’s *Dumy* becomes understandable when considered against the changes that were taking place in Pushkin himself. Having broken with his early subject matter and method, and having left Byron behind, he now aimed at getting rid of autobiography in the depiction of his heroes and overcoming their subjective-lyrical character. This can be observed in *Eugene Onegin*,¹²⁵ where Pushkin is faced with the problem of depicting an objective hero by social conditions and surroundings. On the other hand, Ryleev approves of a subjective-lyrical hero in his own works. That is why, after reading the first chapter of *Eugene Onegin*, he criticizes it in a letter to Pushkin:

I don’t know what will become of Onegin later: perhaps in the next chapter he will be of the same quality as *Don Juan*: the deeper in the forest the more trees; but now the poem is beneath *The Fountain of Bakhchisaraj* and *The Prisoner of the Caucasus*.¹²⁶

To Pushkin, *Eugene Onegin* was the most original of his works, and it took the critics some time to realize that the poem was the most Russian thing that he ever wrote. The critics considered *Eugene Onegin* an imitation of Byron’s *Don Juan*, and this was also the opinion of Ryleev. Like the others, he failed to notice the Russian reality under the thin Byronic veneer. Yet, it was the Russian reality, presented in an objective manner, that Pushkin now insisted upon. He looked for it in vain in Ryleev’s *Dumy* but they, according to him, “had nothing Russian in them, except names.” Pushkin’s remark to Zhukovskij summarizes his opinion: “Ryleev’s *Dumy* aim at something and at the same time are off the mark.”¹²⁷ By “off the mark” Pushkin meant that they were at variance with history.

¹²² *Ibid.*, No. 137 (X, 149).

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 133 (X, 143).

¹²⁵ A. S. Pushkin, *Evgenij Onegin* (V, 5).

¹²⁶ K. F. Ryleev, *Pis’ma k Pushkinu*, *op. cit.*, No. 3, p. 303.

¹²⁷ —————, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

The reference to historical veracity is characteristic of Pushkin of that period. In his desire to deal with Russian life in an objective manner he turned to a theme drawn from Russian history—Boris Godunov. His concern with historical accuracy is apparent in a letter to Zhukovskij in August, 1825:

The tragedy is taking shape and I think it will be finished in the winter; as a result I am reading nothing but Karamzin and chronicles. What a marvel the two last volumes of Karamzin are! What life! . . . It's like yesterday's paper . . .¹²⁸

The same concern for historical accuracy and artistic integrity sounds in a letter to Vjazemskij a month later:

Today I finished the second part of my tragedy—there will be four in all I think. My Marina is a glorious woman: a real Katerina Orlova! Do you know her? Don't tell this to anyone. I thank you for Karamzin's remarks about the character of Boris. They proved very helpful. I regarded him from the political point of view, without noticing his poetical side . . . You want the *plan*? Take the end of the tenth and the whole of the eleventh volume and you have the *plan*.¹²⁹

The two letters demonstrate Pushkin's preoccupation and fascination with history. They also imply a certain inclination, on Pushkin's part, to view Russian history through Karamzin's eyes. This inclination is an important factor in Pushkin's evolution and in his attitude to Ryleev's works. Karamzin's *History of the Russian State* is pro-autocratic in ideology, and concerned largely with the actions of Russian sovereigns rather than with the people. At this particular stage of Pushkin's development, a development which was closely connected with the changeover on the Russian throne and the high hopes people placed in the new sovereign, the poet's political ideas tended to coincide with Karamzin's. It is precisely at this point that Pushkin and Ryleev differ. Ryleev also used Karamzin's *History of the Russian State*, but only as a source for his themes; he did not accept the historian's theories (the Norman origins of the Russian state) or his political ideas. To Ryleev history was an irresistible elemental force, fatefully drawing people into a struggle of "liberty" and "autocracy." The purpose of the *Dumy* appears to be an artistic re-creation of historical events in order to acquaint people with the heroic deeds of their ancestors, *not* their sovereigns. This re-creation of historical events in the *Dumy*, accompanied by frequently deliberate alterations of historical truth to suit the author's given theme, was what Pushkin particularly objected to.

In this light, it is easy to understand Pushkin's criticism that the *Dumy* "aims at something and altogether miss the mark," but it is not easy to explain his enthusiasm for *Vojnaravskij*. The most likely explanation is one connected with Ryleev's political evolution. The *Dumy* are

¹²⁸ A. S. Pushkin, *Pis'ma*, No. 159 (X, 173).

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 166 (X, 181-182).

a product of the years 1821-1823, when Ryleev was only an editor of the *Polar Star*. He subsequently became one of the leaders of the Northern group of the Decembrists, and *Vojnarovskij* dates from that period of his development. It is also here that Pushkin's sudden respect for Ryleev begins—undoubtedly on account of the latter's growing importance in conspiratorial circles. Presumably because of the respect he had for Ryleev, Pushkin decided not to quarrel with his politics and history and restricted his criticism to purely artistic considerations. From an artistic point of view, the poem represented a new direction in Ryleev's work. From the rhetoric and didacticism of the *Dumy* Ryleev moved into the Byronic narrative-poem form. The story of the hero, Vojnarovskij—the nephew of Hetman Mazepa and participant in his plot—is, in Ryleev's poetical representation, a story of a noble and passionate young man, sincerely trusting Mazepa and following him to the end. As a romantic, Ryleev was not in the least interested in the original historical meaning of the intrigue of Mazega against Peter. By idealizing Vojnarovskij, he at the same time idealized Mazepa and presented his image in variance with historical truth, thereby lowering the progressive significance of Peter's acts. The debunking of Peter is of interest in view of the divided opinion of the Decembrists concerning the first Emperor. According to a contemporary Soviet critic, even Ryleev voiced his approval of Peter, and another Decembrist, N. Bestuzhev, remarked that he "loved this tyrant passionately."¹³⁰ There is an indication in the poem of Ryleev's uncertainty concerning the justification of Mazepa's actions. The doubt is voiced by Vojnarovskij:

Ne znaju ja, khotel li on
Spasti ot bed narod Ukrayny,
Il' v nej sebe vozdvignut' tron,—
Mne getman ne otkryl sej tajny.¹³¹

(I do not know whether he wanted
To save the people of the Ukraine from misfortunes,
Or to erect in it a throne for himself,—
The Hetman did not reveal the secret to me.)

During his correspondence with Ryleev, Pushkin considered *Vojnarovskij* a serious achievement on Ryleev's part, although the latter sinned against Pushkin's teachings: *Vojnarovskij* was, according to Pushkin, historically incorrect. What was it then that attracted Pushkin to it? In the first place, although presumably at variance with truth, *Vojnarovskij* did not offend Pushkin's sense of history to a great extent. It must be remembered that the events described by Ryleev in *Vojnarovskij* are not covered by Karamzin's *History* and Pushkin did not have a reliable source at his disposal to check the veracity of Ryleev's version. It was only later, when writing *Poltava*, that Pushkin disagreed sharply with

¹³⁰ S. S. Volk, *Istoricheskie vzglyady dekabristov*, Moskva-Leningrad, Izd. Ak. Nauk SSSR, 1958, p. 413.

¹³¹ K. F. Ryleev, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

Ryleev, particularly with the latter's conception of the figure of Mazepa. But Pushkin's first reaction to *Vojnarovskij* and at the same time the poem's chief attraction for him concerned the improvement Ryleev made in his poetic language and in his style. Pushkin remarked that the poetic language of Ryleev matured under his, Pushkin's, influence. He was particularly impressed by several successful images (the executioner) and by Ryleev's *razmashistij* (bold, sweeping) style.¹³² Such "discoveries" in other people's works were very important for Pushkin. He never shut himself within his own talent; on the contrary, he always looked at other people's writings, eagerly took from them ideas, images, allusions and reworked them in his own fashion. For example, in a letter to Vjazemskij, Pushkin tells about the origin of an image in *The Fountain of Bakhchisaraj*:

Bobrov tempted me; he says in his "Tavrida": "pod strazheju skopcov garema" [under the guard of the eunuchs of the harem]. I wanted to steal something from him.¹³³

There are, no doubt, many such "borrowings" in Pushkin's writings. They are also present in a comparison of *Vojnarovskij* and *Poltava*.

The most significant "borrowing" in *Poltava* concerns the image of the executioner (palach). Describing the scene of the execution of Kochubej and Iskra in *Poltava*, Pushkin paraphrases a scene from *Vojnarovskij*. In Ryleev's poem the scene is presented as a melodramatic description of a horrible vision by Mazepa during his illness after the battle:

... I zadykhajas', uverjal,
Shto Kochubeja vidit s Iskroj.
"Vot, vot oni! Pri nikh palach!"
On gorovil, drozha ot strakhu:
"Vot ikh vzveli uzhe na plakhu,
Krugom stenanija i plach . . .
Gotov uzh ispolnitel' muki;
Vot zasuchil on rukava,
Vot vzjal uzhe sekiru v ruki . . .
Vot pokatilas' golova . . .
I vot drugaja! Vse trepeshchut!
Smotri, kak strashno ochi bleshchut! . . ." ¹³⁴

(. . . And gasping, Mazepa was assuring [us],
That he could see Kochubej and Iskra.
"Here, here they are! And with them is the executioner!"
He spoke, shaking with fear:
"Look, they have already led them up to the block,
On all sides there is groaning and weeping . . .
The inflicter of torture is ready;

¹³² V. Sipovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

¹³⁴ K. F. Ryleev, "Vojnarovskij," *op. cit.*, p. 192.

He has already rolled up his sleeves,
He has already taken the axe in his hands . . .
And now one head rolls . . .
And now the other! Everybody trembles!
Look, how terribly his eyes glisten! . . .")

Pushkin reworked this scene from a "vision" to "reality," and the dependence of the scene on Ryleev's proves the "borrowing" by the great poet of the image of the executioner—an image which, by his own admission, struck his imagination:

Sred' polja rokovoj pomost;
Na nem guljaet, veselitsja
Palach i alchno zhertyv zhdet:
To v ruki belye beret,
Igrajuchi, topor tjachelyj,
To shutit s cherniju veseloj —

. I vot
Idut oni, vzoshli. Na plakhu,
Krestjas', lozhitsja Kochubej.
Kak budto v grobe, t'my ljudej
Molchat. Topor blesnul s razmakhу,
I otskochila golova.
Vse pole okhnulo. Drugaja
Katitsja vsled za nej, migaja.¹³⁵

(In the middle of the field the fateful scaffold;
On its strolls, rejoices
The executioner and greedily awaits the victims:
Now he takes in his white hands,
Playfully the heavy axe,
Now he jokes with the merry crowd—

. And here
They come, they have climbed up. On the executioner's block,
Crossing himself, Kochubej lies down.
As though in a grave, the hordes of people
Remain silent. The axe glittered from the swing,
And a head dropped off.
The whole field sighed. The second head
Rolls after it, blinking.)

In both poems, the authors describe the feelings of the fugitives when they leave behind the borders of their native land. Ryleev's description forms a part of Vojnarovskij's long narration to the ethnographer Miller:

S rassvetom dnja my snova v put'
Pomchalis' po stepi unyloj.
Kak tjazhko vzvolnovalas' grud',
Kak serdce junoe zanylo,

¹³⁵ A. S. Pushkin, *Poltava* (IV, 286-287).

Kogda rubezh strany rodnoj
Uzreli my pered soboj!
V volnene'e chuvstv, toskoj tomnyj,
Ja kak rebenok zarydal . . .¹³⁶

(With the dawn we were again on our way
We tore along the dismal steppe.
How heavily our breasts heaved,
How the heart ached,
When we sighted before us
The boundary of the native land!
With agitated feelings, in mortal anguish,
I sobbed like a child . . .)

Pushkin's description of Mazepa's anguish is an echo of Ryleev:

Toska, toska ego snedaet;
V grudi dykhan'e stesneno.
I molcha an konja sedlaet,
I skachet s beglym korolem,
I strashno vzor ego sverkaet,
S rodyhm proshchajas' rubezhom.¹³⁷

(Anguish, anguish consumes him.
In his breast his breathing is constrained.
And silently he saddles his steed,
And gallops with the fugitive king,
And terribly shines his gaze,
As he leaves behind him his native boundary.)

Aside from echoes and direct borrowings, there are considerable similarities between the two poems. Both are historical, concerned with the same event. In this respect, Ryleev appears as Pushkin's teacher. Earlier than Pushkin, he concerned himself with the problems embodied in *Poltava*. In *Vojnarovskij*, as well as in *Palej*,¹³⁸ *Bogdan Khmel'nickij*,¹³⁹ *Peter in Ostrogozhsk*,¹⁴⁰ Ryleev introduces almost all the characters and types who were to appear later in *Poltava*. There are also great similarities in the style of the two poems. Ryleev's "razmashistij" (sweeping) style, particularly when describing acts of violence and sudden movements of men and horses, is reflected in Pushkin's poem. When imitating Ryleev's style, Pushkin is particularly successful in depicting the predatory qualities of Mazepa, who parallels in this respect many heroes of Ryleev's poems. Another parallel is the mention in *Poltava* of Vojnarovskij himself:

U Vojnarovskogo v rukakh
Mushketnij stvol eshche dymilsja,¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ K. F. Ryleev, "Vojnarovskij," *op. cit.*, p. 191.

¹³⁷ A. S. Pushkin, *Poltava* (IV, 303).

¹³⁸ K. F. Ryleev, "Palej," *op. cit.*, p. 223.

¹³⁹ _____, "Bogdan Khmel'nickij," *Ibid.*, p. 126.

¹⁴⁰ _____, "Petr Velikij v Ostrogozhsk," *Ibid.*, p. 136.

(In Vojnarovskij's hands
The barrel of the musket still smoked.)

a mention not dictated by necessity, and explained only by Pushkin's reliance on Ryleev. This reliance is also shown by Pushkin's numerous historical explanations following *Poltava*, echoing a biographical sketch, *Biography of Mazepa*,¹⁴² attached to *Vojnarovskij*. It is only in the image of the hero himself, Mazepa, that Pushkin departs from Ryleev.

The image of Mazepa that Pushkin embodies in *Poltava* borders on an exaggerated slander. Except for one passage, which appears to be an effort at understanding, Mazepa is referred to throughout as a traitor and a villain. At times Pushkin reaches the height of invective in his condemnation of the old hetman:

Shto on ne vedaet svyatyni,
Shto on ne pomnit blagostyni,
Shto on ne ljubit nichego,
Shto krov' gotov on lit' kak vodu,
Shto preziraet on svobodu,
Shto net otchizny dla nego.¹⁴³

(That he accepts nothing sacred,
That he does not remember kindness,
That he does not love anything,
That he is prepared to shed blood like water,
That he despises freedom,
That there is no fatherland for him.)

Pushkin's Mazepa does not have one positive feature—a significant and unique reaction from a poet who always tries to find sympathetic, soft traits in his heroes, even in criminals. In the case of Mazepa, it seems that Pushkin drew his image from a preconceived notion without studying the character sufficiently. Such phrases in the above quotation as: "he does not love anything," "he despises freedom," "there is no fatherland for him" contradict other passages of the poem in which Mazepa is shown capable of passionate love for Maria, and motivated in his actions by a desire to free the Ukraine. There are other indications in the poem that it was not thought out properly. It has beautiful passages but as a whole it is weak. There is a lack of unity and wholeness: it seems to be put together from separate scenes. Pushkin himself supplies the explanation for the weakness of the poem:

the strong characters and the deeply tragic shadows cast over all these horrors [in *Vojnarovskij*]—that is what attracted me. I wrote *Poltava* in a few days; I could not occupy myself with it any longer, or I would give it all up!¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ A. S. Pushkin, *Poltava* (IV, 298).

¹⁴² A. Kornilovich, "Zhizneopisane Mazepy," K. F. Ryleev, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-173.

¹⁴³ A. S. Pushkin, *Poltava* (IV, 262).

¹⁴⁴ V. Sipovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

The last sentence is revealing: it proves that he did not work on *Poltava* long; consequently, he did not have the time to study its hero, but created him under a sudden impulse. This impulse, as has already been suggested, was provided by *Konrad Wallenrod*.

CHAPTER V

KONRAD WALLENROD AND POLTAVA

1

The “polemic” between Mickiewicz and Pushkin is usually understood to have taken place after Mickiewicz’s departure from Russia. Not much attention has been paid to a lesser polemic between the two poets, conducted on Russian soil, a polemic which was reflected in the expression of their political ideas—in the poems *Konrad Wallenrod* and *Poltava*. It also marked the parting of ways between the poets. Until the appearance of *Wallenrod*, the lives of the two poets were in many respects similar. Among other things they both had contacts with revolutionary circles and both, after the collapse of the circles, suffered less than their revolutionary friends.

Mickiewicz’s “suffering” amounted to a few uneasy months in Moscow after his departure from Odessa in December 1825. His few letters of that period are subdued; they contain humble references to the forthcoming coronation of Nicholas I and hopes for amnesty which would enable him to return home.¹⁴⁵ These hopes ended in final disappointment and from then on the poet began to make his way in Russian society. The ease with which he accomplished this testifies to the degree of social polish he had acquired in the salons of Odessa and to his personal popularity. But there were also other factors present. In spite of Mickiewicz’s comparative anonymity in Moscow, he was not altogether unknown. In Poland, although not officially recognized by the Warsaw critics as an important poet, he was already admired and widely read. He was also read by Russians stationed in Poland. Some of them brought back to Russia enthusiastic praise of his poetry (Colonel Pokhvistnev) and even samples of translations into Russian (Ju. Poznanski).¹⁴⁶ Because of such people Mickiewicz was gaining recognition in Moscow. At first, he was sought out by the brothers Polevoj, one of whom, Nicholas, was the first editor of the monthly *Moscow Telegraph*.¹⁴⁷ At their home—a meeting place of Russian literary people—Mickiewicz made the acquaintance of two outstanding figures in Moscow literary and social

¹⁴⁵ Adam Mickiewicz, *Listy*, No. 135 (XIV, 292).

¹⁴⁶ Waclaw Lednicki, *Przyjaciele Moskale*, p. 166.

¹⁴⁷ *Moskovskij Telegraf*.

life; Prince Vjazemskij and Sergej Aleksandrovich Sobolevskij, both intimate friends of Pushkin. The friendship with these two men was of great importance to Mickiewicz. Prince Vjazemskij knew Poland intimately, was at home in Polish literature and language and, therefore, in a position to evaluate Mickiewicz's poetry. He translated Mickiewicz's *Sonnets* and wrote a highly appreciative article on the poet and his poetry. A magnate, with extensive connections in Moscow and Petersburg, Prince Vjazemskij became Mickiewicz's advocate in the literary and social circles of both capitals. It was most likely he who introduced the poet to the salons of Princess Zinaida Volkonskaja and Madame E. P. Elagin, the mother of the brothers Kireevskij. Sobolevskij, on the other hand, with whom Mickiewicz established a very close friendship from the start, introduced the poet to the circle of the *Moscow Messenger*,¹⁴⁸ which centred around the poet D. V. Venevitinov. To this circle belonged the so-called "ljubomudry" (Lovers of Wisdom) or "arkhivnye junoshi" (archive youths), young men who were serving in the archives of the Foreign Office in Moscow. This was a group of brilliant intellectuals among whose members, besides Sobolevskij, were Pogodin, Shevyrev, Odoevskij and the Kireevskij brothers. These men were followers of German romanticism. Goethe in literature and Schelling in philosophy were their models, and their vague purpose was to promote an idealistic love for art and to stimulate thought along transcendental lines. Mickiewicz was very friendly with this group, as indeed he was with all groups and circles to which he had been introduced. His entry into Moscow literary and social circles was accomplished with surprising speed.

It is worth noting that Mickiewicz's social successes in Moscow were accomplished in exactly the same worldly and literary society into which Pushkin plunged after his famous conversation with Nicholas I in September 1826. As the social lion of the moment, Pushkin visited the salons of the city with an avidity that seemed to be born of his long deprivation. Most of his Moscow friends had meanwhile befriended Mickiewicz, and the meeting between the two poets was just a matter of time. It is not known exactly when it took place but, according to Lednicki, Mickiewicz became acquainted with Pushkin not later than October 24, 1826:

. . . On October 24, 1826, the *Moscow Messenger* gave a dinner at which the guests toasted both Mickiewicz and Pushkin: present were the brothers Khomyakov, Shevyrev, the brothers Kireevskij, Raich, Maltsov, Titov, Boratynsky, Pogodin, the brothers Venevitinov, Rozhalin, Sobolevsky, Richter, Prince Obolensky, Pushkin and Mickiewicz.¹⁴⁹

After this, the poets saw each other frequently but their contacts, at least in the first year, were strictly social. Their literary activity seemed to be restricted to Mickiewicz's improvisations and Pushkin's readings of *Boris*

¹⁴⁸ *Moskovskij Vestnik*.

¹⁴⁹ Wacław Lednicki, "Mickiewicz's Stay in Russia," *Adam Mickiewicz in World Literature*, p. 35.

Godunov at various gatherings. In a letter to Odyniec early in 1827 Mickiewicz gives the following account of Pushkin:

Sometime I shall write about him at greater length; now I shall add only that I know him and that we see each other often. Pushkin is almost my age (two months younger), in conversation he is very witty and captivating; he has an elevated and pure conception of poetry. He has now written a tragedy, *Boris Godunov*; I know several scenes from it; they are well conceived in a historical genre and contain beautiful details. But it seems to me I have already written this to you or to somebody else!¹⁵⁰

To all appearances, both Mickiewicz and Pushkin were leading happy and carefree lives in Moscow. But it was not entirely so.

To some of Mickiewicz's fellow-Philomaths, his social life in Moscow implied a betrayal of Poland. One of them, Czeszot, in a letter to Mickiewicz, mentions two mistresses: the great one, the motherland (unnamed because of censorship), and the ordinary one. He expressed fear that Mickiewicz might betray the great mistress in the turmoil of his Moscow life. Mickiewicz's answer is revealing:

. . . Let us start with the mistresses: since you say, "you have two mistresses." . . . I didn't love the second, hence about her later. The first, if I have understood you correctly, has all of us as her fervent and constant lovers. Woe to us if for a moment we should not trust each other in our faithfulness. But, probably no one until now has had any doubt. . . . This mistress is jealous. Our love for her we shall prove, not like Don Quixote, standing on the road and challenging everyone without exception or sitting in the desert of the Black Mountain, but in the way in which Charlemagne ordered his knights to earn Angelica's love! My dear Janek, is it possible to combine and weld with this elevated and noble feeling such insignificant details? Must the dinners, dances, and songs offend that divine mistress? Let me cite more from the Bible: I will frankly say that I am not only ready to eat a beefsteak of the Moabites but even meat from the altar of Dagon and Baal when I am hungry. And I still will be, as I was, a good Christian. As far as my reading is concerned, I am reading Schiller's *Fiesco* and Machiavelli's *History*.¹⁵¹

Mickiewicz's letter was written in January, 1827. The reference to Machiavelli is significant: he is the source of the epigraph at the beginning of *Konrad Wallenrod*, on which Mickiewicz must have been working at the time. Consequently, it appears that the poet's serenity in Moscow showed only one side of his personality, the side which his friends—both Russian and Polish—could observe. There was another, which remained a secret. This dualism in Mickiewicz could be detected already in his poem "The Sailor," discussed elsewhere in this essay, in which the poet tells his friends:

¹⁵⁰ Adam Mickiewicz, *Listy*, No. 149 (XIV, 329).

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, No. 146 (XIV, 315-316).

He who would judge me must not be with me but within me:
I sail on farther—you go homeward.¹⁵²

Pushkin also shows evidence of a similar dualism in the same period. His "Stanzas" and "Message to Siberia" are expressions of diametrically opposed loyalties. But while Pushkin's "dualism" stems from his frustrating effort to arrive at a *modus vivendi* with the new Tsar, Mickiewicz's "dualism" stems from his efforts to arrive at a *modus vivendi* with himself. It was difficult for him to continue living in Moscow among his Russian friends and at the same time proceed with *Konrad Wallenrod*. Its mournful content could not be revealed even to Mickiewicz's old friends, although, at the time of his reply to Czeczot and Zan, the poem was almost finished. Yet, he refers to it in detached tones in a letter to Odyniec, written also in January, 1827:

Concerning my further plans, I will say only this: soon I will send you *Wallenrod*, a tale from Lithuanian-Teutonic past. It has to be printed separately. Then, when I finish *Wallenrod*, I will sort out the elegies, translations, etc., for the third volume . . .¹⁵³

The extraordinary thing about the poem is that it was completed at the height of Mickiewicz's popularity in Moscow. At the beginning of his stay in the city the poet complained to Zan:

. . . Since my departure from Odessa, where I lived like a Pasha, my Muse has become lazy: I cannot finish my Lithuanian tale. . . .¹⁵⁴

He started to work on *Konrad Wallenrod* in Odessa, when his popularity was great. He interrupted it when his fortunes sank and resumed it again when his affairs turned for the better. In this pattern, there was a kind of compulsion, a burning desire to account for his actions in Russia, to justify them. There is here a parallel with the act of expiation embodied later in *Forefather's Eve, Part Three*. As *Forefather's Eve* was an apologia for non-participation in the Insurrection of 1830, so *Konrad Wallenrod* can be regarded as an apologia for not suffering in Russia. Viewed in this way, the poem becomes a lesson containing a message to the effect that there is no need to be a martyr if one is able to resort to other means. But still, considering Mickiewicz's nobility of character and the fact that he was surrounded by friendship, hospitality and admiration, it is hard to accept him as capable of carrying the burden of the inner turmoil of the Wallenrodian scheme unaided, without some additional stimulus. Here again, a clue is provided by Mickiewicz's later writings. In the poem "To My Muscovite Friends" the poet speaks of Russian friends with whom he shared his thoughts:

¹⁵² Adam Mickiewicz, "Żeglarz" (I, 80).

¹⁵³ _____, *Listy*, No. 147 (XIV, 321).

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 135 (XIV, 291).

. For while I was in fetters,
I duped the despot, crawling like a snake,
But shared my thoughts with you, who as abettors
Shielded my dovelike frankness, for my sake.¹⁵⁵

Although it is not always safe to view Mickiewicz's motives in Russia through his later writings, in this case the clue is of particular value when examined against the background of Mickiewicz's contacts with the "ljubomudry" and their so-called "plan of Sixtus V."

The diary of Pogodin, one of the leading "Lovers of Wisdom," contains an entry dated July 23, 1826:

Venevitinov arrived and spoke about the sentenced [Decembrists]. All their wives are following them to the place of penal servitude. This is an honour for our age. But it could not be different. Venevitinov has a plan now, which I used to have at one time. Serve, curry favour, be an enigma, in order to, after having qualified, finally occupy a significant position and have a large circle of activities. This is the plan of Sixtus V.¹⁵⁶

Venevitinov's plan was a reaction to the route of the Decembrists. Its name is derived from Pope Sixtus V who, from the son of a small gardener, made his way towards the papal throne by cajolery, intrigues, and fifteen years of pretence and careful concealment of his real intentions. The revolutionary romanticism of the "ljubomudry" could indeed conceive an idea of a similar pattern of social behaviour. It was probably no accident that one of them, Shevyrev, wrote a biography of Sixtus V.¹⁵⁷ In the plan itself, it is hard not to notice the influence of the man who made his mark on Moscow society in those years—Adam Mickiewicz. The years in which he worked on *Konrad Wallenrod* are also the years of his contact with the "ljubomudry" whose plan bears a strong resemblance to the ideas embodied in the poem. Some of Mickiewicz's best friends belonged to the circle. It can be assumed that with Sobolevskij, Shevyrev and perhaps a few other "ljubomudry," the poet had no secrets and "shared his thoughts with them." They, undoubtedly, knew the genuine meaning of *Konrad Wallenrod*. Most probably, although perhaps not immediately, the meaning of the poem was known also to Pushkin.

During the winter of 1826-27 Pushkin was in close contact with Mickiewicz and the "ljubomudry." By virtue of his delicate position and according to his often repeated intention not to oppose the "generally accepted order," he did not share the ideas which had motivated Sixtus V and Konrad Wallenrod. Certain facts confirm this assumption. When the magazine of the "ljubomudry," the *Moscow Messenger*, was launched, Pushkin willingly gave it his counsel and practical assistance. But, according to Ernest Simmons, ". . . for various reasons Pushkin eventually

¹⁵⁵ Adam Mickiewicz, "Do przyjaciół Moskali" (III, 308).

¹⁵⁶ M. Aronson, "Konrad Wallenrod i Poltava," Pushkin, *Vremennik Pushkinskoj Komissii 2*, Moskva-Leningrad, Izd. Akad. Nauk SSSR, 1936, p. 51.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

grew cold to the publication. . . . [His] initial enthusiasm for the Lovers of Wisdom quickly waned.”¹⁵⁸ Pushkin’s estrangement from the *Moscow Messenger* is usually attributed to the incompatibility between him and the journal’s editor, Pogodin.¹⁵⁹ This is correct. Pushkin’s quarrels with editors and critics are well known, particularly after his “understanding” with Nicholas I. But Pogodin, besides being an editor, was also one of the most important members of the circle, and it was the circle or, rather, its new ideas that Pushkin opposed. The echoes of his opposition resound in *Poltava*, which is regarded by many critics as Pushkin’s answer to the complex of ideas forming the basis of Wallenrodism and “the plan of Sixtus V.” Unexpectedly, Sixtus himself is encountered in *Poltava*, for the sole purpose of providing a model for Mazepa:

Sogbennyj tjazhko zhizn’ju staroj,
Tak onyj khitryj kardinal,
Venchavshis’ rimskoju tiaroj,
I prjam, i zdrav, i molod stal.¹⁶⁰

(Bent down painfully by a long life,
Thus that cunning cardinal,
Having been crowned with the Roman tiara,
Became straight and healthy and young.)

As for *Konrad Wallenrod*, Pushkin was becoming familiar with it long before its official publication in Petersburg early in 1828. A recent article in *Slavia Orientalis*, “New Reminiscences about Pushkin and Mickiewicz”¹⁶¹ throws much light on Pushkin’s initial interest in Mickiewicz’s poem, and also dispels much confusion concerning the identity of the first translator of *Konrad Wallenrod* into Russian. It was Skałkowski (not Skalski, as originally mistakenly cited by Władysław Mickiewicz and repeated by later scholars¹⁶²) who in the winter of 1827-28 lived in the same house with Mickiewicz in Moscow, and had a chance to meet all the poet’s Russian friends, including Pushkin. His memoirs are revealing:

. . . One evening Mickiewicz improvised a chapter from his poem *Wallenrod*, which he wanted to publish in Moscow. . . . Pushkin said: “I would very much like to have a word for word translation of this passage”—and Mickiewicz translated it for him into French —“But we have a young man here, who knows Russian as well as Polish.”—And he [Pushkin] asked me: “Since, during the improvisation you wrote down his verses, translate the passage.” I agreed immediately, but apologized to Pushkin in case my work did not turn out quite satisfactorily. “It will certainly be no worse than Polevoj’s literary rubbish”—said Pushkin. I translated immediately, although it is difficult to do such serious things at a moment’s notice. Pushkin read it through, put it in his pocket and lightly

¹⁵⁸ Ernest J. Simmons, *Pushkin*, p. 262.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

¹⁶⁰ A. S. Pushkin, *Poltava* (IV, 291).

¹⁶¹ Siemion Landa, “Nowe wspomnienia o Puszkinie i Mickiewiczu,” *Slavia Orientalis*, VIII, 2-3 (1959), pp. 53-59.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

nodded to me. And then and there Pogodin and his collaborator Shevyrev struck upon the idea to ask Mickiewicz [’s permission] to translate *Wallenrod* into prose and publish it in the journal *Moskovskij Vestnik*. I worked for a whole month. My clumsy work was of course corrected by Shevyrev—yet Pushkin was pleased and later, on the basis of my work, himself made a beautiful translation of one part of *Wallenrod*.¹⁶³

Skałkowski’s memoirs, besides being still another testimony to the friendly relationship between the two poets, help to establish the chronology of *Konrad Wallenrod* and *Poltava*. Pushkin’s translation of the “Introduction” to *Konrad Wallenrod* plays an important part here. Chronologically, Pushkin made his translation before the official publication of the poem, but he was already in possession of a complete translation of it. The puzzling element in Pushkin’s effort is the fact that he abandoned it after thirty-nine lines, leaving thirteen lines of the “Introduction” not translated. The explanation for this is that Pushkin, enchanted by the poem, wanted originally to translate the whole of it, although as a rule he had no enthusiasm for this kind of work. However, having translated a part, he abandoned it, convinced that “he could not submit to the mental passivity required of a translator.”¹⁶⁴ A different explanation is offered by N. Aseev in the introduction to his translations of Mickiewicz’s poetry published in *Novyj Mir* in 1946.¹⁶⁵ Aseev asserts that Pushkin abandoned the translation of *Konrad Wallenrod* upon realizing its ideology. The ideology did not attract him and upon discovering that, he could not go on with the translation. But Aseev goes further in his conjecture. Pushkin’s translation contains numerous inaccuracies. These, according to Aseev, stem not from the translator’s inability to find the right words, but are intentional modulations of Mickiewicz’s text, “in order to strengthen the contrast of the situation.”¹⁶⁶ Pushkin achieved it by stressing the character of the river Niemen as a borderline separating two opponents. Mickiewicz’s lines

Tak Niemen, dawniej sławy z gościnności,
Łączący bratnich narodów dzierżawy,¹⁶⁷

(Thus Niemen, once famous for its cheer,
Connecting link to brother nations dear,)

became, in Pushkin’s translation

Tok Nemena gostepriimnyj,
Svidetel’ ikh vrazhdy vzaimnoj, . . .¹⁶⁸

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹⁶⁵ Nikolai Aseev, “Perevody iz Adama Mickiewicza,” *Novyj Mir*, Moskva, 1948, 1-2, str. 148-151.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

¹⁶⁷ Adam Mickiewicz, *Konrad Wallenrod* (II, 71, 72).

¹⁶⁸ A. S. Pushkin, “Sto let minulo, kak tevton” (III, 54).

(The hospitable current of the Niemen,
Witness of their mutual animosity,)

In the same way Pushkin replaced the epithet “pruskiej topoli” (Prussian poplar tree) in the original with “nemeckoj topol’ju” (German poplar tree) in the translation. By these changes Pushkin intended to make it clear to Mickiewicz that he understood the real, allegorically presented, political content of the poem. But, at the same time, while stressing the differences of political positions, he wanted to underline the likeness of poetical temperaments. That is why he omitted the local colour in the last lines of his translation. Mickiewicz’s version of these lines is as follows:

Tylko słowiki kowieńskiej dąbrowy
Z bracią swoimi zapuszczaniskiej góry
Wiodą, jak dawniej, litewskie rozmowy
Lub, swobodnymi wymknąwszy się pióry,
Latają w gości na spólne ostrowy.¹⁶⁹

(Only the nightingales in Kovno’s grove
Sing to their brethren of the slopes above
Chanting in Lithuanian as of old.
Or they cleave the air with free wings,
To meet upon the islands that they share.)

On the other hand, Pushkin’s version has no local references:

Lish’ solov’i dubrav i gor
Po starine vrazhdby ne znali
I v ostrov, obshchij s davnikh por,
Drug k drugu v gosti priletali.¹⁷⁰

(Only the nightingales of the oak-groves and hills
As of old, did not know animosity
And to the island, shared from old times,
Flew in, visiting each other.)

In Aseev’s opinion, Pushkin stopped his translation at this point intentionally. Upon examining the remaining thirteen lines of the text, one is inclined to go along with this opinion. Pushkin, having read the whole poem and not agreeing with its political content, translated only a passage and abandoned it at—from his point of view—the most significant lines. It is these last translated lines, free of any local references and considerably changed, that can be read as Pushkin’s address to Mickiewicz himself—an allusion to their friendship.

This friendship soon found practical expression. In 1828, Pushkin, using his influence at the court, made an application on behalf of Mickiewicz to allow him to go abroad.¹⁷¹ Besides being a friendly act, this gesture can also serve as an indication of Pushkin’s true understanding

¹⁶⁹ Adam Mickiewicz, *Konrad Wallenrod* (II, 72).

¹⁷⁰ A. S. Pushkin, “Sto let minulo, kak tevton” (III, 54).

¹⁷¹ H. Szypner, *Adam Mickiewicz*, p. 75.

of *Konrad Wallenrod*. He must have been aware that by publishing the poem Mickiewicz was recklessly gambling with his destiny. In such a case the best solution was to help him leave Russia in order to avoid the consequences. But, almost at the same time, Pushkin suddenly began to work on *Poltava*, and continued working on it with great speed until the poem was finished, as if to make sure that it was finished before Mickiewicz's anticipated departure. These are no mere coincidences, but intentional design on Pushkin's part to provide a reply to *Konrad Wallenrod*. All this is part of the "polemic" referred to earlier. It started with Pushkin's translation of the *Introduction*. That it was a "polemic" is indicated by another coincidence. In the same way that Pushkin was familiar with *Konrad Wallenrod* before its publication, Mickiewicz was acquainted with *Poltava*. According to Aronson,

Pushkin explained to Mickiewicz the plan of his not yet published *Poltava* (which was called at first *Mazepa*), and with what heat, with what drive he [Pushkin] tried to impart to him his ideas and prove to him that he had studied the hero of his poem. Mickiewicz made some objections concerning the moral character of the hero.¹⁷²

As a matter of fact, at that moment the poets were already speaking different languages.

Before leaving Russia, Mickiewicz received from Pushkin a copy of the recently published *Poltava*.¹⁷³

2

According to the evidence quoted so far, the connection between *Konrad Wallenrod* and *Poltava* rests mainly on ideological grounds. It is primarily the opposition of the figures of Wallenrod and Mazepa, and it is expressed in the following formula:

Pushkin portrayed Mazepa . . . as a complete villain, lacking in any positive human traits. Thus, in *Mazepa* Pushkin stigmatized a traitor and this was his answer to Mickiewicz's *Konrad Wallenrod*.¹⁷⁴

The problem with such a formula is that, however true it may be, it limits the field of investigation to the two protagonists; as a matter of fact it limits it to just one aspect of their character. This, in turn, besides being an over-simplification of the problem, does disservice to both poems, because *Konrad Wallenrod* and *Poltava* have more in common than just the question of treason.

The most obvious common characteristic of the two poems is the kinship of subject—in a larger sense, not limited to the act of treason. In both, the essential theme is based on a long brooding over the desire for vengeance. It is true that in both vengeance has resort to treason, but

¹⁷² M. Aronson, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

¹⁷³ H. Szyper, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

¹⁷⁴ Wacław Lednicki, "Mickiewicz's Stay in Russia," *op. cit.*, p. 47.

it is also true that in both the heroic traitor inspires passionate love and gains a degree of redemption. Even Pushkin, a severe judge of Mazepa, criticized Ryleev for passing lightly over the subject of love between the old Hetman and Maria.¹⁷⁵ In *Poltava*, he devotes to the subject of love a considerable part of the poem, just as Mickiewicz does in *Konrad Wallenrod*. The figure of Wallenrod himself must have attracted Pushkin for the same reasons that he was attracted to Vojnarovskij. "Strong characters and tragic shadows . . ." ¹⁷⁶ attracted him, in his own words. He was prompted to try to create a similar character for whom he looked in Russian history. The search led him to Mazepa.

Unlike Wallenrod, a somewhat legendary figure, Mazepa's place in history is firm. But in Pushkin's time there was still a certain amount of vagueness surrounding this figure. The best Russian history at the time—Karamzin's *History of the Russian State*—does not cover the period in question. Pushkin's own detailed studies of the Petrine period took place somewhat later. He was obliged to use several contemporary studies of Peter the Great, which were not disposed to treat Mazepa favourably. Mazepa himself is the subject of a vast literature, but most of it comes after Pushkin. The only works available to him were Voltaire's *History of Charles XII*, which incorporates the story of Mazepa taken from the memoirs of the Polish writer and adventurer, Jan Chryzostom Pasek (1630-1701),¹⁷⁷ and Byron's poem *Mazeppa*, based on Voitairé.¹⁷⁸ But it seems that Pushkin's chief source was the *Dumy* of his friend Ryleev, and particularly his poem *Vojnarovskij* with the historical biographies accompanying it. There is evidence of Pushkin's interest in Mazepa as far back as 1824, when he took a trip to Tiraspol and Bendery to interview a man reputed to be a hundred and thirty-six years old, who had taken part in the campaign of Peter the Great against Charles XII; the object was to discover the grave of Mazepa.¹⁷⁹ But even this interest was probably provoked by Ryleev's *Vojnarovskij*, because Pushkin's first enthusiastic references to the poem date also from that period. An additional indication of Ryleev as Pushkin's source are the numerous textual similarities between *Vojnarovskij* and *Poltava*. In this respect, there are more connections between *Poltava* and *Vojnarovskij* than between *Poltava* and *Konrad Wallenrod*. These connections, however, stop at the figure of Mazepa.

Pushkin's Mazepa is essentially the same man who appears in *Vojnarovskij*, except that he has been given all negative features. While Ryleev's Mazepa stands very close to Wallenrod, Pushkin's hero is diametrically opposed to him. Wallenrod sacrifices everything, his love, his personal happiness, even his honour, for freedom and for his father-

¹⁷⁵ F. R. Ryleev, *Stikhotvoreniya . . .*, p. 21.

¹⁷⁶ See footnote 144.

¹⁷⁷ Jan Chryzostom Pasek, *Pamiętniki*.

¹⁷⁸ Wasyl Lev, "Mazepa in Slavic Literature," *Slavic and East-European Studies*, Montreal, Published by The Department of Slavic Studies, University of Montreal, Vol. V, Parts 3-4, Autumn-winter 1960-1961, p. 201.

¹⁷⁹ Ernest J. Simmons, *Pushkin*, p. 166.

land. Mazepa's motives are seemingly the same, yet in Pushkin's version he commits all his mischievous acts for personal motives. Still, Pushkin surrounds him with details and circumstances which are strikingly similar to Wallenrod's and, in general, historically correct. But within the historical frame of reference, the poet is free to use his licence to exaggerate some aspects and suppress others, as, for example, when Pushkin exaggerates Mazepa's personal ambitions at the expense of his nationalistic motives.

The similarities between *Konrad Wallenrod* and *Poltava* are considerable. Both Wallenrod and Mazepa are self-styled saviours, towering over their fellow-men and motivated by strong passions. Their special qualities are underlined by the fact that both Aldona and Maria reject many suitors while waiting for them. Their relationship to these women goes beyond love and marriage: Mazepa is Maria's godfather and Wallenrod converts Aldona to his religion. Yet, despite their strength, they are not able to control their own destinies or their women's. They know happiness only until war enters their lives. Even the war is in a way similar. The invading Swedes are very much like the invading Teutonic Knights. Also, both the protagonists join the invaders and both are motivated by the same purpose—vengeance. There is great similarity in the moments of hesitation and moral struggles through which both the protagonists have to go. Finally, despite the totally opposite results of their schemes, both Wallenrod and Mazepa are destroyed at the end.

These similarities are, however, for the most part incidental. The connections between *Konrad Wallenrod* and *Poltava* are not as strong as those between *Vojnarovskij* and *Poltava*. Still, there is in *Poltava* a genuine echo from *Konrad Wallenrod* which is of great significance in a comparison of the two poems. The first line in *Konrad Wallenrod* begins with the words "Sto lat mijało" (Now for a hundred years). Pushkin's translation, similarly, begins with "Sto let minulo" (A hundred years elapsed). Some scholars, among them Aseev and Lednicki noticed that the line "Proshlo sto let" (A hundred years passed) in *Poltava* and *The Bronze Horseman* derives from the first line of Pushkin's translation of the beginning of *Konrad Wallenrod*. This observation seems reasonable if the lines are taken out of context. The beginning of *Konrad Wallenrod*

Sto lat mijało, jak Zakon krzyżowy
We krwi pogaństwa północnego brodził;¹⁸⁰

(Now for a hundred years of blood and wrath
The Order of the Cross has hewn a path
Amid the pagan north;)

and Pushkin's translation of it

Sto let minulo, kak Tevton
V krovi nevernykh okupalsja;¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ Adam Mickiewicz, *Konrad Wallenrod*, (II, 71).

¹⁸¹ A. S. Pushkin, "Sto let minulo, kak Tevton" (III, 53).

(A hundred years elapsed, since the Teuton
Has compensated himself with the blood of the faithless;)

represent a simple statement of fact. Similarly, the lines from the *Introduction* to *The Bronze Horseman*

Proshlo sto let, i junyj grad,
Polnoshchnykh stran krasa i divo,¹⁸²

(A hundred years passed and the young city,
The beauty and marvel of the northern lands,)

although more positive, are just a statement of fact. These three excerpts can be considered as possibly derived from one another. Their tone is similar and they are unpretentious. They cannot possibly have anything in common with the rhetorical content of the *Poltava* lines:

Proshlo sto let — i shto zh ostalos'
Ot sil'nykh gordykh sikh muzhej,
Stol' polnykh voleju stratej? ¹⁸³

(A hundred years passed—and what has remained
Of these strong, proud men,
So full of passions?)

If these lines were derived from the *Introduction* to *Konrad Wallenrod* quoted above, and if they were a part of Pushkin's reply to Mickiewicz, they would, if read in context, acknowledge the temporary nature of the conquests of the Teutonic Knights. But since *Konrad Wallenrod* is an allegory in which the Teutonic Knights (or Germans) represent the Russians and the Lithuanians (and Prussians) represent the Poles, it is highly unlikely that Pushkin wrote the lines with the intention of comforting Mickiewicz with the prophecy of an impending Russian withdrawal from Poland. This argument is not an attempt to eliminate possibly the only valid textual tie between *Konrad Wallenrod* and *Poltava*. On the contrary, it is an effort to establish a genuine connection. In the last chapter of Mickiewicz's poem there is another passage containing a further variation of the "hundred years":

Oni zginęli, — widzisz te pożary?
Widzisz? To Litwa w kraju Niemców broi;
Przez lat sto Zakon ran swych nie wygoi.¹⁸⁴

(They perished all—and dost thou see yon glare
Of fires? Dost see? The hand of Litwa there
Kindles the German lands with glutting flame!
A hundred years will not suffice to heal
Those wounds.)

These lines are entirely different from the *Introduction*. This is the

¹⁸² A. S. Pushkin, *Mednyj vsadnik* (IV, 380).

¹⁸³ _____, *Poltava*, (IV, 303).

¹⁸⁴ Adam Mickiewicz, *Konrad Wollenrod* (II, 129).

reversal of fortunes, the final triumph of the Wallenrodian scheme. They are probably the most positive lines of the poem and the most dangerous from the point of view of censorship. And they are provocative. They imply not only the regaining of freedom but an invasion with a view to punishing the oppressor and incapacitating him for a century. This was the kind of provocation that Pushkin was bound to respond to, not only as a spokesman of order versus chaos but as a Russian patriot. The passage must have been clear to him. It contains definite local references—not “Prussian” as in the *Introduction*, but “Lithuanian” and “German.” Pushkin responded and his “reply” fits perfectly. If the two passages are read one after the other—Mickiewicz’s first

Oni zginęli, — widzisz te pożary?
Widzisz? — To Litwa w kraju Niemców broi;
Przez lat sto Zakon ran swych nie wygoi.

(They perished all—and dost thou see yon glare
Of nires? Dost see? The hand of Litwa there
Kindles the German lands with glutting flame!
A hundred years will not suffice to heal
Those wounds.)

then Pushkin’s

Proshlo sto let — i shto zh ostalos'
Ot sil'nykh, gordykh sikh muzhej,
Stol' polnykh voleju stratej?

(A hundred years passed—and what has remained
Of these strong, proud men,
So full of passions?)

the effect is one of unmistakable refutation. One is almost tempted to read a hidden allusion in the Pushkin passage to the Polish invasion of Moscow in the early XVII century and the subsequent decline of Poland during the following hundred years, culminating with the defeat of the Polish—Swedish—Ukrainian plans at Poltava.

Pushkin had a strong sense of history and he was aware of the rhythm of Russia’s progress, which was being accomplished in almost exactly century-long stages: 1609—1709—1812, stages which he depicted in his poetry. The awareness of such relentless progress may be a reason for his repeated use of the “hundred years” phrase. An additional proof of the historical significance of the phrase is the circumstance that in Poltava he places it at the end of the poem, in its conclusion, and that is where the phrase is also found in *Konrad Wallenrod*.

There is no doubt that the impact of *Konrad Wallenrod* on Pushkin was considerable. How thoroughly familiar the Russian poet was with the “Lithuanian tale” is demonstrated by the following quotation from *Dubrovskij*, written in 1833:

Maria Kirilovna sat in her room embroidering. . . . She did not get confused in the choice of silk like Konrad’s mistress who, in an

amorous absent-mindedness, embroidered a rose with green silk.¹⁸⁵ This reference to Konrad and Aldona is an echo of a passage from *Konrad Wallenrod*:

Besides serving as a proof of Pushkin's knowledge and memory of *Konrad Wallenrod*, the example also shows how popular the poem must have been in Russia, since by referring to Konrad and Aldona, Pushkin must have presumed on his readers' part the knowledge of Mickiewicz's poem.

As far as *Poltava* is concerned, it did not produce a similar effect on Mickiewicz. This, however, was not because of any negative attitude to the poem on the part of Mickiewicz. Rather, it is a confirmation of a fact, already discussed, that Mickiewicz did not attach any great importance to Pushkin's works written after 1829—the year of Mickiewicz's departure from Russia. To him, "The Prophet" was Pushkin's last word as a poet. It is true that *Poltava* was written while Mickiewicz was still in Russia, but he received a complete copy of it only on the eve of his departure. Immersed in the formalities concerned with his trip, he probably did not read the poem until much later, if at all. Shortly thereafter the Polish-Russian war broke out, following which Mickiewicz underwent a complete transformation which later resulted in his abandoning of poetry in favour of didactic works. Within his new role, the Russian episode of his life assumed a new, mystical significance, entirely irreconcilable with the political content of *Konrad Wallenrod*. Consequently, any replies to it, such as *Poltava*, became meaningless. Mickiewicz was now primarily interested in the mystical content of a work of literature. If it did not have it, a work was considered by him strictly within the confines of literary history and was treated casually. It was precisely this casual treatment that Mickiewicz gave *Poltava* in his only reference to it in one of his Parisian lectures in 1842:

After the period of imitating Byron, Pushkin unconsciously imitated Walter Scott. At that time, the general talk in literary circles concerned local colour, historians, the need to recreate the past in poetry and in the novel. The last works of Pushkin, *The Gypsies*, *Mazepa* [!], fluctuate between the two tendencies. At one time he is a Byron, at other times Walter Scott. But not yet himself.¹⁸⁷

Ignoring the question of the correctness of Mickiewicz's analysis, one

¹⁸⁵ A. S. Pushkin, *Dubrovskij* (VI, 295).

¹⁸⁶ Adam Mickiewicz, *Konrad Wallenrod* (II, 108).

187 ——, *Literatura Słowiańska* (XI, 352).

detail of it is significant: the reference to *Poltava* as *Mazepa*. It proves Mickiewicz's negligence in acquainting himself with Pushkin's works. But it also indicates something more significant. We know, that originally *Poltava* was titled *Mazepa* by Pushkin himself. It was under this title that Mickiewicz knew it when he discussed its contents with Pushkin at the time of its writing. If, later, he still referred to it as *Mazepa*, he was remembering not the poem itself, which was handed to him on his departure from Russia, and which he probably had not read, but the discussions about it with the Russian poet. These discussion, in turn, indicate the existence of a polemic between Mickiewicz and Pushkin in Russia as early as 1828.

CONCLUSION

We have established that Mickiewicz's *Konrad Wallenrod* and Pushkin's *Poltava* are reflections of the poets' diametrically opposed ideas on politics and history. In Pushkin, the ideas developed during his exile and crystallized after the Decembrist revolt. In Mickiewicz, although he was subjected to similar experiences as Pushkin, the development took a longer time. Unlike Pushkin, whose revolutionary period occurred in his youth and which he outgrew after a series of misfortunes, Mickiewicz became a revolutionary despite and perhaps even because of misfortunes. He was born in a country which only a few years earlier had lost its independence. He grew up during and after the disappointing Napoleonic episode, when Polish hopes were dashed to the ground. Yet, Napoleonism remained forever a great factor in his life:¹⁸⁸ it offered a way to regain independence. The years between 1812 and the persecutions of 1824 can be regarded as years of maturation, not unlike Walter Alf's early years in Prussia. Although they seemingly do not offer any indication of his future development, there is a definite connection between this period and the later one: the poet's early writings begin to show increasing individualism and a spirit of independence. His dormant patriotism needed a violent shock to come to the surface. The shock was provided by the reactionary policies of the Russian government. Confronted with the power of Russia, he made a choice of the means to fight the enemy very early, probably as early as 1824. It was as a potential revolutionary that he set out for Russia where he was at first overwhelmed by even greater evidence of the power of that country. But it was also there that his revolutionary tendencies received support from an unexpected quarter, from a man who, after only a very short acquaintance, loomed large in Mickiewicz's development — Kondratij Ryleev. The relationship between Mickiewicz and Ryleev is even now shrouded in mystery and any

¹⁸⁸ Alina Witkowska, *Rówieśnicy Mickiewicza*, Warszawa, 1962, pp. 37-38.

reference to him in Mickiewicz's writings contributes greatly to the understanding of the episode in Mickiewicz's life which culminated in *Konrad Wallenrod*.

We have seen that Mickiewicz's later writings are often able to provide clues to events and people which, for various reasons, the poet could not refer to during his stay in Russia. Such clues are mostly found in his Parisian lectures and in the poems of the *Digression*. One of them, "To my Muscovite Friends," contains—as indicated earlier in this essay—the only direct reference to Ryleev in Mickiewicz's poetry. There is, however, another poem in the *Digression* which also contains a possible reference to Ryleev. The poem is "The Monument of Peter the Great":

Two youths stood deep in talk one rainy night,
Beneath one cloak, hand closely clasped in hand:
One was that pilgrim from a western land,
An unknown victim of the tsar's grim might;
The other was the famous Russian bard,
Beloved through all the northland for his song.
Although their friendship had not flourished long,
They were united by a great regard,
Their souls soared over earthly trials and woe,
Like twin crags jutting from an Alpine peak:
Though separated by a roaring creek,
They scarcely hear the tumult of their foe,
While each to each their towering summits lean,
The pilgrim mused on Peter's awesome mien,
While gently thus the bard explained the scene:

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¹⁸⁹

The "pilgrim from a western land" is, of course, Mickiewicz. The identity of the "famous Russian bard" remains obscure to this day. From what we know of Mickiewicz in Russia, we can safely assume that the mysterious bard could only have been Ryleev or Pushkin. No attempt is being made here to solve the mystery except to point out the extent to which the poem throws additional light on the relationship between Mickiewicz, Pushkin and Ryleev.

Chronology favours Ryleev as the bard of Mickiewicz's poem. If the scene described in the poem actually took place in the same period of time as other scenes in the *Digression*, Pushkin cannot really be considered, for he probably met Mickiewicz not earlier than September, 1826. On the other hand, we have Vjazemskij's testimony that a conversation actually did take place between himself, Pushkin, and Mickiewicz before the monument by Falconet.¹⁹⁰ Was Mickiewicz obliged to reproduce the factual details? A poet is not an historian bound to maintain strict chronology, particularly when he describes events that have taken

¹⁸⁹ Adam Mickiewicz, "Pomnik Piotra Wielkiego," (III, 283).

¹⁹⁰ Wacław Lednicki, *Pushkin's Bronze Horseman: the Story of a Masterpiece*, Berkeley, University of California Publications, Slavic Studies, Vol. I, University of California Press, 1955, p. 27.

¹⁹¹ Maria Danilewiczowa, "Polityka rozdzieliła nas . . .," *Wiadomości*, No. 9 (570), 1957.

place some years ago. Another argument in favour of Pushkin as the bard is the relative literary importance of Pushkin and Ryleev in the eyes of Mickiewicz. It is true that Ryleev's *Dumy* won him fame in Russia—but why did Mickiewicz later make only an insignificant reference to him in his lectures in Paris while at the same time discussing Pushkin's poetry at much greater length? Was it because Ryleev was all but forgotten and Pushkin's memory still fresh in Mickiewicz's mind or, more likely, was it because Mickiewicz really considered Pushkin as the "famous Russian bard"? As for Ryleev, arguments favouring him as the bard, aside from chronology, were summarized by a Polish scholar in London in 1957, Maria Danilewiczowa, in an article honouring Lednicki. They, too, are inconclusive and waiting for a convincing proof.¹⁹¹

The fact that in his dedicatory poems, "To My Muscovite Friends," Mickiewicz speaks with such pathetic indignation about Ryleev's execution and curses the people who "kill their prophets" does not negate the possibility of the meeting of the two bards, Pushkin and Mickiewicz, before the monument of Peter. According to Mickiewicz's version of the meeting, the conversation concerned Peter the Great, one of the protagonists of both *Vojnarovskij* and *Poltava*. We have reason to believe that Mickiewicz conversed many times on history and political themes with Pushkin.¹⁹² Considerably less is known about the exchange of ideas between Mickiewicz and Ryleev. If we accept the theory that in "The Monument of Peter the Great" Mickiewicz had Pushkin in mind and not Ryleev, then the two bards' conversation about Peter constitutes one more link contributing to the polemic over the complex of ideas expressed in *Konrad Wallenrod* and *Poltava*.

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¹⁹² See footnote 172.

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LE PROBLEME POLONAIS AU DEBUT DE LA GUERRE DE CRIMEE, 1853

A l'approche de la guerre russo-turque le problème polonais revenait immédiatement à l'esprit des diplomates des puissances européennes. Une comparaison entre la politique de la Russie envers la Pologne à la fin du XVIII^e siècle avec celle contemporaine envers la Turquie s'imposait à tout le monde. "Tout ce procédé du tsar nous est bien connu, c'est le même qui était si efficacement employé contre la Pologne" — constata l'ambassadeur d'Angleterre à Saint-Pétersbourg.¹ Drouyn de Lhuys, ministre des affaires étrangères n'hésita pas de son côté à envoyer à son ambassadeur à Londres, le comte Walewski, les extraits des traités conclus le 6 mai 1686 entre la Pologne et le Grand Duché de Moscou et ceux du traité du 13 février 1768 entre la Pologne et la Russie pour montrer comment les tzars avaient toujours utilisé la question religieuse pour leur agrandissement territorial. Il pria Walewski de signaler à l'attention du Lord Clarendon, ministre des affaires étrangères d'Angleterre, la leçon "à tirer d'un exemple historique qui était encore dans la mémoire de tous".² Il ne manqua d'ailleurs pas de parler lui-même à l'ambassadeur d'Angleterre sur le parallèle de la politique russe envers la Pologne et la Turquie contemporaine. "L'analogie est curieuse" — observa Lord Cowley.³ Quand le 26 juin Nicolas repudia dans un manifeste toute pensée de guerre et de conquête on trouva à l'hôtel des Capucines — remarqua pertinemment le ministre de Suisse à Paris — "des manifestes de la même cour contenant les mêmes assurances, et bientôt suivies de l'incorporation de territoires polonais, ottomans ou persans".⁴ "Mentchikoff, protecteur des orthodoxes, sera le maître à Constantinople comme l'était, il y a 60 ans, Repnin à Varsovie" — affirma justement Thiers.⁵

L'émigration polonaise profita de l'occasion pour publier en juillet un "Recueil des documents pour la plupart secrets et inédits, tirés en partie des archives de Varsovie de feu Mgr le Grand Duc Constantin". Cette édition de l'Hôtel Lambert inquiéta l'ambassadeur d'Autriche qui en parla dans ses rapports officiels. Il n'aimait pas les articles de la presse française qui, se basant sur ce recueil, se préoccupaient de l'éventualité du partage de l'empire ottoman et de la part qui en reviendrait à l'Autriche "dont les intentions étaient représentées sous des couleurs calculées à inspirer de la méfiance". Il était surtout irrité du rapport de Tatischeff envoyé de Vienne le 15 avril 1826 qui prévoyait que l'Autriche

ferait des efforts sincères pour forcer la Turquie à satisfaire des demandes russes. Si la guerre devait éclater et tant que les armées russes se borneraient à l'occupation des Principautés Danubiennes il était probable que l'Autriche resterait passive. Mais si les opérations portaient sur l'autre rive du Danube, si elles franchisaient les Balkans comme alors l'existence même de l'Etat turc serait menacé l'Autriche se hâterait de s'assurer une part dans les dépouilles. Le "Constitutionnel", feuille ministérielle, en donnait quelques extraits accompagnés d'explications peu bienveillantes pour les puissances copartageantes.⁵ L'irritation de l'ambassadeur était d'autant plus grande qu'il savait parfaitement que l'opinion du journal reflétait bien l'opinion générale prévalant à ce moment là non seulement en France mais dans toute l'Europe, et qu'il y avait des gens influents à Vienne qui poussaient l'empereur François-Joseph vers cette solution de la question d'Orient.⁶

Ce rapprochement entre le sort de la Turquie et de la Pologne était aussi vivant en Angleterre. La première expression publique de ce sentiment était une réunion à Newcastle au début d'avril, présidée par le Lord Mayor de cette ville, qui avait pour objet de voter une adresse au gouvernement pour le prier de s'efforcer de maintenir l'indépendance de la Turquie contre les agressions de la Russie et de l'Autriche. Les attaques intéressées qui représentaient l'empire ottoman comme un Etat chancelant et sans avenir étaient repoussées et on rappela que ç'avait été également sous le prétexte spacieux de la désorganisation que la Pologne avait été injustement partagée. "Le Sultan n'a ni Sibérie ni Pologne dans ses domaines" — observa à l'autre occasion lord Palmerston.⁷ Pour dénoter la conduite russe dans les Principautés lord Clarendon la qualifia "digne de pirates de l'Algérie. Jamais depuis le partage de la Pologne, de pareils actes n'avaient été commis en Europe".⁸ Quelques semaines plus tard il précisa sa pensée: la Russie voulait bien s'emparer de la Turquie. "Ce sera un nouveau partage de la Pologne, mais la possession du Constantinople par la Russie est une autre chose pour l'Europe que la présence russe à Varsovie".⁹ D'ailleurs l'expulsion complète des Turcs des territoires européens aurait été pour Palmerston "un nouveau drame polonais".¹⁰

Le cas polonais était utilisé aussi par la propagande russe, surtout envers les Turcs. "Voulez vous un exemple de la stérilité des sympathies européennes ? — demanda-t-elle — Regardez la Pologne. Que d'articles le verbeux occident n'a-t-il pas écrits ! A combien de bals donnés au profit des Polonais, l'Occident n'a-i-il pas dansé ? Et en définitive — néant ! Dans la dernière lutte contre la Russie, l'armée polonaise s'est battue pendant sept mois avec un courage brillant et soutenu. Le théâtre de la guerre était à la portée de tout le monde, le temps d'y arriver pour soutenir le faible contre le fort n'a pas manqué, et pourtant aucun faiseur d'articles de journaux, aucun orateur de tribune, bien plus que celà, aucun enfant de cet occident vermoulu n'est venu partager les dangers de la lutte. A la fin du drame, après la chute de Varsovie, les amis de la Pologne résidant à Paris, se sont portés à une démonstration tout-à-fait

digne de leur caractère. Au mépris des égards dûs à un ambassadeur, ils se sont permis d'aller insulter le comte Pozzo di Borgo en son hôtel. Cet acte heroïque a été à peu près l'unique marque de sympathie que l'Occident ait donné à la Pologne. Il en serait encore moins pour la Turquie, et l'avortement de la fameuse Banque Irouvé-Chanel en est une preuve éclatante".¹¹

Mais la Pologne en 1853 n'était pas seulement un souvenir, une leçon à tirer d'un exemple historique. C'était une force réelle en Europe orientale, une force regardée avec espoir ou hostilité, suivant le cas. Palmerston pensait immédiatement à utiliser les officiers polonais dans l'armée turque. Ils contribueront à rendre celle-ci plus efficace. "Si le sultan invite les Polonais actuellement en exil à rejoindre ses régiments les Polonais dans l'armée russe deviendront chancelants".¹² Il reviendra à la même idée à la veille des hostilités ; l'armée turque bien commandée par les officiers anglais, français et polonais devrait écraser définitivement "ces barbares rouges",¹³

Mais l'animosité envers la Pologne n'en était pas moins ouvertement prononcée par les autres. "Times", traditionnellement antipolonais, publia le 8 juillet un article où il s'élevait contre l'impatience belliqueuse peu prudente et peu mesurée, qu'une partie de l'opinion publique affectait de témoigner. Il s'étendait sur les conséquences fatales à l'avenir de l'Europe qu'aurait une guerre générale, où l'Angleterre se trouverait, par le force des choses, avoir pour alliés contre l'absolutisme russe la Pologne et l'empereur des Français Napoléon III. Clarendon se demandait si vraiment, pour maintenir les Turcs sur le Bosphore, l'Angleterre devait risquer un conflit avec la Russie ou attendre encore un peu et s'exposer à la défaite complète de ceux-ci, ou aux soulèvements hongrois et polonais.¹⁴ La même inquiétude était exprimée par Charles Wood, le président du Bureau de contrôle. Il ne doutait pas que l'Angleterre et la France pouvaient imposer à la Russie leurs conditions de solution. Mais cela signifiait la guerre. Or pourrait-t-elle être localisée. Dans l'affirmative, elle serait une chose insignifiante. Mais, pouvait-on l'espérer. La Pologne resterait-elle calme, la Hongrie et l'Italie seraient-elles tranquilles ?¹⁵

Hübner mandait de son côté les détails du programme des gouvernements occidentaux en cas de l'entrée en guerre contre la Russie et probablement contre l'Autriche. On formerait des corps francs, les munirait d'argent et d'officiers et on tâcherait ainsi de soulever la Hongrie, l'Italie et la Pologne. "L'un des principaux Ministres de l'Empereur a eu l'imprudence de tenir dernièrement des propos qui ne laissent aucun doute, si le doute avait été possible, sur la marche que les Cabinets de Paris et de Londres n'auront pas de scrupule de suivre dans l'éventualité d'une guerre avec l'Autriche".¹⁶ La menace d'une insurrection polonaise était avancée par le prince Albert dans sa lettre au prince Guillaume de Prusse, le futur empereur allemand Guillaume I, pour convaincre les Prussiens de la nécessité de s'allier aux puissances occidentales et préserver ainsi leurs intérêts nationaux.¹⁷

La crainte russe d'un soulèvement polonais était d'ailleurs bien

connue dans les chancelleries européennes. Drouyn de Lhuys commenta ainsi les résultats des entrevues entre les souverains copartageants: "Tous les efforts de l'Empereur de Russie, tant à Varsovie qu'à Potsdam pour gagner le roi de Prusse dans les voies de sa politique ne paraissent pas avoir eu le succès qu'il s'en était promis. . . C'est, évidemment, par crainte des dispositions de la Pologne que l'Empereur Nicolas a voulu agir sur l'esprit du Roi Frédéric Guillaume, mais ce Prince a compris tout le danger de la solidarité qu'on essayait d'établir entre les intérêts des deux couronnes, sous la simple assurance d'une demande de garantie qui aurait surtout pour but de s'assurer l'alliance du Cabinet de Berlin envers et contre tous les adversaires de la Russie".¹⁸ Le ministre de Belgique à Paris affirmait, d'après diverses lettres parvenues aux diplomates résidents dans la capitale impériale, que le tsar ne cachait pas le mécontentement qu'il avait ressenti de voir les cours de Vienne et de Berlin décliner ses propositions d'une triple alliance qui aurait été formée, sinon pour combattre "la démagogie en général, du moins pour contenir les trois Polognes".¹⁹ Le ministre d'Angleterre à Berlin constata que la position géographique de la Prusse et ce grand chancré des trois puissances du Nord, la Pologne, avaient formé un intérêt commun qui les réuniraient pour toujours.²⁰ Clarendon ne doutait d'ailleurs pas qu'en cas de la guerre et d'un soulèvement polonais contre la Russie l'armée Prussienne ne fut employée pour l'écraser.²¹

Un autre sujet de préoccupation, surtout pour l'Autriche étaient les Polonais servant dans l'armée turque. Les sentiments autrichiens étaient bien exprimés par un rapport du ministre belge à Vienne qui, cette fois, redit les opinions de ses hôtes : "Pour mieux encore apprécier l'état d'esprit dans les Provinces Turques de l'Europe il faut ajouter les menées révolutionnaires de tant de réfugiés qui depuis 1848 se sont répandus dans l'Empire Ottoman. Depuis 1831, des Polonais avaient commencé cette œuvre de soulèvement. De ténébreuses intrigues avaient cherché à troubler la tranquillité des Principautés. A ces Polonais se sont joints depuis des Slaves Autrichiens, des Magyares, des Italiens, des Français et même des Allemands. On a vainement cherché à ouvrir les yeux des Musulmans sur le danger de ces intrigues, ils ont continué à faire accueil aux étrangers et à présent encore ils enroilent sous leurs drapeaux une foule de vagabonds et ils confient à des renégats la défense de leurs intérêts".²² Une des réclamations du prince Leiningen au cours de sa mission à Constantinople en février 1853 fut donc la demande de l'éloignement des Polonais et des Hongrois des provinces frontières.²³ Le ministre belge à Vienne ne doutait pas d'autre part que si les Turcs avaient pour chefs, dans une guerre contre la Russie, des généraux hongrois et polonais l'empereur François Joseph ne se ferait pas certainement leur allié, "il ne consentirait même pas à ce que l'empereur Nicolas fût cette fois seul à les combattre".²⁴ La diplomatie autrichienne était donc vraiment alarmée quand au début de septembre un grand nombre de Polonais et de Hongrois avaient quitté l'Europe occidentale pour aller grossir les rangs de l'armée d'Omer Pacha "et y souffler le

feu de leurs passions politiques".²⁵ Les protestations de leur ambassadeur à Constantinople auprès des autorités turques n'amenaient aucun résultat pratique.²⁶ Le gouvernement de Vienne remarqua avec dépit que les esprits des différents partis turcs étaient livrés "à l'active influence des réfugiés de toutes les couleurs" qui ne voyaient que dans la guerre et la confusion "le triomphe de leurs rêves démagogiques et de leurs illusions de nationalité".²⁷ Le langage encore plus fort était usé par le noble Lord Clarendon qui ne parlait que de "réfugiés et racaille" qui faisaient l'opinion publique à Constantinople.²⁸

La crainte autrichienne des émigrants polonais n'était pas sans fondement. Déjà en janvier, donc au moment de la mission de Leiningen, mais avant celle du prince Menthikoff, le prince Adam Czartoryski souligna au cours d'une conversation avec Napoléon III la nécessité de baser les relations nationales sur la justice et le droit de chaque nation à un état indépendant.²⁹ En juin il s'était rendu à Londres avec un mémoire sur la conduite et les buts de la guerre qui allait commencer. Le prince insistait sur le besoin d'une collaboration étroite entre Paris et Londres pour sauver la Porte, soulager le sort des chrétiens sous la domination turque et reconstituer le barrière polonaise contre les envahissements de la Russie. Dans ses conversations il se heurtait à l'incompréhension anglaise des affaires européennes. Clarendon ne cachait point son désir de paix, Palmerston, avec "un visage de bois, regard impossible, bouche close" ne répondit rien aux arguments d'Adam Czartoryski. L'accessibilité pour les arguments "de la bonne cause" et la parfaite amitié pour la Pologne étaient évidentes chez Disraeli, hélas, comme c'était toujours le cas avec les amis de la Pologne en Angleterre, il se trouvait en opposition au gouvernement actuellement au pouvoir.³⁰

En même temps les Polonais suggèrent la formation d'une légion polonaise avec l'uniforme et le drapeau national. Une telle demande était posée simultanément à Paris, à Londres et à Constantinople. En octobre, après la déclaration officielle de la guerre, ce fut le gouvernement ottoman qui invita des officiers polonais à commander des troupes turques.³¹ Mais si les Polonais étaient bien accueillis dans l'armée ottomane comme individus, la formation d'une légion polonaise rencontra une hostilité bien marquée de l'ambassadeur d'Angleterre Stratford de Redcliffe.³² Il justifia son opposition par le désir de ménager l'hésitante Autriche.³³

La question polonaise avait donc déjà en 1853 tous les traits qui la caractérisent pendant toute la durée de la guerre de Crimée; une monition aux nations européennes combien un avoisinage russe est dangereux pour tous les peuples civilisés; une possibilité militaire qui n'attendait qu'un mot des puissances occidentales pour se soulever contre l'ennemi commun; enfin une implacable hostilité autrichienne qui réussira à contrecarrer tous les plans polonais et parvint à terminer la guerre sans que le nom de la Pologne fût prononcé.³⁴

NOTES

¹ Lord Seymour à Lord Russell, Public Record Office = PRO. 30/22/10-H, 9-II-1853.

² Drouyn de Lhuys à Walewski. Archives du ministère des affaires étrangères, Paris = AE. Angleterre, 28-VI-1853.

³ Lord Cowley à Lord Clarendon; Bodleian Library, Oxford, MSS Clarendon C-6, 27-VI-1853.

⁴ Bundesarchiv, Bern, rapport de Paris, 6-VII-1853.

La Suisse avait en ce moment des relations plutôt tendues avec l'Autriche à cause des réfugiés italiens qui avaient cherché asile sur le territoire hospitalier de la Confédération Helvétique. Le ministre des Etats-Unis à Bern prédisait que l'Autriche profitait de l'occasion de l'apaisement momentané de la question d'Orient pour préparer à la Suisse le sort de la Pologne : l'abolition de la constitution et la restauration de la vieille oligarchie. — Despatches from U.S. Minister to Switzerland, vol. I, 2-VII-1853.

Fay donna ensuite une des meilleures descriptions de la politique russe. "Poland, Hungary and Germany wait but the downfall of their northern enemy to rise . . . For more than a century Russia has acted upon European civilisation, which it is perhaps her mission to convey in a broken stream, adopted to their capacities, to the hoards of Asia. Her policy, partly commercial and partly military, has since she shook off the Mongol yoke, been pursued with an unswerving consistency and for one purpose, to extend her empire from the Chinese frontier and Japan to the Hellespont. Sweden, Poland, Persia and Turkey are among the victims of her ambitious design, which doubtless perceived an occasion of fulfilment in the weakness of Europe consequent upon the movements of 1848 and the estrangement of the governments from their people. Whatever use Providence may intend to make of this dark, vague and mysterious Power, which rather resembles the Assyrian or Egyptian empires of the primeval world, than the more enlightened modern monarchies, it is certain that she has, like an iron bulwark, arrested the advancing tide of human progress. She has struck down Napoleon. She restored the Bourbons. She formed the soul of the Holy Alliance. Her foot is upon Poland. She checked the revolution of 1848. She crushed Hungary and raised the House of Habsburgh from the dust. Like a Divinity of Darkness, she has presided over European affairs, and by the fears, perhaps erroneous, founded on her vagueness and vastness, mingled with images of Siberia and the knot, wielded by a hand as relentless as ever oppressed mankind, she has, for a hundred years, inspired the Policy of Governments, checked liberal movements, encouraged Gothic errors, passions and cruelties, and kept the nations at her feet." — Rapport du 10 février 1854.

⁵ Journal écrit par Nassau William Senior pour le prince Albert. — Royal Archives, Windsor = R.A. K.17/3, 10-V-1853. Material from the Royal Archives is used with gracious permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

Une sélection importante du journal pour les années 1853-56 est publiée in : Senior N.W. : Conversations with M. Thiers, M. Guizot and other distinguished persons during the Second Empire. London 1878, 2 vol.

^{5a} Hübner à Buol. Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv = HHS. Frankreich 43, 7-VII-1853. HHS, Frankreich 42, 10-VII-1853. Il s'agissait du "Constitutionnel" du 10 juillet 1853.

⁶ Flahaut écrit à Clarendon au septembre 1853, c'est-à-dire après l'entrée des troupes russes dans les Principautés, que l'Autriche, comme c'était le cas pendant les partages de la Pologne, joindrait le tsar dans sa curée turque. Le seul moyen de l'arrêter était de maintenir l'entente franco-anglaise. — Flahaut à Clarendon, MSS. Clarendon C-6, 18-IX-1853.

⁷ "But it may be contended that in many points of civilisation Turkey is in advance of Russia. The Turkish Commercial system is far more liberal and enlightened than that of Russia. Justice is quite as well administered in

Turkey as in Russia; pecuniary corruption is not a bit more prevalent at Constantinople than at St. Petersburgh. Religious toleration is fully as great in the Southern as in the Northern Empire. All the inhabitants of Turkey except the few negroes and Circassians in the houses of rich Turks are free, by far the largest number of the inhabitants of Russia are still Slaves. Personal liberty is much more secure, and the Press is more free in Turkey than in Russia, and the Sultan has no Siberia, and no Poland within his dominion". — Palmerston à James Graham, 29-V-1853, copie in : MSS. Clarendon C-3. George Hamilton Gordon, 4th Earl of Aberdeen : Letters, vol. X, pp. 123-124. (Privately edited by Arthur H. Gordon, Baron Stanmore.)

⁸ Archives du ministère des affaires étrangères, Bruxelles = AE. B, Grande Bretagne, 4-VIII-1853.

⁹ Clarendon à Lord Westmorland, ambassadeur d' Angleterre à Vienne, MSS. Clarendon C-126, 14-IX-1853.

¹⁰ Palmerston à Lord Aberdeen, R.A., G 6/101, 1-XI-1853.

¹¹ Lettre du 25 juillet publiée par "Impartial" de Smyrne, d'après la copie conservée dans MSS. Clarendon C-10.

¹² Memorandum de Palmerston, 20-V-1853, PRO.30/22/11-A.

¹³ "Would make an example of the Redhaired barbarians" — Palmerston à Clarendon, MSS. Clarendon C-3, 12-IX-1853.

¹⁴ "What are we to look to however for a termination of the affair if the Turks reject all wholesome advice and all fair offers of peace ? They know we can't desert them because they occupy that "panel of territory" which we don't chance would fall into other hands and if they like to go on fighting till they are tired or until the Refugees have either raised Hungary and Poland or have abandoned it as hopeless are we to go on with them for that entails war with Russia and for more than one campaign ? I can find no answer to that question that is at all satisfactory or hopeful, and every day I think we are drifting more towards what we least desire or intend". — Clarendon à Cowley, Foreign Office = FO.519/169 (Cowley papers) 26-XI-1853, MSS. Clarendon C-127.

¹⁵ Charles Wood, président du Bureau de contrôle, à Russell. PRO.30/22/11-B, 13-XII-1853.

¹⁶ Le ministre cité fut probablement Persigny qui tenait à cette époque un langage bien énergique. — Hübner à Buol, HHS. Frankreich 42, 3-X-1853, rapport No. 151-H. Valsecchi Franco : *Il risorgimento e l'Europa. L'alleanza di Crimea*, Firenze 1968, p. 318, note 11, où est cité un autre extrait du même rapport.

¹⁷ Prince Albert au prince Guillaume de Prusse, 7-XI-1853. — Dr. Kurt Jagow: *Prinzgemahl Albert. Ein Leben an Throne*, Berlin 1937, pp. 264-266.

¹⁸ Drouyn de Lhuys à Walewski. AE. Angleterre, 17-X-1853.

¹⁹ A.E.B, France, 29-X-1853.

²⁰ Le chargé d'affaires à Berlin, Loftus manda : "I required of Baron Manteuffel whether any particular allusion had been made by the Emperor to Poland. His Excellency replied, with some hesitation, that no special allusion had been made farther than that the Emperor had remarked that he knew attempts would be made to raise a Rebellion there, but that he had force enough to quell it". — R.A. G 6/46, 11-X-1853.

²¹ Lord Bloomfield à Lord Clarendon, MSS. Clarendon C-1, 27-VIII-1853.

²² Clarendon à Loftus, MSS. Clarendon C-127, 7-XII-1863.

²³ Rapport du comte O'Sullivan de Grasse, Vienne, à son ministre des affaires étrangères, Brouckère, A.E.B, Autriche, 29-I-1853.

²⁴ "Les explications que les Ministres Russes et Autrichiens ont données à M. Drouyn de Lhuys sur l'attitude armée prise par leur Gouvernements dans l'affaire des Monténégrins ont été très bien accueillies par le Gouvernement français. Le fait qu'il y aurait dans l'armée turque autant de Polonais et de Hongrois que des Turcs n'est pas contesté et on comprend dès lors que les deux Grandes Puissances dont il s'agit prennent les préoccupations nécessaires pour prévenir toute tentative insurrectionnelle sur ce point". — A.E.B, France, 14-11-1853. A.E.B, Autriche, 4-III-1853.

24 A.E.B, 23-VI-1853.

Quelques semaines plus tard Van de Weyer s'occupa de nouveau du problème polonais en mandant à Brouckère : "Les Polonais résidants à Londres se sont réunis la semaine dernière pour entendre la lecture du discours prononcé à Paris par le Prince Adam Czartoryski, lors de l'anniversaire de la révolution polonaise. Ils ont voté une adresse de remerciements au Prince Czartoryski dans laquelle ils expriment "leurs sentiments de confiance, de respect et de gratitude pour l'illustre et infatigable patriote qui a consacré sa vie entière à la cause de la Pologne et à préparer ses destinées futures". Ces manifestations ne laissent point de créer ici une certaine sensation dans le public, au moment de la situation critique des affaires générales de l'Europe semble ouvrir un champ nouveau aux espérances et aux combinaisons des divers intérêts politiques qui s'y trouvent en lutte". — AE.B, Grande Bretagne, 27-XII-1853.

26 Alison, Thérapie, à Cowley, FO.519/304-II, 25-IX-1853.

27 A.E.B, Autriche, 26-VII-1853.

"La société d'ici est très discourtoise envers tout ce qui est polonais" — écritit de Vienne en novembre 1853 le prince Adam Sapieha à son père. — Stefan Kieniewicz : *Adam Sapieha*, Lwów 1939, p. 32.

28 Clarendon à Cowley, FO.519/304-II, 8-X-1853.

29 Handelsman Marceli : Adam Czartoryski, Warszawa 1950, vol. III, pp. 89, 234.

30 Handelsman, op. cit., pp. 243-247. Prince Adam Czartoryski : *Memoirs*, 1888, vol. II, pp. 349-351. Kukiel Marian : "Sondages autrichiens au sujet du rétablissement de la Pologne en 1845", *Teki Historyczne XIV*, 1965, p. 109. *Jeneral Zamoyski*, vol. VI, pp. 7-10.

Aberdeen nota en août avec une satisfaction bien visible : "I see Palmerston has been receiving a Polish deputation; and nothing seems to have been said on his part worthy of notice. I am very glad to hear of his belief in peace". — Aberdeen à Clarendon, 21-VIII-1853, MSS. Clarendon C-4.

31 Le 2 juillet, au moment donc de l'occupation des Principautés par les troupes russes, le ministre d'Angleterre manda de Dresde : "I cannot presume to pronounce an opinion, to whether Russia will proceed to extremities. She has no one just ground for occupying the Principalities, and if the other European Powers have good reason for wishing to avoid a war, she has just as many. Poland is quiet from exhaustion, and from seeing a present impossibility of success; but their spirit and hatred of Russia are still there, and any reverse experienced by that Power will be hailed with joy in all parts of Germany". — RA., G 3/109, 2-VII-1853.

32 Bystrzonowski, Constantinople, à Władysław Zamoyski, 29-XII-1853, *Jeneral Zamoyski*, VI, p. 21.

33 Lord Stratford à Clarendon, MSS. Clarendon C-21, 7-IV-1853. Dans la même lettre il suggéra ses personnels buts de guerre : "A recast of the whole Russian line of frontier for the benefit of Poland and other spoliated neighbours to the lasting delivery of Europe from Russian dictation".

34 "Who, in forty years that had passed since Waterloo, would ever foretold that in a congress, meeting in Paris and presided over by an illegitimate son of the great Napoleon (Walewski), nothing should have been said about Poland and nothing done about Italy?" — A. J. P. Taylor : *The struggle for mastery in Europe 1848-1918*, Oxford 1960, p. 89.

MISCELLANEA

MIECZYSŁAW PASZKIEWICZ
(London)

ALIENS' CERTIFICATES IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE
— POLONICA (1826-1852)

INTRODUCTION

The Act of Parliament dated 26 May 1826 ruled that all Aliens present at that time in the United Kingdom, or arriving after that date should be registered.¹ This resulted in the issuing of Aliens' Certificates. At first aliens were required to surrender their passports in exchange for these certificates. It was decided that passports should be deposited in the Home Office, and despatched to the port of departure only when the owner planned to leave the country at which time the passports were returned. In 1836 the law was amended² so that aliens were required on

¹ Acts of Parliament, 7.Geo.4,Cap.54. An Act for the Registration of Aliens (26th May 1826). "Whereas in the Fifty-sixth Year of the Reign of His late Majesty an Act was passed, intituled An Act for establishing Regulations respecting Aliens arriving in or resident in this Kingdom . . . which Act has by several subsequent Acts been continued . . . And whereas it is expedient that in lieu of the Regulations of the said Act Provision should be made for a complete Registration of all Aliens in this Realm; be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled . . . That every Alien who shall at the Commencement of this Act be in this Realm, shall . . . make a Declaration in Writing of his or her Place of Abode, Names, Rank, Occupation and Description; . . . III. And be it further enacted, That every Alien who shall after the Commencement of this Act arrive in any Part of the United Kingdom from Foreign Parts, or pass from Great Britain to Ireland, or from Ireland to Great Britain, shall immediately after such Arrival or Passage deliver to the Chief Officer of the Customs at the Port of Debarkation any Passport which shall be in his or her Possession, and declare in Writing to such chief Officer, or verbally make to him, a Declaration to be by him reduced into Writing, of the Name of the Vessel in which he or she shall have arrived, and also of his or her Names, Rank, Occupation, and Description, . . . and shall also in like Manner declare the Country and Place from whence he or she shall then have come, . . . IV. And be it further enacted, That the Officer of the Customs to whom such Passport shall be delivered, and Declaration made, shall immediately registered such Declaration in a Book . . . (in which Book Certificates shall be printed in Blank, and Counterparts, thereof . . .) and shall insert therein the several Particulars by this Act required in the proper Columns, in both Parts thereof, . . . and shall cut off one Part of such Certificate and deliver the same to the Alien who shall have made such Declaration."

² Acts of Parliament, 6 Gul.4, Cap.11.

arrival to show their passports to the Port Officers who were responsible for issuing the certificates.

These documents were prepared in two identical parts: one to be kept by the Home Office and the other supplied to the person involved. The certificates include a considerable amount of information useful and important for historical and biographical studies. Their main value lies in the fact that they provide precise and reliable dates of arrival in England of the person in question.³

These certificates are preserved in the Public Record Office, partly in the form of original documents⁴ (from 1836 to 1852) and partly in the abbreviated form of "Indexes" (from 1 July 1826 to 20 January 1849).⁵ Therefore the period of 27 years is covered, with a nine years span during which the two groups of documents overlap each other—the overlap being useful and helpful for checking and verifying information. As far as the history of Polish refugees in Great Britain is concerned the documents for the years 1826-1852 are of particular interest and value since they include information on refugees after the 1830-31 insurrection and the 1848 uprisings.

Each certificate includes the following sections: *Port of arrival and number*⁶; *Day/ and Place/ of Landing*; *Name of person and his native Country*⁷; *From what Country last arrived*⁸; *Remarks*, including information which *Government* (if any) issued a passport⁹; *Signature of the Bearer*; *Signature of the Port Officer*. In the Indexes information is reduced to: Name of the person; port of arrival; date and number; sometimes date of departure.

The indexes are arranged in a more or less alphabetical order and cover the following periods:

The original certificates are kept in 236 volumes, most of them containing from 500 to 1,000 documents each. They are arranged

<i>Public Records Office shelf mark:</i>	<i>Period:</i>
IND 8916	1826 (July)-1828 (December)
IND 8917	1829 -1831
IND 8918	1832 -1834
IND 8919	1835 -1836 (June)
IND 8920	1836 (July)-1838 (June)
IND 24167	1838 (July)-1840
IND 24168	1841 -1845
IND 24169	1846 -1849 (20th January).

³ For instance precise dates of the arrival of Fryderyk Chopin.

⁴ PRO signatures from HO-2-1 to HO-2-236.

⁵ Eight volumes. PRO signatures: from IND 8916 to IND 8919 and from IND 24167 to IND 24169.

⁶ Numeration is separate for each port and each year.

⁷ The answers in this section include titles, sometimes professions. The native country can be a state (Poland, Russia, France), or a town (Warsaw).

⁸ Often the port of departure and the name of the vessel are mentioned.

⁹ Often information is added that the arrival was the first one, or the date of the last departure is given.

chronologically and by ports of arrival: the PRO shelfmark is always prefixed with HO-2-1, HO-2-27 etc.

Shelfmark: Year: Port: Numbers: Shelfmark: Year: Port: Numbers:

HO-2-1	1836	Various ports, A-G	-54	1838	London 5501-6000
-2	1836	" H-P	-55	1838	London 6001-6500
-3	1836	" R-Z	-56	1838	London 6502-7000
-4	1836	Dover 1-500	-57	1838	London 7001-7310
-5	1836	Dover 501-897	-58	1839	Various ports
-6	1836	London 1-500	-59	1839	Dover 1-500
-7	1836	London 501-100	-60	1839	Dover 501-1000
-8	1836	London 1001-1500	-61	1839	Dover 1001-1560
-9	1836	London 1501-2000	-62	1839	London 1-500
-10	1836	London 2001-2500	-63	1839	London 501-1000
-11	1836	London 2501-3000	-64	1839	London 1001-1500
-12	1836	London 3001-3500	-65	1839	London 1501-2000
-13	1836	London 3501-4000	-66	1839	London 2001-2500
-14	1836	London 4001-4285	-67	1839	London 2501-3000
-15	1837	Various ports A-N	-68	1839	London 3001-3500
-16	1837	Various ports, P-Z	-69	1839	London 3501-4000
-17	1837	Dover 1-500	-70	1839	London 4001-4500
-18	1837	Dover 1001-1700	-71	1839	London 4501-5000
-19	1837	Dover 1001-1700	-72	1839	London 5001-5500
-20	1837	Hull 1-533	-73	1839	London 5501-6000
-21	1837	London 1-500	-74	1839	London 6001-6590
-22	1837	London 501-1000	-75	1840	Various ports
-23	1837	London 1001-1500	-76	1840	Dover 1-700
-24	1837	London 1501-2000	-77	1840	Dover 701-1330
-25	1837	London 2001-2500	-78	1840	London 1-500
-26	1837	London 2501-3000	-79	1840	London 501-1000
-27	1837	London 3001-3500	-80	1840	London 1001-1500
-28	1837	London 3501-4000	-81	1840	London 1501-2000
-29	1837	London 4001-4500	-82	1840	London 2001-2500
-30	1837	London 4501-5000	-83	1840	London 2501-3000
-31	1837	London 5001-5500	-84	1840	London 3001-3500
-32	1837	London 5501-6000	-85	1840	London 3501-4000
-33	1837	London 6001-6500	-86	1840	London 400-4500
-34	1837	London 6501-7000	-87	1840	London 4501-5073
-35	1837	London 7001-7500	-88	1841	Various ports
-36	1837	London 7501-8000	-89	1841	Dover 1-416
-37	1837	London 8001-8570	-90	1841	London 1-500
-38	1838	Various ports, A-H	-91	1841	London 501-1000
-39	1838	Various ports, K-Z	-92	1841	London 1001-1500
-40	1838	Dover 1-500	-93	1841	London 1501-2000
-41	1838	Dover 501-1000	-94	1841	London 2001-2500
-42	1838	Dover 1001-	-95	1841	London 2501-3000
-43	1838	London 1-500	-96	1841	London 3001-3500
-44	1838	London 501-1000	-97	1841	London 3501-4182
-45	1838	London 1001-1500	-98	1842	Various Ports
-46	1838	London 1501-2000	-99	1842	Dover 1-802
-47	1838	London 2001-2500	-100	1842	Dover 803-1237
-48	1838	London 2501-3000	-101	1842	London 1-500
-49	1838	London 3000-3500	-102	1842	London 501-1000
-50	1838	London 3501-4000	-103	1842	London 1001-2000
-51	1838	London 4001-4500	-104	1842	London 2001-2500
-52	1838	London 4500-5000	-105	1842	London 2501-3000
-53	1838	London 5001-5500	-106	1842	London 3001-3500

-107	1842	London 3501-4000	
-108	1842	London 4001-4093	
-109	1843	Various ports	
-110	1843	Dover 1-800	
-111	1843	Dover 801-1591	
-112	1843	Folkestone 1-500	
-113	1843	Folkestone 501-1004	
-114	1843	London 1-500	
-115	1843	London 501-1000	
-116	1843	London 1001-1500	
-117	1843	London 1501-2000	
-118	1843	London 2001-2500	
-119	1843	London 2501-3365	
-120	1844	Various ports	
-121	1844	Brighton 1-502	
-122	1844	Dover 1-1000	
-123	1844	Dover 1001-1500	
-124	1844	Dover 1501-2000	
-125	1844	Dover 2001-2337	
-126	1844	Folkestone 1-1000	
-127	1844	Folkestone 1001-1500	
-128	1844	Folkestone 1501-2064	
-129	1844	London 1-1000	
-130	1844	London 1001-1500	
-131	1844	London 1501-2082	
-132	1845	Various ports	
-133	1845	Brighton 1-487	
-134	1845	Dover 1-1000	
-135	1845	Dover 1001-2000	
-136	1845	Dover 2001-2570	
-137	1845	Folkestone 1-500	
-138	1845	Folkestone 501-1000	
-139	1845	Folkestone 1001-1500	
-140	1845	Folkestone 1501-1890	
-141	1845	London 1-500	
-142	1845	London 501-1000	
-143	1845	London 1001-1854	
-144	1846	Various ports	
-145	1846	Brighton 1-523	
-146	1846	Dover 1-1000	
-147	1846	Dover 1001-1500	
-148	1846	Dover 1501-2000	
-149	1846	Dover 2001-2644	
-150	1846	Folkestone 1-500	
-151	1846	Folkestone 501-1000	
-152	1846	Folkestone 1001-1500	
-153	1846	Folkestone 1501-2238	
-154	1846	London 1-500	
-155	1846	London 501-1000	
-156	1846	London 1001-1495	
-157	1846	Ramsgate 1-550	
-158	1847	Various ports	
-159	1847	Dover 1-1000	
-160	1847	Dover 1001-2000	
-161	1847	Dover 2001-2942	
-162	1847	Folkestone 1-1000	
-163	1847	Folkestone 1001-2075	
-164	1847	London 1-1000	
-165	1847	London 1001-1948	
-166	1848	Various ports	
-167	1848	Dover 1-1000	
-168	1848	Dover 1001-2000	
-169	1848	Dover 2001-2800	
-170	1848	Dover 2801-3724	
-171	1848	Folkestone 1-1000	
-172	1848	Folkestone 1001-2000	
-173	1848	Folkestone 2001-2920	
-174	1848	London 1-1000	
-175	1848	London 1001-1942	
-176	1849	Various ports	
-177	1849	Dover 1-1000	
-178	1849	Dover 1001-2000	
-179	1849	Dover 2001-3000	
-180	1849	Dover 3001-4000	
-181	1849	Dover 4001-4653	
-182	1849	Folkestone 1-1000	
-183	1849	Folkestone 1001-1614	
-184	1849	London 1-1000	
-185	1849	London 1001-2000	
-186	1849	London 2001-2764	
-187	1850	Various ports	
-188	1850	Dover 1-1000	
-189	1850	Dover 1001-1500	
-190	1850	Dover 1501-2000	
-191	1850	Dover 3001-3500 nos. 2000-3000 are omitted)	
-192	1850	Dover 3501-4200	
-193	1850	Dover 4201-4965	
-194	1850	Folkestone 1-758	
-195	1850	London 1-500	
-196	1850	London 501-1000	
-197	1850	London 1001-1500	
-198	1850	London 1501-2000	
-199	1850	London 2001-2500	
-200	1850	London 2501-3179	
-201	1850	Various ports	
-202	1851	Dover 1-1000	
-203	1851	Dover 1001-1500	
-204	1851	Dover 1501-2000	
-205	1851	Dover 2001-2500	
-206	1851	Dover 2501-3500	
-207	1851	Dover 3501-4500	
-208	1851	Dover 4501-5000	
-209	1851	Dover 5001-6000	
-210	1851	Dover 6001-6646	
-211	1851	Folkestone 1-1000	
-212	1851	Folkestone 1001-2000	
-213	1851	Folkestone 2001-3000	
-214	1851	Folkestone 3001-4000	
-215	1851	Folkestone 4001-5000	
-216	1851	Folkestone 5001-6000	
-217	1851	Folkestone 6001-7281	
-218	1851	London 1-1000	
-219	1851	London 1001-2000	
-220	1851	London 2001-3000	
-221	1851	London 3001-4000	
-222	1851	London 4001-5000	
-223	1851	London 5001-6000	

-224	1851	London	6001-7000	-230	1852	Dover	1001-1560
-225	1851	London	7001-8000	-231	1852	Folkestone	1-1270
-226	1851	London	8001-9000	-232	1852	London	1-1000
-227	1851	London	9001-10000	-233	1852	London	1001-2000
-228	1851	London	10000-11283	-234	1852	London	2001-3000
-229	1852	Dover	1-1000	-235	1852	London	3001-4000
				-236	1852	London	4001-4478

Although aliens were obliged, after 26 May 1826 to declare their presence in the United Kingdom on their arrival and although penalties "for false declarations, or neglecting to make the same" were considerable¹⁰ yet a large number of persons who arrived failed to obtain certificates. In a box of mixed documents in the Public Record Office¹¹ "Return of numbers of Aliens reported to have arrived and thereafter registered" for the years 1842-1848 is preserved. The figures show that about 50 per cent of arriving aliens did not receive certificates and this percentage was steadily declining until the last year covered by the return, when it increased again to almost exactly 50 per cent. The figures are as follows:

	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848
Arrived:	11,600	11,755	13,980	14,318	16,180	16,021	17,840
Registered:	6,084	6,483	7,267	7,261	7,687	7,429	8,956

The document also gives monthly figures for the years 1846-8 and the number of registered for 1835: 9,456, and for 1837: 11,568.

It is not quite certain on what information the numbers of arrivals were calculated in this return, but it is very likely that the reports of "Masters of Vessels arriving from Foreign Ports" were used. Each Master was obliged by the same Acts for the Registration of Aliens from 1826 and 1836 to ". . . immediately on his Arrival declare in Writing to the Chief Officer of the Customs at the Port of Arrival, whether there is, to the best of his Knowledge, any Alien on board his Vessel, and whether any Alien hath, to his Knowledge, landed therefrom at any Place within this Realm; and shall in his said Declaration specify the Number of Aliens (if any) on board his Vessel, or who have, to his Knowledge, landed therefrom, and their Names, Rank, Occupation, and Description, as far as he shall be informed thereof; and if the Master of any such Vessel shall refuse or neglect to make such Declaration, or shall make a false Declaration, he shall for every such Offence forfeit the Sum of Twenty Pounds, and a further Sum of Ten Pounds for each Alien who shall have been on board at the Time of Arrival of such Vessel . . ."¹²

These lists, supplied by the Masters, are preserved in the PRO in 101 volumes and they cover the years 1836-1859. They overlap for a part of the period examined in the present publication and they are the principal sources of information on arrivals for the years 1853-59. I have already prepared extracts from a part of these groups of documents and I believe that the amount of additional information, even for the

¹⁰ Acts of Parliament 7 Geo 4, Cap 54. IX.

¹¹ HO-2-102.

¹² 7 Geo.4, Cap.54., IX.

years already covered by Aliens Certificates, is considerable. A comparison of results from the three groups for the year 1837 can illustrate it well: There are 158 persons listed for that year (eight of them for second arrivals) 51 of them are not included in the extracts from the certificates. 233 persons are listed in the extracts from the certificates (seven of them are second arrivals) and 126 of them are not included in the extracts from the indexes. In the Aliens Lists there are 147 entries, 55 of them listed in neither of the above mentioned groups.

Persons included in the present list can broadly be divided into three groups: I. Polish political refugees, II. Jews from Poland, seeking better opportunity for work and an improvement in their social and economic conditions. III. Tourists, with their wives and servants, commercial travellers, musicians, artists. These were usually leaving Great Britain after some weeks or months. Many others were leaving even sooner. These predominantly, but not exclusively of Jewish origin, were using England as a transit station on their way to America.

In the present list the following persons are included: I. Those described in the documents as natives of Poland (also Russian-Poland, Prussian-Poland and Galizia) or of towns which belonged to Poland before the partition of the country in the late eighteenth century ("from Warsaw", "Poznań" etc.). II. Persons with Polish-sounding names, even if their native country is described as "France", "Russia", etc. Often well known Polish political refugees are described in their certificates as natives of a country in which they lived for some time (e.g. Belgium, France, Sardinia). In other cases well known members of the Polish nobility are described as natives of Russia or Prussia, when their landed property was situated in these states.

In doubtful cases (e.g. Wolkonski, Soboleswki, Zawadski) I inclined rather to include than to exclude an entry. For instance I included "Prince Dolgorowski" (who arrived 23 June 1836) although I suspect that he might have been a member of the Russian Dolgorukij family rather than of a Polish family such as Dolegowski. In some cases (e.g. Nefenceki) it is difficult even to suggest a probable correction.

In an attempt to save time and effort, whenever possible I have extracted information from the volumes of Indexes of the certificates, but, apart from the years 1849-52, not available in the form of Indexes, I have also made extracts from certificates for the complete year 1837 and for shorter periods, selected from other years. The extracts from the certificates for 1837 are included in the present publication alongside extracts from the Index for the same year to give the reader an opportunity to compare the results, and appreciate the difference.

The published material is arranged as follows: *In the case of the Indexes* the name and the first name and the title, if mentioned¹³ is

¹³ The titles are included, as they appear in the documents, even in such cases where the persons in question were not entitled to use them. They are given in English, or in French, if they were recorded in French in the certificates.

followed by the port of arrival and the number of the appropriate PRO volume. Sometimes the date in brackets follows at the end of an entry. This is the date of departure of an alien from Great Britain, or the date when the passport was returned to him. *In the case of certificates*, the PRO pressmark and the name of the port of arrival are mentioned as a heading. Names, first names and titles¹⁴ are followed by the country (or town) of origin, date of arrival, the country (or port) from which arrived, sometimes the name of the vessel and information of first arrivals or of previous departures, when mentioned in the documents, the number of the certificate, and the origin of the passport.

In cases where spelling of the name under the heading "name and country" differs from the signature of the bearer I have included the latter in brackets. I have also indicated those who signed their names in the Hebrew alphabet, and those who signed by their mark only (illiterates).

All distortions of proper names and geographical names (e.g. Hambro for Hamburg) are preserved as in the documents. A second version of the name given in brackets, followed by a question mark, indicates that I was not certain of the reading. In obvious cases of misspellings (such as Phillipofsky = Filipowski or Yelski = Jelski) the correct spelling will be indicated in the index. First names are given in the proper Polish version, except Jewish first names, which are left in the form in which they are written in the documents, as a large number of variations and diminutives were in use in the first half of the nineteenth century, and the spelling was rather vague. A few first names are also left in the original form, e.g. Jankolewicz *Heinrich* (16 Sept. 1836) or Labinski *Annette* (12 Nov. 1836) if that may possibly indicate that the Polish origin of the person in question is doubtful.

This publication includes almost 3,000 entries. In a number of cases two or more entries refer to the same person, not only in the documents as from the year 1837 for which both Indexes and certificates are included, but also when someone like Cezary Łubiński used to arrive very often.

On the other hand many entries cover more than one person, often several, either mentioned by name or else only listed as members of a family, servants, companions or employees.¹⁵ Sometimes, when more than one person is included in an entry, this is reflected in the numbers (e.g. Filipowicz E. and daughter, 16 Apr 1836, nos. 681-2) but on other occasions two or more persons are listed under the same number (e.g. Mańkowska Wiktoria and daughter, 24 July 39, no. 3832). In some cases two or three persons arrived together more than once (e.g. Stempowski Wincenty, Stempowski Leon and Trzciński Franciszek).¹⁶

¹⁴ See above.

¹⁵ E.g. Dubiecki J. and 15 other Polish refugees from Trieste, 4 Aug 36, or "Karol Szumski and 24 Travelling Musicians", 9 March 1851.

¹⁶ No doubt Leon and Wincenty Stempowski and Franciszek Trzciński All were listed as receiving a Government pension in 1838-40. See the footnote¹⁸.

It is worthwhile remembering that the numbers of these "Polish" arrivals were comparatively insignificant. They usually amounted to about 1 per cent of the total of the registered arrivals during a year, often less (as e.g. in 1840, 1841, 1847) and only very occasionally about 2 per cent (e.g. in 1850).¹⁷ Most frequently Polish immigrants (and aliens in general) arrived at the Port of London. Dover was second in popularity, but Folkestone was also very popular in 1851. It is also noticeable that summer and late spring were much more popular seasons for arrivals than winter.

The present list is of course far from complete: it would be easy to point out many names of persons of Polish origin who arrived in Great Britain and spent considerable time here during the years covered by the Indexes and certificates who are not recorded in them. The present publication is only a part of a larger programme of publishing documentary material, connected with Polish immigrants, and preserved in the PRO in London, a programme which I initiated, by publishing in 1964 the list of Polish Refugees receiving pensions from the British Government from 1834 to 1899.¹⁸ In 1966 I published extracts from the naturalization papers and documents¹⁹ and in 1971 polonica in the Home Office Entry Books 1811-1866 and also corrections and additions for both.²⁰ I have already mentioned the "Lists of Aliens" supplied by Masters of vessels arriving at British ports (1836-1859), which belong to the same group. And there are other groups of documents which comprise much relevant information. I hope that this present publication, with all its limitations and omissions, will help encourage study of the subject by supplying some more concrete information and some precise dates.

¹⁷ 1835—1.32 per cent; 1836—2.53 per cent; 1837—1.33 per cent; 1838—1.009 per cent; 1839—1.28 per cent; 1840—0.91 per cent; 1841—1.29 per cent; 1842—0.83 per cent; 1843—1.06 per cent; 1844—1.004 per cent; 1845—0.6 per cent; 1846—0.82 per cent; 1847—0.74 per cent; 1848—1.16 per cent; 1849—2.2 per cent; 1850—1.95 per cent; 1851—1.03 per cent; 1852—1.12 per cent. *Average 1.23 per cent.*

¹⁸ M. Paszkiewicz, "Lista emigrantów Polskich w Wielkiej Brytanii otrzymujących zasiłki od rządu Brytyjskiego w latach 1834-1899" in: "Materiały do Biografii, Genealogii i Heraldyki Polskiej," Tom II, Buenos Aires — Paris 1964.

¹⁹ M. Paszkiewicz, "Polacy naturalizowani w Wielkiej Brytanii w XIX wieku" and "Naturalizacje Polaków w Anglii i Irlandii w XV-XVIII wiekach" in: "Materiały" . . . Tom III, 1966.

²⁰ M. Paszkiewicz, "Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii, Sprostowania i uzupełnienia. . ." and "Polonica w Kopiariuszu Korespondencji Home Office z lat 1811-1866" In: "Materiały" . . . Tom V, 1971.

INDEXES TO THE ALIENS' CERTIFICATES

IND. 8916 (July 1826-December 1828)

- 1 ABRAMCZYK Jacob Salomon, London, 20 June 1828. (1236).
- 2 ADAMSKI Mateusz, Dover, 12 July 1828. (2024).
- 3 BONIECKI Le Counte F. (?) von, Dover, 23 Sept 1828. (2560).
- 4 CZEPINSKIEGA Michala, Dover, 3 Apr. 27. (715).
- 5 CERNIECKA Katarzyna, Brighton, 21 June 27. (47).
- 6 CZERNIECKA Katarzyna, Dover, 11 May 28. (1462) (9 Mar. 1830).
- 7 DEBERZYNKY, B., London, 18 Nov. 26 (1064) (24 Aug. 27).
- 8 DOLAINSKY Ferdynand, London, 22 Apr 28. (441) (25 Apr. 28).
- 9 GOSCHIZKY C. K., Dover, 20 Feb 26. (339).
- 10 GADOWSKI L., Dover, 13 Mar. 27. (482).
- 11 GROCHOLSKI Count de, Brighton, 29 July 28. (60).
- 12 JOSELEWICZ J. J., Gravesends, 4 Aug. 26. (121).
- 13 JOBZKOWSKI Adam, Southampton, 31 Aug 26. (112).
- 14 JANCAROWICZ Schoel, London, 12 May 27. (460).
- 15 JANIEWICZ Marcin, London, 17 July 27. (1380).
- 16 JANIEWICZ Marcin, London, 20 June 28. (1228).
- 17 KRZYWANOWSKI E. J., London, 28 Oct. 26. (1094).
- 18 KARWINSKI Le Baron de, Dover, 16 June 27. (85).
- 19 KLATTOWSKI Klaner, Brighton, 15 Oct 27. (138).
- 20 KLECZEWSKI Herzel, London, 18 Aug 28. (2031).
- 21 LEYBKOWICZ H. and son, Gravesend, 4 Aug 26. (123-4).
- 22 LASZCZYNSKI Jacob, Dover, 18 Nov 27. (2753).
- 23 LESSENSKI Gn (?) Fryderyk, London, 3 Apr 28. (273).
- 24 LUTOMIRSKA Luiza, London, 22 May 28. (856).
- 25 MIRECKI Franciszek, Falmouth, 5 Sept 26. (27).
- 26 MAGASINSKI J., Dover, 21 March 27. (560).
- 27 MAJEREWICZ Aron, London, 14 July 28. (1535).
- 28 MIACZYNISKI Mateusz J., London, 24 July 28. (1755).
- 29 NANINCKI (?) Jenny, London, 26 Sept 28. (2492).
- 30 POLAK Abraham M., London, 17 July 26. (97).
- 31 POLAK Levi S., London, 26 July 26. (177).
- 32 POLAK Moses B. P. V. and wife, Gravesend, 31 July 26. (113-114).
- 33 POLAK Rebecca, London, 1 Aug 26. (262).
- 34 POLAK R. S., London, 31 Oct 26. (976).
- 35 PONTKOWSKI and wife (27 years old), Le Chevalier, Dover, 26 Jan 27. (167-8).
- 36 POLIKI Celestyn, Dover, 16 Apr 27. (905).
- 37 POLAK Maria (?) Simon, London, 2 Sept 27. (1988).
- 38 POLAK Morris Meyer, Dover, 13 Oct 27. (2521).
- 39 POLAK Reuben Isaac, London, 17 Oct 27. (2501).
- 40 POLAK Levy, London, 27 Feb 28. (104).
- 41 POZNANSKI Juliusz A., London, 31 Mar 28. (230).
- 42 PAWTOWSKI Josef, London, 3 July 28. (1402).
- 43 PLIZEWSKI Michał, London, 17 July 28. (1604).
- 44 POTOCKI Włodzimierz, Brighton, 17 Aug 28. (10).
- 45 RAZUMOWSKI H., Dover, 14 Aug 27. (213).
- 46 RACIBORSKI Józef, London, 3 July 28. (1401).
- 47 RADZUVELLE Le Prince, Dover, 5 July 28. (1470).
- 48 ROCHWACKI Izidor, London, 18 Aug 28. (2050).
- 49 RUDNICKI Władysław von, Dover, 23 Sept 27. (2561).

- 50 SZYMKIEWICZ D., Gravesend, 6 Sept. 26 (207).
 51 SEMBRETCKI T. W., Hull, 6 July 27. (36).
 52 SUFCZYNSKI Antoni, London, 14 July 27. (1353).
 53 SCHWERSENSKI Fabian, London, 24 June 28. (1282).
 54 SCHMILINSKI Cl Fryderyk, London, 26 July 28. (1785).
 55 TYSZKIEWICZ Iwan, London, 20 June 28. (1227).
 56 TRAMPOWSKI Jakub von, London, 28 June 28. (1341).
 57 TECHERSKI Herman, London, 26 Aug 28. (2122).
 58 WALCHOWSKI Princess von, London, 8 Sept 28. (2281).
 59 WOLICKI C., London, 11 Oct 26. (846).
 60 WALKOWICZ J. T., Hull, 21 May 27. (23).
 61 WALEWSKI Kajetan (?) von, Dover, 22 Oct 28. (2752).
 62 ZATOWSKI Wiktor, London, 16 Aug 28. (2032).

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- 63 ANDREJKOWICZ Józef, London, 11 July 29. (1581) (7 March 34).
 64 ADAMASZEK Hirsch, London, 22 Aug 29. (2224) (22 Oct 30).
 65 ABRAHAMCZYK, London, 2 Apr 31. (678).
 66 BOROWSKI Izydor H., Dover, 7 Feb 29. (265) (15 May 29).
 67 BUCHWALSKI Juda, London, 19 June 29. (1293).
 68 BRZOSTOWSKI Edward Count, London, 22 Oct 29. (2841) 27 Oct 29.
 69 BARCINSKI Antoni, Brighton, 10 June 30. (18) (Dover, 1 Feb 31).
 70 BRZOSTOWSKI Count Edward, Southampton, 15 July 30. (171) (15 Aug 30).
 71 BOROWSKI Mateusz, London, 9 Aug 30. (1960).
 72 BLUMOWICZA Mayer, London, 29 Nov 30. (3396).
 73 BARANOWSKI Stanislaw de, Dover, 2 Dec 30. (2883).
 74 BOGUSZ Nikodem, London, 2 Dec 30. (2884).
 75 BIAŁOBŁOCKI O (?) and servant, London, 28 Jan 31. (190-1) (26 Aug 33).
 76 BERKOWICZ L (?) Sinicke, London, 27 May 31. (1325).
 77 CZERNICHOWSKI Leopold, London, 3 Aug 31. (2223).
 78 COWALEWSKI Eli, Southampton, 14 Sept 31. (236).
 79 CHŁAPOWSKI Stanisław, Hull, 26 Sept 31. (75).
 80 DOMBROWSKI Jakub, London, 18 Apr 29. (572) (12 Sept 29).
 81 DZIEWULSKI Jan, Dover, 14 July 29. (2315).
 82 DOMBROWSKI Jakub, London, 29 Nov 29. (3117) (24 March 30).
 83 DWORZYNSKI Aloizy, Dover, 17 Nov 30. (2784) (31 May 31).
 84 DOMBROWSKI Jakub, Sunderland, 7 Jan 31. (3).
 85 DOMBROWSKI Henryk, Dover, 28 Mar 31. (883) (7 April 31).
 86 DRAGISZEWICZ Aleksander, Dover, 12 Apr 31. (1192) (17 May 31).
 87 DAVIDOWICZ Isaac, London, 27 June 31. (1713) (1 Jan 32).
 88 DZIEDUSZYCKI Count Tytus, Dover, 22 Sept 31 (2508) (1 Sept 32).
 89 GROCHOWSKA, Countess and servant, Dover, 31 Jan. 30 (176-7) (7 May 30).
 90 GAMBLEWICZ Isaac, London, 13 Aug 30. (2062) (12 July 31).
 91 GARZENSKI (or: Garzewski) Tadeusz, London, 6 Oct 30.
 92 GRYZMALA (GRZYMAŁA) Albert, Dover, 26 Mar 31. (811 (7 Apr. 31).
 93 GORECKI Antoni de, Portsmouth, 1 June 31. (21) (13 June 31).
 94 GARZINSKI Tadeusz, London, 24 Aug 31. (2510).
 95 JĘDRZEJEWICZ Józef K., London, 18 May 29. (802).
 96 IZRELOWICZ Genon (?), London, 22 Aug 29. (2189).
 97 ILLINSKI Count H. (?) and servant, Dover, 26 June 30. (1809-1812)

- 98 JANSKI Bogdan, London, 30 Aug 30. (2779) (27 Dec 30).
 (8 July 30).
- 99 JOACHIMCZYK Hirsch, London, 4 Sept 30. (2758) (9 Feb 31).
- 100 JOSZELEWICZ Leyzer, London, 8 Sept 30. (2415) (5 Nov 33).
- 101 JAKUBOWSKI Abraham, London, 19 Oct 30. (2927).
- 102 JEŁONKIEWICZ Jakub, London, 29 Nov 30. (3400) (14 June 31).
- 103 KOSTOFFSKY von, Dover, 10 Feb 29. (279).
- 104 KACZYNSKI Paweł, London, 8 May 29. (663) (22 Sept 32).
- 105 KLECZEWSKI Herman, London, 3 Aug 29. (1917) (Sept 29).
- 106 KLEMBOWSKI B., von, Dover, 15 May 30. (1520) (20 May 30).
- 107 KROCHMALNIK Salomon, London, 19 June 30. (1279) (20 June 30).
- 108 KROSNOWSKI count, London, 21 Sept 30. (2586).
- 109 KRALEWANSZKY (or: KROLWANSZKY) L., London, 29 Nov 30.
 (34053 (12 July 33).
- 110 KLATTOWSKY Ludwik G. W. KLONN, London, 15 Sept 31. (2795).
- 111 KRASINSKI Count Walerian, London, 21 Sept 31. (2848) (1 June 32).
- 112 KORZENIOWSKI C. Mali (?) de, London, 27 Nov 31. (3429).
- 113 LUSCZEWESKI Michał, London, 28 June 30. (1368) (31 Aug 30).
- 114 ŁUBIENSKI (Le Comte), Dover, 26 March 31. (810) (7 Apr 31).
- 115 LUBLINSKI Nathan B., London, 27 May 31. (1323).
- 116 LUBEINSKI Józef, London, 8 July 31. (1899).
- 117 LUBINSKI Józef, Dover, 23 July 31. (2072) (29 July 31).
- 118 LABENSKY Kamil (wife and servant), London, 26 Aug 31. (2534-6).
- 119 LISZCZYNSKI C., Hill, 13 Oct 31 (82).
- 120 MANDOWSKI Jacob, London, 2 May 29. (598) (12 June 29).
- 121 MARCZYNSKI Count Józef, Dover, 14 July 29. (321) (18 July 29.
 25 July 29).
- 122 MIODOWSKI M. Am, London, 3 Aug 29. (1923).
- 123 MOSCZYNNSKI Count J., Dover, 3 Sept 29. (2610) (11 Sept 29).
- 124 MARKOWICZ Itzeg (!), London, 17 Sept 29. (2500) (29 Sept 29).
- 125 MAŁACHOWSKI Count, Dover, 16 Nov 29. (3011).
- 126 MAYMOWICZ C. Hayke and son, Goole, 22 Nov 29. (5).
- 127 MARKOWICZ Jacub, London, 3 Apr 30. (23).
- 128 MARKOWSKI Hersch, London, 3 Apr 30 (236).
- 129 MIELŻYNSKI Count Ignacy, Brighton, 1 July 30. (29) (7 Sept 30).
- 130 MIECZNYNSKI Count G., Holyhead, 31 Aug 30. (30).
- 131 MENDELEWICZ Mojesz C., London, 26 Nov 30. (3380).
- 132 MAGAZINSKI Tadeusz, London, 18 Apr 31. (630).
- 133 MAGARINSKI Fraima, London, 7 Dec 31. (3471).
- 134 MARIANKOWSKI Karol, Dundee, 17 Dec 31. (1).
- 135 NARETIEMSKI Jacob, Goole, 23 July 30. (9).
- 136 NAROLSKI Baltazar, London 9 June 31. (1389). (11 July 31).
- 137 NIEMCEWICZ Ursyn, London, 21 July 31. (2482).
- 138 NADANSKI Karol, London, 29 Aug 31. (2608).
- 139 OSTROWSKI Hischel (?), London, 30 Aug 31. (1336).
- 140 OLSZEWSKI Antoni, London, 20 Oct 31 (3182).
- 141 POLAK Mojżesz Salomon, London, 19 May 29. (852). (11 Aug 30).
- 142 POLAK Abraham Michał, London, 16 July 29. (1646).
- 143 POLAK Levi, London, 8 Dec 29. (3128).
- 144 POLAK David Michał, Dover, 26 Jan 30. (150). (5 March 30).
- 145 POTOCKI Sr. Excellence Le Conte B (?), Dover, 27 June 30. (1821).
 (30 July 30).
- 146 POTOCKI Conte W., Dover, 27 June 30. (822). (30 July 30).
- 147 POTOCKI La Contesse and servants, Dover, 27 June 30. (1823-25).
 (30 July 30).
- 148 POTOCKI Le Conte S. with his daughter, governess and four ser-
 vants, Dover, 10 Aug 30. (2090-2096).

- 149 PILINSKI Stanisław Count von, London, 9 Aug 30. (2004). (13 Aug 30).
 150 POTOCKI Count and Suite, Brighton, 17 Aug 30. (41).
 151 PROCHOWNIK Jonasz Icek, London, 13 Aug 30. (2059).
 152 PIOTROWSKI Hieronim and brother, London, 13 Aug 30. (2042-3).
 153 POLAK Izrael Salomon, London, 1 Sept 30 (2285).
 154 POLAK Abraham, London, 30 Aug 30. (2286).
 155 POTOCKI Le Conte Stanisław, Dover, 19 Sept 30 (2357). (18 Nov 30).
 156 POTOCKI La Comtesse and two servants, Dover, 27 Nov 30. (2854-6). (4 Dec 30).
 157 POLAK Mojżesz, Dover, 20 Nov 30. (2802).
 158 POLAK Reuben, London, 9 June 31. (1518). (1 July 31).
 159 POLAK Izaac, London, 8 June 31. (1506).
 160 POZNANSKI Lewin, London, 11 July 31. (1924). (20 May 35).
 161 POTOCKI Count Mieczyslaw, Portsmouth, 14 Sept 31. (72).
 162 PARIZENSKI M. C., Hull, 18 Oct 31. (83).
 163 PAWŁOWICZ Mathias, London, 21 Oct 31. (3199).
 164 PLAUVOSKI Karol, Dover, 20 Dec 31. (2943).
 165 POTULICKI Kazimierz, Count, London, 9 Dec 31. (3481).
 166 RYPENSKI Anna, Hull, 3 Aug 29. (53).
 167 RYBICKI Teofil, London, 12 May 30. (693). (21 July 30).
 168 RACZYNSKI Count and servant, London, 23 June 30 (1331). (12 July 30).
 169 RADOLINSKI Count R de, Dover, 21 July 30 (1986) (11 Aug 30).
 170 ROSTWOROWSKI Jan (?) Count de, London, 21 Sept 30 (2538). (23 Sept 30).
 171 ROSTWOROWSKI Jan (?) and son, London, 21 Sept 30 (2589-90). (23 Sept 30).
 172 RAUTONSKI Ksawery, Harwich, 29 Oct 31. (85).
 173 SAWISKI L., Dover, 12 July 29 (229) (Aug 29).
 174 SOBANSKA Countess and two servants, Dover, 3 Sept 29 (2611-13). (21 Sept 29).
 175 SCHABATKA Jan, Dover, 13 July 30 (1932) (17 July 30).
 176 SZCZANIECKI Stanislaw de, Dover, 2 Dec 30 (2881). (4 Dec 30).
 177 SAPIEHA Prince Leon, Dover, 16 Dec 30 (2977). (1 Jan 31).
 178 SZELISKI Le Comte J. de, Dover, 22 Jan 31 (154). (28 Jan 31).
 179 SZYMANSKI Bartłomiej, Deal, 28 Jan 31 (3). (23 (?) Jan 31).
 180 SAPECKI N von and wife, London, 29 Apr 31 (8213-4). (24 June 31).
 181 SICHROSKI, London, 11 May 31 (1033). (13 Aug 31).
 182 SCARSOFSKI G, London, 23 May 31. (1222).
 183 SMITKOWSKI Leon, Hull, 26 Sept 31. (2900).
 184 STRZELECKI Edward von, London, 18 Nov 31. (3385).
 185 WOŁODKOWICZ Count de, London, 9 Nov 31. (3480).
 186 WALEWSKI Count C. von, London, 4 March 29. (139). (22 March 29).
 187 WINGERSKI Mikołaj, Southampton, 9 May 29. (72). (4 June 29).
 188 WOYCICKI Alexis, Dover, 17 May 29. (1706). (22 May 29).
 189 WARSZAWIAK Julian, London, 18 May 29. (838). (5 Sept 43).
 190 WIGOWSKI Paweł, Dover, 19 May 29. (1743).
 191 WYSZECKI Franciszek von, London, 25 May 29. (953).
 192 WRZESNIEWSKI Wincenty, Dover, 29 Aug 29 (2585). (22 Sept 29).
 193 WYSOCKI Antoni, Southampton, 22 July 30. (181). (29 July 30).
 194 WOLINSKI Piotr, London, 18 Aug. 30 (2140). (21 Aug. 30).
 195 WOLINSKI Piotr, London, 1 Sept 30. (7 Sept 30).
 196 WIELOPOLSKI Count A. de, Dover, 12 Jan 31. (71). (11 Mar 31).
 197 WALEWSKI E. C. T. de, Dover, 19 March 31. (615). (26 Mar 31).
 198 WODZINSKI Karol, Dover, 27 March 31. (826). (8 Apr 31).
 199 WALEWSKI Count, Lady and servant, Dover, 21 Oct 31. (2662-4).

- 200 YELSKI Count, Dover, 23 July 31 (2031). (25 Aug 31).
 201 ZUBELEWICZ J (?), Brighton, 21 May 29. (9). (25 Feb 31).
 202 ZAKRZEWSKI Tadeusz de, Dover, 2 Dec 30. (2882). (9 Dec 31).
 203 ZALESKI Konstanty, Hull, 26 Sept 31. (77).

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- 204 ANGIELCZYK Lieb (?), London, 7 May 33. (1653).
 205 ARTELSKI Franc., Dover, 2 Jan 34. (135).
 206 ALCYATO Jan, Dover, 17 May 34. (1767).
 207 BENCKI Fryderyk, Harwich, 13 Feb 32. (21).
 208 BURZYNSKI Walenty, Southampton, 24 March 32. (26) (passport sent Dover 22 March 32).
 209 BOROWSKE Nannette (?) von, London, 25 Apr 32.
 210 BIANCKI Florian, London, 6 June 32 (943). (London 20 June 32).
 211 BERNATOWICZ Władysław, London, 11 June 32. (999).
 212 BUKOWIECKI Hipolit, London, 14 June 32. (1068).
 213 BIERNACKI Aloizy, London, 20 June 32. (1138) (Dover 20 June 32).
 214 BEDESCKI Kajetan, London, 13 Aug 32. (1681).
 215 BLACCONSKI Florian, London, 22 Aug 32. (1771). (1 Sept 32).
 216 BENIEWICZ Justyn, Dover, 26 Aug 32. (2771). (27 Sept 32).
 217 BRACKI Ludwik, Dover, 7 Jan 33. (31). (Dover 11 Nov 34).
 218 BŁOTNICKI Hipolit, Dover, 28 Jan 33. (178). (13 May 33).
 219 BERDKI Demetri (?) and wife, Dover, 13 Feb 33. (285). (8 Oct 33).
 220 BAKIRZEWSKI (or: BAHIRZEWSKI) Wolf D., London, 15 March 33 (3634).
 221 BOROSKI Naudke (?) von, London, 1 May 33. (828).
 222 BLUDOWSKI Baroness E., London, 13 June 33. (1738). (25 June 33).
 223 BALINSKI Ludwik, Dover, 1 July 22. (2072).
 224 BORZENSKI Kalikst, London, 22 July 33. (2919).
 225 BLUDOWSKI Baroness E., London, 2 Aug 33. (2592).
 226 BACKI (?) Danl., London, 27 Oct 33. (3011).
 227 BROSKI Theo., London, 27 Oct 33. (3010).
 228 BOROCHOWICZ Loebel, London, 23 Nov 33. (4047).
 229 BERKIEWICZ Adolf, London, 12 March 34. (409).
 230 BARTINSKI Schimel, London, 12 March 34. (559).
 231 BLESZYNSKI Jan, London, 19 Apr 34. (880).
 232 BOSKOWSKI Daniel, Dover, 15 May 34. (1719).
 233 BARANOWSKI Feliks M., Dover, 15 May 34. (1616).
 234 BARTKOWSKI Jan, Dover, 17 May 34. (1764).
 235 BRODOWSKI N., Dover, 13 June 34. (2121).
 236 BEREZOWSKI Teofil, Liverpool, 12 June 34. (33).
 237 BEROWSKI Aleksander, Dover, 1 July 34. (2448).
 238 BARSZIZEWICZ Michał, Dover, 12 July 34. (2473).
 239 BOCHINSKI Jan, London, 18 July 34. (2553).
 240 BRZONOWSKI Florian, London, 21 July 34. (2590).
 241 CZARTORYSKI Princess Maria and two male and three female servants, London, 14 June 1832. (1066-71).
 242 CZARTORYSKI le Prince and Suite, Dover, 24 Jan 33. (175-7).
 243 CHELMICKI Jac (?), London, 17 May 33. (1817).
 244 CHMIELEWSKI Kazimierz, London, 19 May 33. (1830).
 245 CZAPLINSKI Stanisław, London, 9 Apr 34. (733).
 246 CHARBUSKI Moritz, Dover, 3 June 34. (1375).
 247 CHONYZIEWICZ Leonard, Dover, 3 June 34. (1990).
 248 CHROSTOWSKI Napoleon, Dover, 8 June 34. (2086).
 249 CHULAWSKI M., Dover, 13 June 34. (2120).

- 250 CIMNIEWSKI Tomasz, Dover, 2 July 34. (2640).
 251 CZERSKI Abram, London, 15 Aug 34. (2991).
 252 CARPINSKI (KARPINSKI) Antoni, Dover, 21 Aug 34. (2800).
 253 CHRZANOWSKI Adam, Southampton, 20 Aug 34. (230).
 254 CHMIELOWSKI Józef, Dover, 21 Sept 34. (3028).
 255 DEMBENSKA Maria, London, 20 June 32. (1136).
 256 DUFRICKI (DUSRICKI ?) Antoni, London, 1 Aug 32. (1563).
 257 DEMBINSKI Aleks., London, 4 Oct 32. (2256).
 258 DZIAŁYNSKI le Comte Nap., Dover, 5 March 33. (435).
 259 DELARACKI Edward, Dover, 11 May 33. (1483).
 260 DUDACK Marianna, London, 27 May 33. (1470).
 261 DEMBINSKA Countess, London, 5 July 33. (2137).
 262 DECBERSKI Karolina, London, 29 July 33. (2523).
 263 DOLOBOMSKI Norbert, Dover, 1 Aug 33. (2234).
 264 DEWLEWSKI Józef, London, 9 July 33. (2701-2).
 265 DOMANSKI Geo., London, 13 Nov 33. (3952).
 266 DELPICKI Ludwik, Dover, 6 March 34. (517).
 267 DZIERBINSKI Jan, London, 3 Apr 34. (672).
 268 DOMBROWSKI Geistom (?), Dover, 20 May 34. (1806).
 269 DRAZAZEWSKI (or: DROZDZEWSKI) Piotr, Dover, 29 May 34. (1970).
 270 DOMBROWSKI Michał, Liverpool, 12 June 34. (37).
 271 DZIEWULSKI Piotr, Dover, 18 June 34. (2194).
 272 DOMANSKI Marcin, London, 23 June 34. (2008).
 273 DOMAKAS Władysław, Dover, 24 June 34. (2276).
 274 DZIEWICKI Seweryn, Dover, 4 July 34. (2401).
 275 DZIEWICKI, Southampton, 6 Nov 34. (373).
 276 ELBINOWSKI Gaspard, Dover, 3 June 34. (1988).
 277 ESTKO Stanisław, Dover, 3 June 34. (1992).
 278 FREDERUCKI, Brighton, 9 Aug 33. (164).
 279 FILIPOWICZ Elozab (Eliza?), London, 5 Apr 34 (1133).
 280 GIROWSKI (?) Adam, Dover, 1 June 32. (1728).
 281 GUROWSKI Adam, London, 28 March 32. (449).
 282 GONSKI Adolf (?) London, 11 July 33. (2252).
 283 GASZYNSKI, Count, Dover, 15 Nov 33. (2977).
 284 GRABOWSKI, Baron, London, 9 July 32. (1296).
 285 GAWRONSKI Leopold, Dover, 3 May 33.
 286 GABLOWSKI Paweł Thefe (?), Dover, 30 May 33. (1716).
 287 GODEBSKI Bonawentura, Dover, 18 Aug 33. (2800).
 288 GASZYNSKI Tytus, London, 8 Oct 33. (3601).
 289 GAIIEWSKI Antoni, Dover, 15 Oct 33. (2977).
 290 GALECKI Aleksander, Dover, 11 Dec 33. (3104).
 291 GROCHOWSKI Stanisław, Dover, 2 Feb 34. (136).
 292 GRZYMAŁA Ludwik, London, 12 March 34. (407).
 293 GANATOWSKI Paweł, Dover, 30 Apr 34. (1541).
 294 GREGOROWICZ Andrzej, Dover, May 12 34. (1605).
 295 GRABSKI Tadeusz, Dover, 20 May 34. (1803).
 296 GOYSKI Jan, Dover, 24 May 34. (1977).
 297 GROWSKOWSKI (or: GRONOWSKI) Alex., Dover, 30 May 34. (1949).
 298 GARLOWICZ (or: GARBOWICZ) Zofia, London, 1 June 34. (1721).
 299 GUZOWSKI Jan (?) Portsmouth, 19 June 34. (41).
 300 GRABOWSKI Jan, Dover, 9 Aug 34. (2703).
 301 GABRIELSKI Józef, London, 15 Aug 34. (2987).
 302 GOLUSKI Hk., Hull, 30 Sept 34. (258).
 303 GWENZDRYINSKI Kazimierz, Poole, 14 Oct 34. (453).
 304 GALEZOWSKI Seweryn, London, 18 Nov 34. (4117).
 305 GALEWSKI Marek, Dover, 4 Dec 34. (3476).
 306 HOGE Stanisław, London, 26 Oct 1833. (3790). (London 3 June 1834).

- 307 HORDZIEJEWSKI Wincenty, Dover, 18 Jan 34. (78).
 308 HOGE Stanislaus, London, 2 Sept 34. (3282).
 309 JARDOWSKI Jan, London, 9 June 32. (983).
 310 JANCZEWSKI Franciszek, Dover, 9 June 32. (990).
 311 JANKOWSKI Grzegorz, Dover, 25 Aug 32. (1798).
 312 JANKOWSKI Josefat, Dover, 11 Oct. (2501).
 313 JABLONSKI Lorez, Portsmouth, 5 Nov 32. (55).
 314 JANCEWICZ Marcin, London, 7 Aug 33. (2664).
 315 JAKUBOWSKI Józef, Dover, 15 Sept 33. (2585).
 316 JAKUBOWICZ Marcin, London, 1 Nov 33. (3993).
 317 IDZIKOWSKI Ignacy, London, 12 March 34. (412).
 318 ITZKOWICZ Mo . Her . (?), London, 24 March 34. (558).
 319 IDZIKOWSKI Tadeusz, Dover, 12 May 34. (1686).
 320 JABLONSKI Leon, Dover, 12 May 34. (1687).
 321 JASTRZEBSKI Piotr, Dover, 17 May 34. (1765).
 322 JACZYNSIEC Konstanty, Dover, 20 May 34. (1804).
 323 JASQUIN Stanisław, and wife, Brighton, 21 May 34 (27-28).
 324 JANIKOWSKI Kazimierz, Dover, 26 May 34. (1905).
 325 JORDAN Antoni, Southampton, 28 May 34. (69).
 326 JANISZEWCZ Stanisław, Dover, 30 May 34. (1939).
 327 JAZDOWSKI Bergeor (?), Dover, 5 June 34. (2018).
 328 JUNGOWSKI Karol, London, 11 June 34. (1871).
 329 IZDRZEIEWSKI (?) Stanisław, Dover, 16 June 34. (2153).
 330 IZDEBSKI Karol, Dover, 18 June 34. (2195).
 331 JANISZEWCZ Ludwik, Portsmouth, 19 June 34. (38).
 332 IWANOWICZ Jan, Dover, 22 June 34. (2226).
 333 JARZENEWSKI (or: JURZENEWSKI) Franciszek, Dover, 16 July
 34. (2504).
 334 JASIENSKI Tomasz, Dover, 25 July 34. (2576).
 335 JURCZ Amand, Dover, 15 Aug 34. (2738).
 336 JAWORSKI Michał, Dover, 17 Aug 34. (2768).
 337 KUCZYNSKI Wincenty, London, 9 June 32. (986).
 338 KOZANUKI (?) Ludwik, London, 9 June 32. (988).
 339 KRALEWSKI Teodor von, London, 14 June 32. (1074).
 340 KORMSKI Józef Mojżesz, London, 16 July 32. (1401).
 341 KUCZYNSKI Henryk, London, 18 July 32. (1409).
 342 KNEDZIEWICZ Edw. von, London, 6 Aug 32. (1592).
 343 KISCERERWSKI (?) Dionizy, London, 15 Aug 32. (1708.).
 344 KRYMSKI Zygmunt, London, 5 Sept 32. (1910).
 345 KWIATKOWSKI Dominik, Ramsgate, 15 Sept 32. (15).
 346 KASPER and wife, London, 24 Sept 32. (2160).
 347 KRASINSKI Le Comte, London, 27 Sept 32. (2197).
 348 KNIAZIEWICZ Edward, Portsmouth, 5 Nov 32. (54).
 349 KROLICZYSKI Wilhelm, Portsmouth, 5 Nov 32. (55).
 350 KORYTKO Wojciech von, London, 29 Nov 32. (2750).
 351 KULICZKOWSKI Jan, London, 29 Nov 32. (2751).
 352 KUCZBORSKI Jan-Kanty, Deal, 27 Feb 33. (8).
 353 KIRKOR (?) August-Wilhelm, London, 15 Apr 33. (624).
 354 KRANCKI Jan, Southampton, 5 May 33. (102).
 355 KRYNKOWSKI Ludwik, Dover, 10 May 33. (102).
 356 KOWALEWSKI Kajetan, Aberdeen, 20 Aug 33. (1).
 357 KONDZIOŁKIEWICZ August, Dover, 13 Sept 33. (2567).
 358 KOWALSKI Albert, Dover, 15 Sept 33. (2586).
 359 KROLEczIGH (?) Benedykt, London, 13 Sept 33. (3370).
 360 KLICZKA Jan, London, 1 Oct 33. (3520).
 361 KOTARSKI Jos., Brighton, 29 Sept 33. (2794).
 362 KAMIENCKI Chas, Dover, 7 Oct 33. (2780).
 363 KOLONYNSKI Stanisław, Dover, 7 Oct 33. (2803).
 364 KAMIENSKI Władysław, London, 13 Nov 33. (3951).

- 365 KOMOROWSKI Felicjan, Southampton, 2 Dec 33. (252).
 366 KRASINSKI Count, London, 30 Dec 33. (4205).
 367 KONARSKI Aleksander, London, 30 Dec 33. (4204). (7 Jan 1834).
 368 KOSCIELSKI (or: KOSCIEJSKI) Tomasz, Ramsey (?), 6 Dec 33.
 (1).
 369 KUNICKI Piotr, London, 23 Jan 34. (116).
 370 KORYTKO Wojciech de, Dover, 16 Jan 34. (132).
 371 KOBYLINSKI Ernest, Dover, 10 Feb 34. (238).
 372 KREMPOWIECKI Tadeusz, Dover, 19 Feb. 34. (315).
 373 KJYEJYNSKY Nepomucyn, Dover, 2 March 34. (473).
 374 KWALKOWSKI Bolesław, Southampton, 28 Feb 34. (8).
 375 KACZANOWSKI Kazimierz, Dover, 4 March 34. (489).
 376 KASCYCZKY Jerzy, Dover, 15 May 34. (1720).
 377 KULIKOWSKI Albert, Dover, 24 May 34. (1873).
 378 KOWALSKI Konstanty, Dover, 24 Day 34. (1875).
 379 KRYNSKI Jan, Dover, 28 May 34. (1935).
 380 KLECZYNSKI Saturn, Dover, 28 May 34. (1937).
 381 KOWALSKI Leopold, Dover, 30 May 34. (1950).
 382 KOMPKIEWICZ Konstanty, Dover, 31 May 34. (1972).
 383 KANCEWSKI Julian, Dover, 8 June 34. (2083).
 384 KOZMIAN Adam, Dover, 9 June 34. (2088).
 385 KIERSNOWSKI Michał, Dover, 12 June 34. (2087 (?)).
 386 KAEINSKI, Dover, 12 June 34. (2105).
 387 KOLCZONACKI (?) Gracjan, Dover, 16 June 34. (2178).
 388 KLICZENSKI Józef, Dover, 16 June 34. (2155).
 389 KIRKOR Franciszek, Dover, 16 June 34. (2182).
 390 KIRKOR Edward, Dover, 18 June 34. (2183).
 391 KASPEREK Józef, Dover, 18 June 34. (2196).
 392 KANIERSKI Józef, London, 21 June 34. (1992).
 393 KOWALSKI Tadeusz, Dover, 22 June 34. (2251).
 394 KREMPOWIECKI Tadeusz, London, 9 July 34. (2338).
 395 KAMIENSKI Josef, Dover, 12 July 34. (2471).
 396 KURCKI Adam, Dover, 12 July 34. (2472).
 397 KOWALSKI Jacques, Southampton, 19 July 34. (154).
 398 KUCZBARSKI J. K., London, 23 July 34. (2649).
 399 KRAKOWBOSKY (?) Count C., London, 30 July 34. (2739).
 400 KWANISKI August, Dover, 20 Sept. 34. (3015).
 401 KOBLEWSKI Gabriel, Pool, 14 Oct 34. (455).
 402 KONDZIOKIEWICZ August, Hull, 24 Nov 34. (326).
 403 LEYBOWICZ Sraima (?), London, 26 June 32. (1191).
 404 LAUDANSKI Kazimierz, London, 16 Aug 32. (1717).
 405 LUBLINSKI Aron, London, 17 June 33. (72).
 406 LORINSKI Gwize (?), Brighton, 18 June 33. (1822).
 407 LASKOWSKI Antoni, Dover, 17 May 34. (1767).
 408 LUCKOWICZ Malkiel, London, 23 May 34. (1557).
 409 LENKIEWICZ Tadeusz, Dover, 31 May 34. (1956).
 410 LAZOWSKI Jan, Dover, 12 June 34. (2104).
 411 LAPINSKI Jene, London, 21 June 34. (1990).
 412 LUTOSANTSKY Julia, Dover, 22 June 34. (2241).
 413 LYSNIEWSKI Ignacy, Dover, 16 June 34. (2502).
 414 LAZANOWSKI Józef, Dover, 16 June 34. (2503).
 415 LOBBECKI Adolf, London, 23 July 34. (2611).
 416 LEWICKI Heimon, Hull, 23 July 34. (137).
 417 LIPINSKI Aleksander, London, 2 Sept 34. (3253).
 418 LALELSKI Mikołaj von, Harwich, 25 Oct 34. (27).
 419 MOSZYNSKI Leon, Hull, 6 Jan 32. (1).
 420 MIASZKOWSKI Jan, London, 9 June 32. (987).
 421 MUSIATOWICZ Eustachy, London, 9 June 34. (989).

- 422 MATUSZEWSKI Piotr, Hull, 18 July 32. (71).
 423 MAGAZEMSKI Tho., Dover, 2 Sept 32. (2295).
 424 MACHALOWSKI Józef, London, 10 Oct 32. (2315).
 425 MENDLEWICZ Zachariasz, London, 25 Oct 42. (3527).
 426 MACIEJEWSKI Stanisław, Dover, 7 Nov 32. (2894).
 427 MOSAKOWSKI Antoni, London, 10 Jan. 33. (45).
 428 MARYANSKI Onufry, Dover, 14 Apr 33. (1130).
 429 MOSZYNSKI Aleksander, Southampton, 13 uAg 34. (220).
 430 MIECZYNISKI Simeon, Hull, 17 Sept 34. (227).
 431 MICHALEWSKI Alex., Southampton, 11 Oct 34. (347).
 432 MIERZEJEWSKI Miko.aj and wife, Harwich, 25 Oct 34. (25-26).
 433 MUNALOWICZ Tomasz, Dover, 29 Nov 34. (3455).
 434 MAŁACHOWSKI le Comte, Dover, 7 June 33. (1784).
 435 MUSNICKI Leon, Dover, 13 June 33. (2124).
 436 MICHALSKI Israel (?), London, 10 June 33. (2220).
 437 MUKULSKI Izydor, London, 11 June 33. (2216).
 438 MICHALSKI Józef, Dover, 10 Sept 33. (2547).
 439 MUSNIECKI Leon, London, 26 Oct 33. (3798).
 440 MICHAŁOWSKI Józef, London, 3 Jan 34. (28).
 441 MICHAŁOWSKI Michał, London, 14 Jan 34. (57).
 442 MROZINKIEWICZ Michał, Ramsgate, 6 March 34. (14).
 443 MŁODECKI Jan, Dover, 15 May 34. (1801).
 444 MALCZEWSKI Józef and brother, Dover, 26 May 34. (1902-3).
 445 MIGURSKI Aleksander, Dover, 28 May 34. (1933).
 446 MARIESZEWSKI Józef, London, 2 June 34. (1723).
 447 MICHAŁOWSKI Roman, London, 6 June 34. (1788).
 448 MARKOWSKI Piotr, Dover, 16 June 34. (2181).
 449 MIDYNSKI Wincenty, Portsmouth, 19 June 34. (39).
 450 MILENISKI Stanisław, Dover, 22 June 34. (2243).
 451 MALCZEWSKI Władysław, Dover, 24 June 34. (2269).
 452 MICHAŁOWSKI Feliks, Southampton, 28 June 34. (110).
 453 NIEDZWIEDZKI Leonard, London, 9 June 32. (985).
 454 NAROLSKI Baltazar, London, 9 June 34. (995).
 455 NIEMOJOWSKI Bonawentura, London, 20 June 34. (1139).
 456 NUCHIMOWICZ Mordecai, London, 20 Feb 33. (171).
 457 NUCHIMOWICZ, M., London, 17 May 33. (1819).
 458 NUCHIMOWICZ Mordecai, London, 15 Dec 33. (4145).
 459 NAREWSKI Jan, Dover, 30 Jan 34. (122).
 460 NOWAKOWSKI Alex., London, 6 March 34. (371).
 461 NIEMYSKI Antoni, Dover, 8 Apr 34. (1265).
 462 NOWOSIELSKI Leon, Dover, 8 Apr 34. (1721).
 463 OLSZEWSKI Andrzej, Dover, 15 Apr 32. (1564).
 464 OBODOWSKI Platon, London, 23 May 32. (762).
 465 OSTROWSKI le Comte and son, Dover, 2 June 32. (1746-7).
 466 ORŁOWSKI Ksawery, Ramsgate, 13 Oct 32. (64).
 467 OBORSKI Franz., Ramsgate, 13 Oct 32. (76).
 468 OSTROWSKI le Comte de, Dover, 26 Apr 33. (1312).
 469 ORŁOWSKI Wincenty, Dover, 18 Aug 33. (2378).
 470 OKOWSKI Michał, Dover, 15 Sept 33. (2587).
 471 OBORSKI Count Kazimierz, London, 13 Nov 33. (3946).
 472 ORDON Konstanty, London, 13 Nov 33. (3954).
 473 OLSZEWSKI Andrzej, Dover, 9 Jan 34. (53).
 474 OLEDZKI Karol (?), Liverpool, 25 March 33. (26).
 475 ORŁOWSKI Wincenty, Dover, 3 May 33. (1569).
 476 ORŁOWSKI Julian, Dover, 24 May 33. (1876).
 477 OBAIOWSKI Aleksander, Dover, 31 May 33. (1966).
 478 ODECHOWSKI Teofil (?), London, 23 June 33. (2113).
 479 OLSZEWSKI Jan, Dover, 17 July 33. (2519).

- 480 OSTROWSKI Count Justyn, London, 17 July 34. (2702).
 481 ORŁOWSKI Franc., Dover, 9 Aug 34. (2705).
 482 OKZYCKI Teofil, Plymouth, 11 Aug 34. (5).
 483 OBORSKI Franciszek, Dover, 18 Aug 34. (2774).
 484 PLANZOSKI Karol, Dover, 9 May 32. (1518).
 485 POLAK Isaac and son, London, 13 June 32. (1053-4).
 486 PASINANSKI (or: POZNANSKI) Baruch, London, 16 July 32.
 (1366).
 487 POŁOSKI Ignacy, Dover, 30 July 32. (2128).
 488 PAPROCKI Stanisław, London, 31 July 32. (1543).
 489 POLAK David Michał, London, 17 Aug 32. (1724).
 490 POPCZYNSKI Grzegorz, London, 25 Aug 32. (1797).
 491 POLAK Ruben Izaak, London, 21 Oct 32. (2470).
 491a PAWŁOWSKI Stanisław, London, 30 Oct 32. (2570).
 492 POTOCKI Count X. Prot, London, 6 Dec 32. (2775).
 493 PAWŁOWSKI Hieronim, Dover, 2é Feb 33. (275).
 494 POTOCKA Countess KISSIELEFF, and servant, London, 13 June 33.
 (1739-40).
 495 POLAK W. Ruben, London, 14 June 33. (1716).
 496 PASOWSKI Leopold, London, 15 Aug 33. (2784).
 497 POLAK Marcin Andrzej, London, 23 Aug 33. (2880).
 498 POPERZYNSKI (?) Aaron (?) H., London, 7 Sept 33. (3193).
 499 POLAK Marcus Andrzej, London, 18 Sept 33. (3329).
 500 PITZANSKI Chrystian, Dover, 11 Nov 33. (2955).
 501 PONINTSKI Stanisław, London, 27 Dec 33. (4199).
 502 PASZKOWSKI Franciszek, London, 6 March 34. (408).
 503 PAWŁOWSKI Jan, London, 14 March 34. (439).
 504 PRUSINOWSKI Teofil, Dover, 1 Apr 34. (1069).
 505 PASZKIEWICZ Ludwik, London, 3 Apr 34. (671).
 506 PUŁASKI Kazimierz Alex., London, 23 Apr 34. (956).
 507 PONIATOWSKI Prince and servant, London, 28 Apr 34. (1002-3).
 508 POSŁOWSKI (or: PUSŁOWSKI) Count Felix, London, 8 May 34.
 (1190).
 509 PETRUSIEWICZ (?) Francis, London, 10 May 34. (1231).
 510 POLAK Leisider (?), London, 11 May 34. (1244).
 511 PIENKOWSKI Ignacy, Dover, 26 May 34. (1904).
 512 PIOTROWSKI Korneliusz, London, 28 May 34. (1932).
 513 POTE MPSKI Józef, London, 28 May 34. (1937).
 514 POPŁAWSKI Hipolit, London, 30 Moy 34. (1951).
 515 PODOLECKI Wincenty, London, 30 May 34. (1952).
 516 PŁACHECKI Michał, London, 8 June 34. (2084).
 517 PANKOWSKI Henryk, London, 13 June 34. (1875).
 518 PETROZOWSKI Teofil, Liverpool, 12 June 34. (39).
 519 PESZYNSKI Tytus, Liverpool, 12 June 34. (38).
 520 PODERWSKI Fortunat, Dover, 16 June 34. (2180).
 521 PROSZKOWSKI Jan, Dover, 21 June 34. (2221).
 522 PŁOSZCZYNSKI Napoleon, Dover, 22 June 34. (2245).
 523 POTOCKI Count Stanisław, Dover, 22 June 34. (2253).
 524 POZNIAK Napoleon, London, 23 June 34. (2010).
 525 PRUSZYNSKI Ludwik, London, 23 June 34. (2012).
 526 PROSZKOWSKI Andrzej, Dover, 26 June 34. (2304).
 527 PODRATOWSKI Samuel, Falmouth, 23 June 34. (54).
 528 PUCHALSKI Adrian, London, 18 July 34. (2555).
 529 POSŁOWSKI L. Count, Dover, 31 Aug 34. (2859).
 530 PAWŁOWSKI Leopold E., Dover, 6 Sept 34. (2898).
 531 PONIATOWSKI Prince, London, 3 Oct 34. (3711).
 532 PIOTROWSKI August, Dover, 11 Oct 34. (3177).
 533 PROCHOWSKI Jonas Itzg. (?), London, 14 Oct 34. (3201).

- 534 PURZYCKI Józef, London, 29 Oct 34. (3962).
 535 PASIERBSKI Józef, Southampton, 2 Nov 34. (372).
 536 RYBINSKI Mateus de, Dover, 3 June 32. (1749).
 537 ROSZYNSKI Henryk de, London, 11 June 32. (998).
 538 RYBINSKI Adam von, Ramsgate, 18 Oct 32. (75).
 539 RYKACZEWSKI Makary, London, 26 Nov 32. (2738).
 540 RZASNICKI Hipolit, Dover, 11 May 33. (1498).
 541 ROZWADOWSKI Teodor, Dover, 20 June 33. (1955).
 542 RYDZINSKI Albert, London, 9 Aug 33. (2702).
 543 RYBAKOWSKI Florian, Dover, 23 Aug 33. (2420).
 544 RUDNICKI Józef, Dover, 24 Oct 33. (2885).
 545 RINCKI Józef Augustyn, London, 13 Nov 33. (3941).
 546 ROWOSKI (or: ROSDOSKI) Andrzej, (or: Alex.), London, 17 Nov 33. (4000).
 547 RADZIEWSKI Eliasz, London, 23 Nov 33. (4034).
 548 RATOMSKI Józef, London, 14 Jan 34. (53).
 549 RADOWLINSKI Tomasz, London, 11 March 34. (461).
 550 ROGOYSKI Józef, Liverpool, 25 March 34. (27).
 551 REY Leon, Dover, 4 Apr 34. (1158).
 552 RICHOWICZ Antoni, Dover, 4 June 34. (2015).
 553 RUTKOWSKI Stanisław, Dover, 8 June 34. (2085).
 554 RUTKOWSKI L. and E., London, 21 June 34. (1988-9).
 555 RAERZYNSKI Hieronim, London, 21 June 34. (1991).
 556 ROMISZEWSKI Wincenty, London, 23 June 34. (2009).
 557 ROSOLINSKI Narcyz (?), London, 23 June 34. (2013).
 558 ROZYAKOWSKI, London, 9 July 34 (2449).
 559 RZOAKIEWICZ Jan, London, 16 July 34. (2492).
 560 ROMER Gustav, London, 1 Oct 34. (3779).
 561 ROGALINSKI Piotr, Ramsgate, 2 Oct 34. (41).
 562 RUDZKI Guill. and wife, Dover, 9 Oct 34. (1011).
 563 SZYRMA Karol Lach, Dover, 9 Oct 34. (110).
 564 SADOWSKI Stanisław, London, 20 Feb 32. (149).
 565 SOBOLEWSKI Graron (?) and brother (or: brothers?), London, 4 June 32. (950-2).
 566 SZEKOLOWSKI (or: SOKOLOWSKI ?) Jakub, London, 4 June 32. (981).
 567 SZLUTITZKI Baroness Amelia, London, 10 July 32. (1309).
 568 SZYMANSKI Aleksander, London, 13 Aug 32. (1676).
 569 SZKOLNY Moritz David, London, 13 Aug 32. (1669).
 570 SZRYNSKI Leon and wife, London, 13 Aug 32. (1678).
 571 STACKI Henryk, London, 15 Aug 32. (1713).
 572 SZYMANSKI Ignacy, London, 20 Aug 32. (1737).
 573 SALZMANN Edward Ludwik, London, 21 Aug 32. (1758).
 574 SELKY Gustaw Henryk, London, 22 Aug 32. (1785).
 575 SOBOCINSKI Jan, London, 25 Aug 32. (1796).
 576 STRZAŁKOWSKI Piotr, London, 34 Oct 32. (2502).
 577 SZARY Sebastian, Sunderland, 10 Nov 32. (6).
 578 SOBANSKI Frideric (?), Dover, 24 Nov 32. (2006).
 579 SZIKOTOWSKI Jakub, Dover, 29 Jan 33. (184).
 580 SZEBCLOWSKI (or: SZABLOWSKI ?), Maurycy, London, 8 Apr 33. (527).
 581 SZYSZŁO Stanisław, London, 6 May 33. (965).
 582 SOBANSKI Aleksander, Dover, 7 June 33. (1782).
 583 SZMELINSKI Jan, Dover, 17 June 33. (1878).
 584 STRASZEWCZ Józef, Brighton, 18 June 33. (76).
 585 SKOTZKI Jakub, London, 24 June 33. (1958).
 586 SZABATKA (or: SZABALKA ?) Jan, Dover, 1 July 33. (2006).
 587 SLENBOSKI Jakub, London, 10 July 33. (2228).

- 588 SZCZYGIELSKI Napoleon, E., Portsmouth, 2 Aug 33. (92).
 589 SIMIENSKI Mamaret, Dover, 10 Aug 33. (2305).
 590 STEYKOWSKI Jan, Southampton, 8 Sept 33. (189).
 591 SIEKIERKA Jan Roch (?), London, 11 Sept 33. (3259).
 592 SZMIELENSKI Jan, Dover, 13 Sept 33. (2568).
 593 STENKIWULSKI Adam, London, 28 Sept 33. (3464).
 594 STRASZEWCZ Joz., Brighton, 1 Oct 33, (240).
 595 SZCZYGENSKI Kazimierz, Dover 4 Oct 33. (2751).
 596 SZADURSKI Count Aleksander, Dover, 11 Oct 33. (2804).
 597 SZADURSKI Leon, Dover, 11 Oct 33. (2805).
 598 SZYMONIEWICZ Jan, Dover, 19 Oct 33. (2864).
 599 SZYRMA Józefina, London, 23 Oct 33 (3768).
 600 SACKI Zygmunt, London, 26 Oct 33. (3791).
 601 STRYKOWSKI Jan, Dover, 27 Oct 33. (2897).
 602 SYSZCZYNSKI Adam, Dundee, 7 Oct 33. (3).
 603 STAWIARSKI Franc. von, London, 13 Nov. 33. (3949).
 604 SAMOCKI Ch., Hull, 31 Dec 33. (122).
 605 STADNICKI Bronisław, London, 8 Jan 34. (27).
 606 SWEZCKI Karol, London, 14 Jan. 34. (54).
 607 SZCZEPANOWSKI Ignacy, London, 14 Jan 34. (55)
 608 SAKELOWSKI Teodor, London, 14 Jan 34. (56).
 609 SABATYN WŁadysław and Karol, London, 13 Feb 34. (213-14).
 610 SKOTNICKI Edward, Dover, 4 March 34. (488).
 611 STRYGALSKI Jan, London, 12 March 34. (409).
 612 SZELRGIEWSKI Apolinary, London, 12 March 34. (411).
 613 SZATOWICZ Włodzimierz, London, 12 March 34. (413).
 614 STRAZWINSKI Jarosta (?), London, 12 March 34. (414).
 615 SIKORSKI David, London, 14 March 34. (452).
 616 SZEPELEWSKI Daniel, Dover, 15 March 34. (632).
 617 SOŁTYK Roman Count de, Dover, 18 March 34. (802).
 618 SZYMKOWICZ Józef, London, 24 March 34. (557).
 619 STRZELIKI Edw., Portsmouth, 12 Apr 34. —
 620 STANIEWICZ Mateusz, Southampton, 16 Apr 34. (31).
 621 STRYJKOWSKI Jan, London, 23 Apr 34. (959).
 622 SZPAKOWSKI Józef, Dover, 26 Apr 34. (1505).
 623 SUCHĘCKI Wincenty, Dover, 12 May 34. (1688).
 624 ŚLĄBOSZEWSKI Antoni, London, 12 May 34. (1302).
 625 SZYNIKOWICZ Justyn, Dover, 22 May 34. (1829).
 626 SZCZEPANOWSKI Stanisław, Dover, 22 May 34. (36).
 627 SZYTECO Jan, Dover, 22 May 34. (31).
 628 SOJRCKI J. H., Southampton, 24 May 34. (68).
 629 SOBOLESKI Adam, Dover, 30 May 34. (1953).
 630 SZYMANSKI Kazimierz, Dover, 31 May 34. (1971).
 631 SOKOŁOWSKI Adam, London, 3 June 34. (1735).
 632 STEFANSKI Antoni, Dover, 4 June 34. (2016).
 633 STEPNIIEWICZ Fabian, Dover, 16 June 34. (2184).
 634 SIEDLECKI Justyn, Portsmouth, 19 June 34. (40).
 635 SZCZAPINSKI Józef, Dover, 21 June 34. (2220).
 636 STANIZIEWICZ Emeryk, Dover, 21 June 34. (2222).
 637 STAWIANOWSKI Michał, Dover, 21 June 34. (2223).
 638 SHORNECKI J. Marcin, Dover, 10 July 34. (2460).
 639 SZABATKA Jan, Dover, 15 July 34. (2493).
 640 STROKOWSKI Józef, London, 18 July 34. (2554).
 641 STANKIEWICZ Piotr, Southampton, 19 July 34. (153).
 642 SZWERSENSKI Wilhelm, London, 20 July 34. (2565).
 643 SZATKOWSKI Seweryn, London, 25 July 34. (2575).
 644 SOBANSKI Comte, London, 29 Sept 34. (3100).
 645 SCHIDERSKY, Hull, 1 Oct 34. (270).

- 646 SLEWINSKI Jakub, Ramsgate, 1 Oct 34. (42).
 647 SCHAKOWSKI Princess, London, 9 Oct 34. (3747).
 648 SZCZYGIELSKI Dover, 12 Oct 34. (3176).
 649 SAKOWSKI Marcin, Portsmouth, 14 Oct 34. (452).
 650 SAKETZKY Michał, Portsmouth, 24 Oct 34. (461).
 651 STORWINSKI Jakub, Dover, 8 Nov 34. (5331).
 652 SALKOWSKI Franc. Xavier, Dover, 15 Dec 34. (3545).
 653 SZLABSKY Henryk, Dover, 25 Dec 34. (3620).
 654 TZOLEBSKI Teofil, Brighton, 1 Sept 32. (73).
 655 TOMASZEWSKI Jan, Dover, 17 Aug 33. (2378).
 656 TENIPOWSKI Mayer, Dover, 12 May 34. (1678).
 657 TERLECKI Jan, Dover, 3 June 34. (1989).
 658 TROSKLAWSKI Józef, Liverpool, 12 June 34. (39).
 659 THOWAZINSKI Jan, Deal, 19 July 34. (31).
 660 TYSZKIEWICZ Count, London, 6 Aug 34. (2859).
 661 TASZYCKI Karol, London, 15 Aug 34. (2986).
 662 URWICZ Lydia, London, 16 May 34. (1462).
 663 UMIŃSKI Kazimierz Nepomucyn, Brighton, 10 June 34. (52).
 664 WODKINSKI (or: WODZINSKI) Leon de, Dover, 16 Jan 32. (86).
 665 WDATZINSKI C. Edward, Dover, 12 May 32. (1552).
 666 WINOGRADZKI Marek, Dover, 19 May 32. (1617).
 667 WALEWSKI Le Comte A-re, Dover, 23 May 32. (1648).
 668 WARNECKI Piotr, London, 28 May 32. (811).
 669 WARSCHAUER Józef, London, 6 June 32. (1354).
 670 WALEWSKI Le Comte de, Dover, 14 Aug 32. (2213).
 671 WENCKI Jan, Portsmouth, 5 Sept 32. (37).
 672 WALEWSKI Le Comte, Dover, 7 Oct 32. (2518).
 673 WOŁOSKI Adam, Dover, 23 Oct 32. (2601).
 674 WALEWSKI Comte Etienne, London, 31 Oct 32. (2569).
 675 WOYESODA Gustaw, London, 29 Apr 33. (817).
 676 WRONICKI Franciszek, Dover, 10 May 33. (1466).
 677 WEŻYK Count L., London, 11 May 33. (1025).
 678 WARSZAWSKI Juda, London, 6 May 33. (1618).
 679 WORKULEWICZ Alexander, Hull, 4 July 33. (50).
 680 WERESZCZYNSKI Stanisław, London, 27 Dec 33. (4197).
 681 WITCZIEWSKI Mateusz, Newcastle, 6 Jan 34. (2).
 682 WIESZNIEWSKI Franciszek, Dover, 10 March 34. (555).
 683 WADEWICZ Jakub W., London, 17 March 34. (498).
 684 WIERZBICKI Wincenty, Dover, 1 Apr 34. (1071).
 685 WŁODARSKI Kazimierz, London, 3 Apr 34. (670).
 686 WORCELL Stanisław, London, 23 Apr 34. (955).
 687 WIŚNIEWSKI Kazimierz, Dover, 8 May 34. (1628).
 688 WRONECKI Franciszek, London, 22 May 34. (1520).
 689 WALENKIEWICZ Albert, Dover, 26 May 34. (1901).
 690 WELCKI Franciszek, Dover, 30 May 34. (1953).
 691 WALEWSKI Antoni, Dover, 30 May 34. (1955).
 692 WASILEWSKI Albert, Dover, 31 May 34. (1968).
 693 WAGNER Jan, Dover, 14 June 34. (2137).
 694 WERMINSKI Wincenty, Liverpool, 12 June 34. (35).
 695 WOLAWSKI Józef, Liverpool, 12 June 34. (36).
 696 WOYNISIECKI (or: WOYNISIECKI) Franciszek, Dover, 15 July
 34. (2491).
 697 WODZINSKI Adam, Dover, 25 July 34. (2577).
 698 WOLSKI Felician, Dover, 29 July 34. (2614).
 699 WOLICKI Konstanty, Dover, 19 Sept 34. (2997).
 700 WYSIEKIERSKI Bolesław, Hull, 30 Sept 34. (255).
 701 WARTSKI Moses, Hull, 1 Oct 34. (264).
 702 WANINCEWSKI (?) L., Hull, 24 Nov 34. (332).

- 703 YANKOLOWICZ Henryk, London, 10 Aug 34. (2921).
 704 ZELIGOWICZ Wilhelm, Dover, 1 Feb 32. (10).
 705 ŻABA Napoleon Felix, London, 14 June 32. (1072).
 706 ZALESKI Piotr, London, 24 Sept 32. (2145).
 707 ZAKALIK Ignacy, London, 24 Sept 32. (2319).
 708 ZABIEŁŁO Count, Ramsgate, 21 Dec 32. (106).
 709 ZANIORA Joachim Józef, Dover, 19 Feb 33. (333).
 710 ZAKALIK Ignacy, London, 3 Apr 33. (1373).
 711 ZAMOWSKI, Le Comte, Dover, 7 June 33. (1783).
 712 ZABICKI Edward, Dover, 8 Aug 33. (2283).
 713 ZAWACKI Grzegorz, Dover, 17 Aug 33. (2374).
 714 ZABOROWSKI Anteres (?), Southampton, 5 Oct 33. (222).
 715 ZIENKIEWICZ Wincenty, Dundee, 7 Oct 33. (4).
 716 ŻABA Adam, Ramsgate, 2 Nov 33. (73).
 717 ZAKRZEWSKI Karol, London, 13 Nov 33. (3950).
 718 ZIELANIEWICZ Wincenty, London, 13 Feb 34. (215).
 719 ZBYSZEWSKI Inocenty, Southampton, 20 Feb 34. (9).
 720 ZABIELEWSKI Raymond, Dover, 3 June 34. (1991).
 721 ZAPOLSKI Adam, Dover, 8 June 34. (2118).
 722 ZAZIENICKI Ignacy, Dover, 13 June 34. (2119).
 723 ŻABA Józef, Dover, 21 June 34. (2224).
 724 ŻMICHOWSKI Erazm, Dover, 22 June 34. (2251).
 725 ŻABICKI Tadeusz, Dover, 22 June 34. (2248).
 726 ZAKRZEWSKI Stanisław, Plymouth, 12 July 34. (8).
 727 ZALESKI Mikołaj, Harwich, 25 Oct 34. (24).
 728 ŻACZOWSKI Hirsch, London, 4 Dec. 34. (4215).

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- 729 ANSCHINSKI H. (?), Dover, 24 March 34. (821).
 730 ALEKSANDROWICZ Józef, Dover, 7 June 35. (1823).
 731 BENECKI Jan, Dover, 24 Feb 35. (460).
 732 BOSKOWICZ Fryderyk, Hull, 25 Apr. 35. (34).
 733 BERNICKI Karol Teodor, London, 11 May 35. (1016)
 734 BOGUSŁAWSKI Aleksander, London, 11 May 35. (1022).
 735 BROTZKY Israel Morius (?), London, 6 July 35. (2061)
 736 BIEDZINSKA Katarzyna, Dover, 21 July 35 (2190)
 737 BARCERZ Fryderyk, London, 29 July 35 (2503).
 738 BADOWSKI Ernest Baron de, London, 19 Aug 35. (2862).
 739 BANDROWSKI Albert, London, 1 May 36. (1296).
 740 BROTZKY, London, 6 May 36 (1399).
 741 BIERNICKI Mayes (or: Mayer), Brighton, 25 June 36.
 742 CZABRUZKI Eugeniusz, Dover, 13 Jan 35. (79).
 743 CHONSKI Henryk E., Dover, 6 June 35. (1786)
 744 CIESZKOWSKI Paweł, London, 3 Sept 35. (3095).
 745 CIESZKOWSKI August, London, 3 Sept 35 (3096).
 746 CZAPLIŃSKI Adolf, Dover, 21 Sept 35. (2746).
 747 CZARTORYSKI Prince, Dover, 6 Oct 35. (2837).
 748 CHRZANOWSKI Adalbert, Dover, 7 Feb 36 (246).
 749 CHELMICKI Wincenty, London, 3 May 36 (1279).
 750 CZAPLINSKI Jan, Dover, 23 June 36. (1953).
 751 DIEDERICKI (?) Robert, London, 21 May 35. (1173).
 752 DOMBROWSKI Stanisław, Brighton, 14 Oct 35. (212).
 753 DOLOROBSKI Norbert, Dover, 15 Jan 36. (89).
 754 DOBROWOLSKI Walenty, Portsmouth, 26 Feb 36. (2).
 755 DEMBINSKA de, Countess, London, 6 May 36. (1380).

- 756 DOLGOROWSKI (?) Prince, London, 23 June 36. (2639).
757 FILIPOWICZ E. (...) and Daughter, London, 16 Apr 35. (681 — 2).
758 POSZYNSKI Aron, Hull, 31 Aug 35. (257).
759 FILIPOWICZ Michał, London, 14 Sept 35. (3311).
760 GARZYCKI Tytus, London, 28 Jan 35. (109).
761 GAŁECKI Aleksander, Dover, 12 Feb 15. (346).
762 GNIEZNIENSKI Luin (?), London, 6 July 35. (2057).
763 GNATOWSKI Ludwik, Dover, 25 Aug 35. (2532).
764 GRZWENSKI G., Southampton, 27 Aug 35. (298).
765 GRONCHICKI (?) Alex. Southampton, 13 Oct. 35. (386).
766 GRATOWSKI Paweł, London, 3 Jan 36. (44).
767 GUROWSKI Le Comte, Dover, 16 May 36. (1620).
768 GONTOSKI (or: GOUTOSKI) Jan, Dover, 31 May 36. (1756).
769 GOLEWSKI London, 8 June 36. (1829).
770 GNOROWSKI Stanisław, Dover, 6 June 36. (2203).
771 HORTZELKY Juliusz, Dover, 7 March 35. (1104).
772 JAŻWINSKI Ludwik, Southampton, 16 Feb 35 (17).
773 JACHECKI Henryk, London, 5 March 35. (281).
774 JELINSKI Teodor, London, 6 Apr 35. (551).
775 JAROWSKI Tomasz, London, 6 Apr 35. (556).
776 JORDAN Antoni, Dover, 4 Apr 35. (1022).
777 JANKOWSKI Józef, Southampton, 29 Apr 35. (87).
778 JARETZKI Heyman, London, 8 June 35. (1022).
779 JELOWICKI Aleksander, London, 24 July 35. (2418).
780 JAKUBOWSKI Ignacy, London, 6 Aug 35. (2667).
781 JELEWSKI Ignacy, London, 29 Jan 36. (75).
782 JANEWICZ (or: Jancwicz) Karol, London, 3 May 36. (1286).
783 JAKUBOWSKI Stanisław, Southampton, 24 May 36. (91).
784 KINSKI Count, Dominik, London, 19 March 35. (394).
785 KYNSKI Jan, Southampton, 25 March 35. (25).
786 KROSNOWSKI Walenty, London, 3 Apr 35. (543).
787 KANIEZKI Bartłomiej, London, 9 Apr 35. (607).
788 KOWALSKI Leopold, Southampton, 20 Apr 35. (63).
789 KOSOWSKI J. N., Hull, 1 May 35. (43).
790 KONARSKI Szymon, Doer, 24 May 35. (1643).
791 KAJENICKI Kajetan, London, 5 June 35. (1497).
792 KOBLINSKI Julian, Hull, 22 July 35. (163).
793 KONTROWICZ Szymon Dawid, Goole, 22 July 35. (14).
794 KONARSKI Samuel, Dover, 15 Sept 35. (2700).
795 KREMPOWSKI Teodor, Southampton, 15 Oct 35. (393).
796 KRETZOLOWSKI Karol, London, 29 Oct 35. (3974).
797 KAMIENSKI Stanisław, Dover, 3 Feb 36. (212).
798 KOSTECKI Józef, Dover, 29 Feb 36. (470).
799 KRZYŻANOWSKI Kazimierz, Dover, 7 March 36. (537).
800 KORNICKI H. Hull, 14 March 36. (13).
801 KOCZELINSKI Kajetan, London, 1 May 36. (1247).
802 KOZIEBRODZKI Michał, London, 3 May 36. (1282).
803 KOWALSKI Jan, Dover, 6 May 36. (1512).
804 KOMOROWSKI Ksawery, London, 9 May 36. (1414).
805 KINSKI Comte, Dover, 21 May 36. (1681).
806 KUCZYNSKI Eliasz, London, 25 May 36. (1816).
807 KAMINSKI Józef, London, 25 May 36. (1803).
808 KALINSKI Antoni, London, 26 May 36. (1860).
809 KOZMIAN Adam, Dover, 7 June 36. (1815).
810 KONOPKA Juliusz, Dover, 16 June 36. (1881).
811 LEWESKI Lev(...), Deal, 8 Feb 35. (7).

- 812 LUBLIN Juliusz, Newcastle, 17 June 35. (1).
813 LAZAROWICZ Emilia, London, 1 Aug 35. (2584).
814 LEONOWICZ Stanisław, Dover, 2 Sept 35. (2883).
815 LUBECKI Aloizy, Dover, 31 Nov 35. (3391).
816 LEMANSKI Ludwik, Dover, 9 Feb 36. (267).
817 LABENSKI Franciszek, Dover, 20 Feb 36. (354).
818 LIPSKI Wincenty, London, 20 March 36. (596).
819 LEMPICKI Mortchell (?), Dover, 22 March 36. (791).
820 LEDOCHOWSKI Jan, London, 3 May 36. (1223).
821 LISSOWSKI Józef, London, 9 May 36. (1420).
822 LENKI Stefan, Plymouth, 18 May 36. (45).
823 MICHAŁOWSKI Joachim, London, 29 Apr 35. (834).
824 MOKRZECKI Edward, London, 29 June 35. (1824).
825 MACIEJOWSKI Stanisław, London, 19 Aug 35. (2902).
826 MARKOWSKI Geb(...), Hull, 24 Sept 35. (298).
827 MAYEWSKI Józef, Dover, 5 Oct 35. (2831).
828 MAŁACHOWSKI Countess, Brighton, 6 Oct 35. (188).
829 MINXORUSKI (?) Napoleon, Dover, 22 Oct 35. (2959).
830 MICHALSKI Józef, Dover, 29 Feb 36. (469).
831 MARCZYNSKI Jakub, London, 19 Apr 36. (1000).
832 MOŚCICKI Jan, Dover, 18 Apr 36. (1257).
833 MALINSKI Józef, Dover, 27 May 36. (1726).
834 MIESCHBACH Aloizy, Dover 9 Jan 36. (2234).
835 NIEZABITOWSKI Stefan, London, 25 May 35. (1207).
836 ORŁOWSKI Seweryn, Southampton, 14 Jan 35. (7).
837 OBORSKI Ludwik, Portsmouth, 11 March 35. (10).
838 ODECHOWSKI Teofil, Southampton, 22 March 35. (69).
839 OKECKI Teofil, Dover, 11 May 35. (951).
840 ORKAN Jan Maria, Dover, 8 June 35. (1832).
841 ORŁOWSKI Wiktor, L., Brighton, 12 June 35. (42).
842 OSTROWSKI Michał, Hull, 27 June 35. (103).
843 OSTROWSKI Le Comte, London, 30 July 35. (2537).
844 ORŁOWSKI Wiktor, Dover, 26 July 35. (2539).
845 OSKO Michał, London, 1 Apr 36. (718).
846 ORŁOWSKI Seweryn, London, 3 May 36. (1286).
847 PISKARZEWSKI Jakub, Southampton, 4 Jan 35. (5).
848 POLAK Leonard, London, 23 Feb 35. (225).
849 POLAK Marcin Andrzej, London, 12 March 35. (321).
850 PAGOWSKI Stanisław, Dover, 12 May 35. (1522).
851 POLAK Józef, Dover, 1 June 35. (1751).
852 PLATER Count, Lucian, London, 3 June 35. (1453).
853 POLAK Józef and wife, Dover, 13 June 35. (1879).
854 POTOCKI Le Comte, Dover, 16 June 35. (1912).
855 POLAK Marcin, A., London, 26 June 35. (1880).
856 POLAK Wolf Rubin, Hull, 13 Aug 35. (2840).
857 POLAK Leonard, London, 19 Aug 35. (2891).
858 POLAK Jakub, London, 27 Sept 35. (3667).
859 POZNANSKI Loeve, Dover, 1 Nov 35. (3022).
860 PONINSKI Stanisław, London, 19 Nov. 35. (4158).
861 POLAK E. A., Hull, 8 Dec 35. (3286)
862 PISTOWSKI August, Dover, 4 Feb 36. (224).
863 POLAK Juliusz L., London, 20 Feb 36. (327).
864 POZORNY Feliks, Margete, 19 March 36. (9).
865 PLATER Comte Lucian, Dover, 27 March 36. (894).
866 POWINSKI Albert, London, 21 Apr 36. (1020).
867 POLAK Jan Bapt. D., Dover, 27 Apr 36. (1398).

- 868 PIETZSCK (?) Teodor, London, 27 Apr 36. (1180).
869 POLASKI Izaak, London, 1 May 36. (1254).
870 PAPIEREK H (...), London, 6 May 36. (1397).
871 PULSZKI Francois de, London, 27 May 36. (1883).
872 POSŁOWSKI Tytus, Brighton, 27 June 36. (52).
873 POZANCKI Baruch, Dover, 29 June 36. (1990).
874 RACZKOWSKI Józef, Southampton, 4 Jan 35. (4).
875 RUTKOWSKI Erazm, Southampton, 2 Feb 35. (15).
876 RADOLINSKI Count, London, 5 May 35. (1496).
877 ROZWADOWSKI T., Dover, 30 July 35. (2022).
878 REY August and wife, London, 3 Sept 35. (3139).
879 REY Marie, London, 9 Oct 35. (3737).
880 ROCHOZ Bernard, London, 22 Oct 35. (3911).
881 RAJECKI Otto, London, 27 Apr 36. (1159).
882 RABINOWICZ Schepel, London, 26 Apr 36. (1122).
883 SOCHACZEWSKI Bernard, London, 2 Apr 36. (32).
885 SUCHECKI Wincenty, Southampton, 20 Apr 36. (64).
886 SOWINSKI Albert, Dover, 30 Apr 35. (1380).
887 SPERZYNSKI Adam, Dover, 24 May 35. (1651).
888 SZCZYGIELSKI Kazimierz (?) N., Dover, 9 June 35. (1848).
889 SICHRAWSKI Józef, London, 17 June 35. (1733).
890 SZYMANSKI Marcelli, Dover, 7 Aug 35. (2350).
891 SCHABATKA Jan, London, 7 Aug. 35. (2684).
892 SOSWINSKI Hiacynt, Dover, 24 Aug 35. (2514).
893 SHRIMSKI Levin, London, 28 Sept 35. (3568).
894 SYRKA Dymitr, London, 5 Oct 35. (3665).
895 SEGELECKI H. W., London, 15 Oct 35. (3774).
896 SYPNIEWSKI Dominik, Dover, 21 Oct 35. (2956).
897 STEMPOWSKI Wincenty, London, 3 Apr 36. (1290).
898 STEMPOWSKI Leon, London, 3 Apr 36. (1288).
899 SOŁTYK Roman, London, 15 May 36. (1567).
900 SAUKOWSKA Katarzyna, London, 6 June 36. (2168).
901 ŚWIERCZEWSKI Walenty, Dover, 8 June 26. (1831).
902 TROCINSKI Jan, Southampton, 20 Apr 35. (65).
903 TORZIENSKI Alex., Brighton, 12 June 35. (43).
904 TYSZKIEWICZ Comte, J., London, 12 Aug 35. (2775).
905 TRZCINSKI Franciszek, Dover, 3 May 36. (1283).
906 TRZCINSKI Edward, London, 13 May 36. (2366).
907 WESOŁOWSKI Teodor, Dover, 15 Jan 35. (108).
908 WARNINSKI Wincenty, Southampton, 20 Apr 35. (62).
909 WONTRUBKA R., Dover, 11 June 35. (1748).
910 WAHOWSKI Emilian, Southampton, 6 May 35. (150).
911 WODZICKI Count Henryk, London, 1 June 35. (1559).
912 WYDOROSKI Wincenty, Brighton, 23 June 35. (54).
913 WOŁOWSKI Franc. D.(...), Dover, 23 Apr 36. (1325).
914 YASZENSKI (JASZENSKI?) Piotr, Dover, 22 May 35. (1520).
915 YARNOWSKI (TARNOWSKI?) Count, London, 26 May 35. (1260).
916 ZURKOWSKI Jan, Dover, 9 March 35. (580).
917 ZULANCEWICZ Wincenty, Southampton, 22 Apr 35. (68).
918 ŻÓŁTOWSKI Adam von, Portsmouth, 19 May 35, (420).
919 ZALESKI Leon, Dover, 24 May 35. (1644).
920 ZAMOYSKI Count Władysław, London, 9 June 35. (1558).
921 ZALESKI Piotr, Dover, 21 June 35. (1940).
922 ZAWALA Wincenty, London, 15 Aug 35. (3064).
923 ŻYTOGÓRSKI Adolf, London, 2 Nov 25. (4198).
924 ZABŁOCKI Teofil, Dover, 27 March 36. (885).

- 925 ŻARKOWSKI Jakub, London, 25 May 36. (1802).
 926 ŻARKOWSKI Aron, London, 25 May 36. (1803).
 927 ŻARKOWSKI Leopold, London, 25 May 36. (1804).
 928 ZALESKI Adolf, Dover, 27 May 36. (1727).
 929 ZAKOMELSKI Jan, London, 18 June 36. (2507).

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- 930 ABLOMOWICZ D., Margate, 9 Aug 37 (5605).
 931 ANTONOWICZ Pascal, London, 22 May 38. (2411).
 932 ANDRZEJEWSKI Antoni, London, 13 June 38. (3251).
 933 BRODOWSKI Wacław, London, 27 July 36. (715).
 934 BRODY Heyman, Hull, 12 Aug 36. (82).
 935 BRINSKI Stanisław, London, 14 Aug 36. (1412).
 936 BOLAWSKI Ksawery, London, 28 Aug 36. (1845).
 937 BROCKOWSKE Izrael, Hull, 30 Aug 36. (131).
 938 BOLECHOWSKI Karol, London, 24 Dec 36. (4191).
 939 BIĘNKOWSKI Marceli, London, 5 May 37. (2101).
 940 BRZOZOWSKI Walerian, London, 19 May 37. (2714).
 941 BILOWSKA Tekla, London, 2 June 37. (3231).
 942 BUNKISKI Maksymilian, London, 16 July 37. (4835).
 943 BREZA Eugeniusz de, London, 22 Dec 37. (8571).
 944 BARZYNSKI Antoni, London, 6 Jan 38. (328).
 945 BERKIEWICZ Lion, London, 7 Jan 38. (315).
 946 BRZOZOWSKI Karol, London, 15 March 38. (770)).
 947 BREZA Eugeniusz de, London, 5 Apr 38. (1243).
 948 BROMISKY Onufry, wife and sister, London, 1 June 38. (2696).
 949 CIWIŃSKI Juliusz, London, 7 Dec 36. (3997).
 950 CHONSKI Henryk E., London, 7 Dec 36. (1954).
 951 CEROWSKI Aleksander, London, 8 May 37. (2229).
 952 CHREPTOWICZ the Count, London, 9 May 37. (2240).
 953 CZOSNOWSKI J. A. C. de, London, 29 June 37. (4152).
 954 CHOPIN Fred-k, London, 10 July 37. (4508).
 955 CZAPSKI Count Józef Napoleon, London, 23 June 38 (3447).
 956 DUBIECKI J. and 15 others (Polish Refugees from Trieste), London,
 4 Aug 36. (1041-1055).
 957 DOBROSKI Wincenty, Portsmouth, 6 Aug 36.. (36).
 958 DYDYNSKI Piotr and wife, London, 12 Aug 36. (1314).
 959 DUŁEWSKI Józef, London, 31 Aug 34. (2002).
 960 DEBOWSKI Aleksander, London, 24 Sept 36. (2674).
 961 DWERNICKA Alicja, London, 16 Nov 36. (3736).
 962 DOBRO Walenty, London, 4 Feb 37. (349).
 963 DEMBOWSKA La Comtesse, , Dover, 31 May 37. (876).
 964 DENBROCKI Marie von, London, 16 June 37. (3616).
 965 DYSKI Napoleon, London, 2 Aug 37. (5293).
 966 DEMASIEWICZ Jan, London, 17 Aug 37. (5951).
 967 DROZDOWSKI Wincenty, London, 23 Oct 37. (7667).
 968 DOBROWOLSKI Walenty, London, 27 Oct 37. (7760).
 969 DOMEJKO Ignacy, Dover, 4 May 38. (680).
 970 DUCINSKI Antoni, Dover, 4 May 38. (680).
 971 DULAWSKI Józef, London, 14 May 38. (2249).
 972 DZIAŁOSZYNSKI Józef, Hull, 5 June 38. (102).
 973 FLORIANOWICZ Stanisław, London, 4 July 36. (98).
 974 FLORIANOWICZ Juliusz, London, 4 July 36. (99).
 975 GOMOSZYNSKI Józef, London, 12 July 36. (321).
 976 GLOWIKOWSKI Jan, London, 31 Aug 36. (1948).
 977 GASZYNSKI Tytus, London, 1 Nov 36. (3482).

- 978 GRABOWSKI Adam, Dover, 16 Jan 37 (38).
 979 GRODZICKI le Comte Kazimierz de, Dover, 16 Jan 37. (44).
 980 GOŁĘBIAWSKI Alfons, Dover, 25 March 37. (481).
 981 GAJEWSKI Antoni, London, 8 June 37. (3398).
 982 GAJEWSKI Albert, Dover, 20 June 37. (3748).
 983 GAŻYCKI Łukasz, Dover, 20 June 37. (3751).
 984 GAJEWSKI Antoni, London, 4 July 37. (4319).
 985 GAJEWSKI Antoni, Margate, 17 July 37. (9).
 986 GNIEŹNIEŃSKA Sarah, Hull, 4 Aug 37. (372).
 987 GUILMARD Stanisław, London, 10 Aug 37. (5633).
 988 GORSKI Wincenty, London, 17 Aug 37. (5913).
 989 GOLINSKI Aleksander, Falmouth, 18 March 38. (13).
 990 GORSKI Wincenty, London, 22 March 38. (915).
 991 GAJEWSKI Antoni, London, 31 May 38. (2681).
 992 GNIEWOSZEWSKI Jan, London, 26 June 38. (3637).
 993 HACISKI Jan, Dover, 13 July 36. (89).
 994 HOPINSKI Jan, London, 13 July 37. (4672).
 995 IZDEBSKI (or: IDZEBSKI) Karol, Dover, 1 July 36. (10).
 996 JEŁOWIECKI Edward, London, 18 July 36. (434).
 997 JACOB(O)WICZ Marcus, London, 11 Aug 36. (1388).
 998 ISKNETZKY Count, London, 21 Aug 36. (1668).
 999 JANKOWSKI Franciszek, London, 29 Aug 36. (1887).
 1000 JANKOLOWICZ Heinrich, 16 Sept 36. (2434).
 -001. JASMINSKI Stanisław Józef, London, 26 Oct. 36. (3369).
 1002 JANCEWICZ Antoni, London, 28 Jan 37. (305).
 1003 JACKOWSKI Ignacy, London, 24 May 37. (2901).
 1004 IZDEBSKI Teofil, London, 26 May 37. (3001).
 1005 JARZINSKA Eliza, Brighton, 24 Aug 37. (112).
 1006 JELONEK Rosse (?), London, 2Oct 37. (7179).
 1007 JANICKI Franciszek, London, 6 Nov 37. 7861).
 1008 JANICKI Franciszek, London, 29 Dec 37. (24).
 1009 KCZEWSKI Aleksander, London, 13 July 36. (328).
 1010 KORSZINSKI Józef, London, 4 Aug 36. (960).
 1011 KRASINSKI Count Józef, London, 24 Aug 36. (1706).
 1012 KINSKI Eugeniusz, London, 24 Aug 36. (1725).
 1013 KLISZCZEWSKI Spirydion, London, 31 Aug 36. (1944).
 1014 KOCBANOWSKI (or: KOCHANOWSKI) Jan, London, 31 Aug. (1952).
 1015 KOWSKI Piotr, Dover, 11 Sept 36. (492).
 1016 KOPICKI Eugeniusz, London, 2 Nov 36. (3481).
 1017 KONSKI (or: KONUSKI) Tadeusz, London, 12 Dec 36. (4057).
 1018 KOSSECKI Zygmunt, London, 8 Jan 37. (84).
 1019 KLEIZEWSKI H., Hull, 9 May 37. (175).
 1020 KONITZKY R., Hull, 6 June 37. (227).
 1021 KŁOSZ Elżbieta, London, 14 June 37. (3579).
 1022 KAMINSKI Stanisław, London, 20 June 37. (3752).
 1023 KOZŁOWSKI Antoni, London, 28 June 37. (4104).
 1024 KIŚLEWSKA Katarzyna von, London, 10 Aug 37. (5987).
 1025 KALISZ Wolff, Hull, 30 Aug 37. (433).
 1026 KUKUROTSCHKA C. A. D., London, 27 Oct 37. (7747).
 1027 KRZYŻANOWSKI Lucian, London, 5 Nov 37. (7865).
 1028 KUMPEKIEWICZ Konstanty, Southampton, 10 Nov 37. (232).
 1029 KOSTOWSKI Jan, Dover, 17 Nov 37. (1587).
 1030 KALOWSKI Jan Karol, London, 10 Dec 37. (8339).
 1031 KOBYLINSKI Ernest, Dover, 17 Dec 37. (1663).
 1032 KRASINSKI Count Henryk, London, 11 Jan 38. (126).

- 1033 KRESSCKI Antoni Jakub, London, 31 May 38. (2661).
1034 KUNICKI Piotr, London, 2 June 38. (2713).
1035 KAŁUSZOWSKI Henryk, London, 14 June 38. (3081).
1038 LESZCZYNSKI Józef, London, 7 July 36. (204).
1037 LUSKI Józef, Hull, 15 July 36. (744).
1038 LAZANSKI Count, London, 27 July 36. (744).
1039 LECHINSKI Józef, London, 1 Aug 36. (861).
1040 ŁUKOMSKI Roman, London, 4 Aug 36. (1007).
1041 LAGACKI Teofil London, 27 Aug 36. (1818).
1042 LABIŃSKI Annette, Dover, 12 Nov 36. (748).
1043 ŁYSOWSKI Józef, Dover, 14 Dec 36. (853).
1044 ŁUBIEŃSKI Cezar, London, 23 May 37. (2832).
1045 LYŚNIEWSKI Ignacy, London, 7 June 37. (3298).
1046 LOZENSKY Józef, London, 5 Sept 37. (8517).
1047 LIPSKI Wincenty, Dover, 16 Sept 37. (1397).
1048 LABRIZKI Juliusz, London, 23 Oct 37. (7669).
1049 ŁAPINSKI Michał, London, 6 Nov 37. (2864).
1050 ŁUBIENSKI Cezar, London, 5 March 38. (58).
1051 LACZYNSKI Aleksander, London, 15 March 38. (770).
1052 LASKI Alfred, Hull, 27 March 38. (11).
1053 LISIECKI Ignacy, London, 17 Apr 38. (1550).
1054 LAZOWICZ Mikołaj, Dover, 4 June 38. (928).
1056 MIECZKOWSKI Julian, London, 15 Sept 36. (2439).
1057 MICHALSKI Ludwik Herman, London, 15 Oct 36. (3174).
1058 MICHALIK Helena de, London, 2 Nov 36. (3507).
1059 MODLINSKI Antoni, London, 17 Nov 36. (3763).
1060 MARKIEWICZ Leib., London, 18 Feb 37. (555).
1061 MAZURKIEWICZ Leon, London, 22 Feb 37. (589).
1062 MALESZEWSKI Józef, London, 2 March 37. (716).
1063 MICHAŁOWSKI Michał, Dover, 30 March 37. (574).
1064 MIKOWSKI Ksawery, London, 20 Apr 37. (1752).
1065 MYSZKIEWICZ Kazimierz, London, 25 May 37. (2972).
1066 MIKLASZEWSKI Piotr, Brighton, 19 Sept 37 (140).
1067 MATKOWICZ Gaspard, London, 22 Sept 37. (2016).
1068 MICHAROWSKI Jan, Londyn, 4 Nov 37. (2858).
1069 MOCOZOWSKI Jan, Ramsgate, 18 Dec 37. (39).
1070 MYSZKIEWICZ Kazimierz, London, 25 Dec 37. (8490).
1071 MYSZKIEWICZ Kazimierz, London, 12 March 38. (697).
1072 NOWOSIELSKI Feliks, London, 24 Sept 36. (2689).
1073 NAWAZIECKI Jakub, Hull, 10 June 37. (249).
1074 NOWAKOWSKI Konstanty, London, 20 June 37. (3753).
1075 NETREBSKI Jan, London, 17 Aug 37. (5950).
1076 NIEZABITOWSKI Tomasz, Dover, 30 Oct 37. (1535).
1077 NATECKI Ludwik, Hull, 31 Oct 37. (495).
1078 NOWOSIELSKI Lucian, London, 6 Nov 37. (7860).
1079 NEIPRZYCKI Maksymilian, London, 11 Dec 37. (8361).
1080 NICHAŁOWICZ (or: MICHAŁOWICZ ?) S., Hull, 1 Jan 38. (4)
1081 NOWESKI Jan Karol, London, 21 May 38. (2376).
1082 NOWAK Michał, Dover, 17 June 38. (1033).
1083 OLIZAROWSKI Tomasz, London, 20 June 37. (5750).
1084 OSIAKOWSKI Samuel, Hull, 10 July 37. (315).
1085 ODECHOWSKI Teofil, Southampton, 19 July 37. (106).
1086 ORŁOWSKI Kazimierz, Dover, 19 July 37. (1143).
1087 OSTROWSKI Jan, London, 7 Aug 37. (5558).
1088 OBORSKI Edmund, London, 18 Aug 37. (5965).
1089 OZERSKI Aleksander, London, 11 Jan 38. (117).

- 1090 OKNINSKI Stanisław, London, 25 June 38 (3630).
 1091 POLOWSKI Le Comte Tytus, Dover, 12 July 36. (83).
 1092 PALOWSKI Jan, London, 3 Aug 36. (914).
 1093 POLAK Lendert, London, 10 Aug 36. (1248).
 1094 POLAK Antoni Meyer, London, 20 Aug 36. (1577).
 1095 PAISZOWSKI Aleksander, London, 31 Aug 36. (1946).
 1096 POLINSKI Kazimierz, Dover, 11 Sept 36. (1946).
 1097 POTOCKI Aleksander, Portsmouth, 15 Sept 36. (48).
 1098 PETKO Tomasz, London, 29 Sept 36. (2851).
 1099 PROTROWSKI Wincenty, London, 16 Oct 36. (3183).
 1100 PIEWZAKOWSKI Józef, Dover, 6 Nov 36. (719).
 1101 POLAK Seweryn Mojżesz, London, 3 Nov 36. (3551).
 1102 PAULICKI H., Hull, 16 Dec 36. (288).
 1103 PIETRASZEWSKI Michał, Dover, 17 Feb 37. (145).
 1104 POLAK Lendert, London, 5 March 37 (741).
 1105 PRZYTANOWSKI Rudolf, Dover, 21 March 37. (399).
 1106 PRUSINOWSKI Teofil, London, 19 Apr 37. (1673).
 1107 POLAK Lelig (?), London, 26 June 37. (3963).
 1108 PINKUS Mojżesz, London, 26 June 37. (3973).
 1109 POTOCKI Maurycy, London, 29 June 37. (4153).
 1110 POLAK Wolf Rubin, London, 6 July 37. (4417).
 1111 PONIATOWSKI Prince and Princess, Portsmouth, 18 July 37. (29).
 1112 POLAK Rudolf Lipman, Hull, 14 July 37. (317).
 1113 POLAK Markus Andreas, London, 20 July 37. (4914).
 1114 POLAK Hirsh, son and daughter, London, 19 July 37. (4848).
 1115 PONGOSKI Stanisław, London, 24 July 37. (5018).
 1116 POLAK Leanolest (?), London, 24 July 37. (4992).
 1117 PLATER Count Lucian, London, 1 Aug 38 (?). (269).
 1118 PALINSKI Kazimierz, Dover, 21 Aug 37. (1817).
 1119 POTOCKI Count, sister and servant, London, 13 Sept 37. (6754).
 1120 PARRYLEWICZ (or: PARZYLEWICZ) Euzebiusz, Southampton,
 7 Oct 37. (204).
 1120 PURZYCKI Józef, London, 16 Nov 37. (8050).
 1121 POTOCKI Count Bernard, Dover, 17 Nov 37. (1585).
 1122 PONGOWSKI Stanisław, London, 25 Dec 37. (8503).
 1123 PONIATOWSKI Prince Józef, London, 14 Feb 38. (367).
 1124 PALCZEWSKI Józef, Dover, 13 Apr 38. (451).
 1125 POLAK Bernhard, London, 2 May 38. (1966)).
 1126 POLAK Jan B-te Daniel, Dover, 16 May 38. (775).
 1127 POLAK Markus Andreas, London, 24 May 38. (2492).
 1128 POLAK Leondaert, London, 14 Jun 38. (3091).
 1129 PALINSKI Kazimierz, Dover, 17 June 38. (1035).
 1130 POZNANSKI Jan, London, 23 June 38. (3455).
 1131 PITRKIEWICZ Ludwik, London, 21 June 38. (3326).
 1132 POLACKI Le Comte Józef, London, 27 June 38. (3656).
 1133 ROZWADOWSKI Teodor, London, 1 Aug 36. (850).
 1134 ROZWADOWSKI Teodor, Dover, 13 Aug 36. (329).
 1135 RATAYSKI Wiktor, London, 25 Aug 36. (1845).
 1136 RUPNIEWSKI Mikołaj, Southampton, 8 Oct 36. (168).
 1137 RUPRECHT Mathias, London, 9 Oct 36. (3018).
 1138 RACZYNSKI Hieronim Artur, London, 27 Jan 37. (244).
 1139 ROMANSKI Michał, London, 4 Feb 37. (351).
 1140 RYMKIEWICZ Antoni, London, 13 March 37. (893).
 1141 REY Cyryl de, Brighton, 5 June 37. (10).
 1142 RYCHLEWSKI Henryk, Dover, 28 June 37. (1020).
 1143 ROZBICKI Leonard, Southampton, 18 July 37. (105).

- 1144 ROZECKI Józef, Dover, 20 July 37. (1145).
 1145 RAJECKI Józef, London, 3 Aug 37. (5400).
 1145 RUTKOWSKI Ignacy, London, 6 Nov 37. (7857).
 1147 ROSZYNSKI Henryk, Dover, 17 Jan 38. (46).
 1148 SMIGIELSKI Benjamin, Hull, 22 July 36. (44).
 1149 ŚWIENTOSŁAWSKI Zenon, Southampton, 23 July 36. (39).
 1150 SZYMBORSKI Ludwik, London, 10 Aug 36. (1210).
 1151 SOBOLEWSKI Serge de, London, 28 Aug 36. (1892).
 1152 SŁAWINSKI Mikołaj, London, 31 Aug 36. (1947).
 1153 SOCATOWSKI Stanisław, London, 31 Aug 36. (1953).
 1154 SZASERSKI Henryk, wife and nanny, London, 12 Oct. 36. (3100).
 1155 SMOLINSKI Ambrozy, London, 17 Oct 36. (3184).
 1156 STADNICKI Aleksander, London, 29 Oct 36. (3440).
 1157 SOLOMONSKI Hieronim de, London, 16 Dec 36. (4080).
 1158 SZCZYELSKI Kazimierz, Dover, 28 Feb 37. (196).
 1159 ŚWIBOLEWSKI Sergiusz, Portsmouth, 24 Apr 37. (8).
 1160 SUCHOCZEWSKI Józef, London, 16 May 37. (2476).
 1161 SOKOŁOWSKI Juliusz, London, 23 May 37. (2883).
 1162 SAWASZKIEWICZ Leopold, London, 24 May 37. (2909).
 1163 SUCHHECKI Wincenty, Southampton, 24 May 37. (50).
 1164 SIERADZKI Ludwik, London, 26 May 37. (3002).
 1165 SOŁTYK Count R-n, London, 1 June 37. (3170).
 1166 SZCZAPINSKI Józef, London, 6 June 37. (3320).
 1167 SZYRAMSKI Schüc, Hull, 12 June 37. (246).
 1168 SZWEDERSKI Henryk, London, 14 Sept 37. (6808).
 1169 SNIATYNSKI Adalbert (Wojciech), London, 3 Oct 37. (7236).
 1170 STUZENSKI Karol, London, 9 Oct 37. (7398).
 1171 SZYMANSKI Leon, London, 16 Oct 37. (7541).
 1172 SYPNIEWSKI Dominik, London, 23 Oct 37. (7668).
 1173 SENSKI Józef, London, 23 Oct 37. (7670).
 1174 S/A/MOLENSKI Jan, Dover, 30 Oct 37. (1534).
 1175 SOBOLEWSKI Jan, London, 6 Nov 37. (7867).
 1176 SUCHODOLSKA Józefa Aleksandra, London, 6 Nov 37. (7881).
 1167 SENSKI Józef, London, 5 Dec 37. (8284).
 1178 SIERADZKI Ester, London, 6 Dec 37. (8297).
 1180 SMOŁĘNSKI Marianna, London, 21 March 38. (891).
 1181 SZCZEPANOWSKI Ignacy, London, 13 Apr 38. (1506).
 1182 SOBIESZCZAŃSKI Franciszek, Dover, 14 Apr 38. (565).
 1183 SUBOMIRSKI Jerzy (or: LUBOMIRSKI ?), London 26 Apr 38.
 (1809).
 1184 SZABATKA Jan, Dover, 23 June 38 (1068).
 1185 TREMBECKA T-eze de, London, 29 Sept 36. (2855).
 1186 TRZEMBSKI Aloizy, DDover, 20 Feb 37. (177).
 1187 TURKOWICZ Fryderyk, London, 2 Apr 37. (1244).
 1188 TOHMACHWSKI Antoni, Dover, 12 Apr 37. (691).
 1189 TRZCIŃSKI Ambrozy, London, 26 May 37. (3000).
 1190 TWORNICKI Andrej, London, 5 Sept 37. (6519).
 1191 TEMPISKI Fryderyk, London, 10 May 38. (2130).
 1192 URBAŃSKI Jan Józef, 17 Dec 36. (4112).
 1194 URUSKI Seweryn, London, 26 Apr 38. (1810).
 1195 WOJATKOWSKI Bonawentura, London, 4 Aug 36. (1141).
 1196 WORCEL (or: WORREL) Karolina, Brighton, 8 Aug 36. (74).
 1197 WILLIMOWICZ Ignacy, London, 12 Aug 36. (1365).
 1198 WALEWSKI Le Comte and servant, Dover, 24 Aug 36. (399).
 1199 WARENSKI Karol, London, 31 Aug 36. (1943).
 1200 WSEWLOGSKI Zofia, Brigghton, 19 Sept 36. (131).

- 1201 WASZINK M. C., Falmouth, 4 Oct 36. (71).
 1202 WITKOWSKI Jan Herman, Falmouth, 23 March 37. (15).
 1203 WOYTKIEWICZ Hipolit, London, 19 June 37. (3670).
 1204 WALKO Marcin, London, 19 June 37. (3742).
 1205 WOLSKI L. V de PETIVILLE dit, Brighton, 21 July 37. (39).
 1206 WOYTKIEWICZ Hipolit, London, 18 Sept 37. (6865).
 1207 WOŁKOWSKI Feliks, London, 6 Nov 37. (7866).
 1208 WILKOWSKI Feliks, London, 6 Nov 37. (7866).
 1209 WYSOCKI Władysław, Dover, 11 Dec 37. (1654).
 1210 WORONOWICZ Jakub, Dover, 7 Apr 38. (487).
 1211 WITKOWSKI Edward, London, 17 May 38. (2305).
 1212 WANSKI Jan, London, 22 May 38. (2418).
 1213 WEZYK Jan, London, 6 June 38. (2838).
 1214 WIELOPOLSKI Comte B., London, 27 June 38. (3656).
 1215 ZAKRZEWSKI Count and Suite, London, 28 July 36. (785).
 1216 ZASSECKI Michał, London, 19 Aug 36. (1551)).
 1217 ŻABA Józef, London, 22 Aug 36. (1631).
 1218 ZAWADOWSKI Count and Servant, Brighton, 16 Sept 36. (128).
 1219 ZUGARZEWSKI Stanisław, London, 17 Oct 36. (3185).
 1220 ŻERKOWSKI Aron, London, 23 May 37. (2879).
 1221 ŻABA Adam, London, 5 June, 37. (3281).
 1222 ŻABINSKI Abraham, London, 6 June 37. (3288).
 1223 ZUGARZEWSKI Stanisław, Dover, 7 July 37. (1080).
 1224 ŻABA Józef, London, 31 July 37. (5233).
 1225 ZASSYCKI Michał, Brighton, 14 Augg. 37. (73).
 1226 ZAWADOWSKI Le Comte de, with the Countess, her Son, mother
and 5 servants, Dover, 1 Sept 37. (1325-1333).
 1227 ZULANOWICZ Wincenty, Southampton, 6 Sept 37. (163).
 1228 ZBONEK Marcin, London, 24 Sept 37. (7060).
 1228 ZAMOYSKI Władysław, Dover, 17 Nov 37. (1586).
 1229 ZABIEŁO Antoine, Southampton, 18 Dec 37. (243).
 1230 ZULANOWICZ Wincenty, Southampton, 3 Feb 38. (11).
 1231 ZWICKI Gabriel, London, 16 May 38. (2299).
 1232 ZAWADOWSKI Count de, London, 25 May 38. (2520).

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- 1233 ANDREJKOWICZ Jan, London, 27 Apr 40. (1477).
 1234 ALINSKI Izaak Jakub, London, 11 July 40. (3089).
 1235 BRICKA Karol and wife, 5 July 38. (3898).
 1236 BREZENSKI Józef Cohn, Goole, 3 Sept 38. (33).
 1237 BREZENSKI Icek, Goole, 3 Sept 38. (34).
 1238 BARCZ Henryk, Dover, 28 Dec 38. (1623)).
 1239 BAKOWSKI Count Adam, London, 26 March 39. (895).
 1240 BICZOWSKI Julian Karol, London, 24 Apr 39. (1480).
 1241 BIERNACKI Julian, London, 4 July 39. (3285).
 1242 BUTOWSKI Aleksander, London, 13 Aug 39. (4391).
 1243 BAKOWSKI Count Jan, London, 8 Oct 39. (5716).
 1244 BILENSKI Ferdinand MIELKOWICZ, London, 13 May 40. (1841).
 1245 BRZEZINSKI Paweł, London, 28 Oct. 40. (4737).
 1246 BIAROWSKI Wilhelm de, London, 27 Nov 40. (4910).
 1247 CHWOSTOWIŃSKI F-k A-d, London, 17 Sept 38. (6018).
 1248 CARŁOWICZ Waldemar de, Dover, 16 Dec 38. (1590)).
 1251 KAHM (?), London, 20 Jan 39. (48).
 1252 CHYLINSKI Jan, London, 28. (464).
 1253 CZAPNIK Salomon, London, 15 July 39. (3611).
 1254 CHOCIMSKI Michał, London, 7 March 40. (569).

- 1255 CICTOCKI (or: CICHOCKI) Michał, London, 7 March 40. (1591).
 1256 CHOTINSKI Michał, London, 5 June 40. (2377).
 1257 CZOUPINSKI (CZUPINSKI ?) Stanisław, Dover, 12 June 40 (892).
 1258 CHŁAPOWSKI (Dezyderiusz) de, London, 28 Aug 40. (3933).
 1259 CICHOCKI Józef, London, 10 Dec 40. (4990).
 1260 DOBRZYŃSKI Faustyn, Dover, 12 Aug 38. (1230).
 1261 DZIERZBICKI Michał, Dover, 14 Sept 38. (1836).
 1262 DROBISZ Aleksander, London, 15 Jan 39. (78).
 1263 DZIEŻKOWICZ Jan, Dover, 12 Apr 39. (625).
 1264 DZIEDUSZYCKI Count Henryk, Dover, 11 May 39. (837).
 1265 DUBRAWICZ Aleksander, London, 21 June 39. (3030).
 1266 DANSLEWSKI Aleksander von, London, 19 Aug 39. (4572).
 1267 DOBOROWSKI Walenty, London, 24 Oct 39. (5934).
 1268 DOUBOWICKI Piotr de, London, 14 June 40. (4149).
 1268 DROWICZKI (or: DROWIEZKI) Aleksander, Dover, 8 Sept 40.
 (4149).
 1269 GARCZYŃSKI Marcin, London, 23 July 38. (4300).
 1270 GIELGUD Jan, London, 22 Aug 38. (5085).
 1271 GAYEWSKI Antoni, London, 23 Dec 38. (7255).
 1272 GEMBICKI Sebastian, London, 6 March 39. (596).
 1273 GRABOWSKI Count, London, 28 March 39. (928).
 1274 GRONOSTAJSKI Gerard, London, 12 May 39. (1891).
 1275 GACZYŃSKI Abraham, London, 13 May 39. (1960).
 1276 GIEŁGUD Jan, London, 3 July 39. (3324).
 1277 GRABOWSKI Count Maurycy, London, 4 Oct 39. (5629).
 1278 GIEŁGUD Jan and wife, London, 29 Oct 39. (5579).
 1280 GRABOWSKI Adam, Dover, 17 Dec 04. (1300).
 1281 HALSKI Adolf, Brighton, 16 July 38. (47).
 1282 HOGE Wilhelm, London, 23 July 40. (3303).
 1283 JELEŃSKI Władysław, Dover, 23 Nov 38. (1512).
 1284 JABLINSKI Jan, Dover, 5 Jan 39. (7).
 1285 JASKIERSKI Józef, Shoreham, 23 Sept 39. (101).
 1286 JEŁOWICKI Edward, London, 26 Sept 39. (5461).
 1287 IWANICKI Aleksander, London, 28 Oct. 39. (5993).
 1288 JARNOWSKI Le Comte, Dover, 9 Feb 39. (45).
 1289 JASKOWICZ Bernard, London, 10 June 40. (2452).
 1290 KASTRECKI Mikołaj, Dover, 21 July 38. (1175).
 1291 KRASKOWSKI Tomasz, London, 19 Sept 38. (5843).
 1292 KWOSZCZYŃSKI (?) J. A., London, 27 Sept 38. (6029).
 1293 KSINSKI Mojżesz, London, 3 Nov 38. (6707).
 1294 KOSSAKOWSKI Leonard, Dover, 23 Nov 38. (1512).
 1295 KOŚCIELSKI Ludwik von, London, 23 Nov 38. (6972).
 1296 KONICKI Bernard, London, 13 Jan 39. (58).
 1297 KOWLASKI Edward, London, 14 Feb. 39. (356).
 1298 KINSKI Eugeniusz and servant, London, 24 Apr 39. (1412).
 1299 KOMLOSKI Antoni, London, 13 May 39. (1896).
 1300 KOZIEBRODZKI Michał, London, 27 July 39. (3932).
 1301 KLOKOCKI Kazimierz, London, 26 Aug. 39. (4772).
 1302 KRETZULESKI Konstanty, London, 28 Aug 39. (4815).
 1303 KIEWLICZ Józef, Dover, 2 Oct 39. (1330).
 1304 KONINCKI G-me Henryk, London, 14 Oct 39. (5793).
 1305 KRNZELNICKI Kajetan, London, 22 Nov 39. (6257).
 1306 KORTOWSKI Leopold, Dover, 22 Dec 39. (1536).
 1307 KONOPKA Fryderyk, Ernest, London, 4 Aug 40. (3494).
 1308 KOZŁOWSKI, The Chevalier, London, 13 Sept 40. (4206).
 1309 LUBIENSKI Cezar, London, 8 July 38. (3927).

- 1310 LIPSKI Marek T., Hull, 21 July 38. (157).
 1311 LEDUCHOWSKI Count Jan, London, 2 Aug 38. (4713).
 1312 LIGENZA Andrzej, Dover, 22 Dec 38. (1615).
 1313 LUKOZNSKI Jan, Dover, 5 Feb 39. (103).
 1314 ŁUBIEŃSKI Count Tomasz, London, 12 March 39. (701).
 1315 LEDUCHOWSKI Count Jan, London, 13 March 39. (706).
 1316 LEDUCHOWSKI Count Jan, London, 3 July 39. (3317).
 1317 ŁUBIEŃSKI Cezar, Shoreham, 8 July 39. (24).
 1318 LISZCZYŃSKI Piotr, London, 15 July 39. (3608).
 1319 LOSKI (or: ŁOSKI) Antoni, London, 1 Sept 39. (4945).
 1320 ŁUBIEŃSKI Cezar, Shoreham, 30 Sept 39. (109).
 1321 LEDUCHOWSKI Jan, London, 26 Nov 39. (6295).
 1322 LEDUCHOWSKI Count Jan, London, 24 Jan 40. (157).
 1324 LASKOWSKI Szymon, Dover, 6 Feb 40. (40).
 1325 LEWINSKI Abraham, Dover, 14 Feb 40. (93).
 1326 LEDUCHOWSKI Count, Loondon, 18 March 40. (712).
 1327 LUTOMIRSKI Izydor, London, 3 Apr 40. (952).
 1328 LASOWSKI Konstanty, Dover, 1 May 40. (680).
 1329 ŁUBIEŃSKI Cezar, Shoreham, 20 May 40. (1).
 1330 ŁUBIEŃSKI Cezar, Southampton, 14 July 40. (9).
 1331 LUKOWSKI (or: ŁUKOWSKI) Henryk, Southampton, 5 Sept 40.
 (17).
 1332 MIENIEWSKI Mikołaj, London, 27 Sept 38. (6002).
 1333 MIELŻYŃSKI Count, London, 2 Oct 38. (222).
 1334 MARKIEWICZ Józef, Dover, 25 Feb 39. (182).
 1335 MAKOWSKI Teofil, London, 14 Mar 39. (717).
 1336 MALLICZ Hieronim Antoni and wife, London, 14 Apr 39. (1237).
 1337 MAKOMASKI Hipolit, London, 17 June 39. (2970).
 1338 MANKOWSKA Wiktoria and daughter, 24 July 39. (3832).
 1339 MIGURSKI Waclaw, London, 26 Dec 39. (6556).
 1340 MIGURSKI Waclaw, London, 22 Jan 40. (144).
 1341 MAZURKIEWICZ Leon de, London, 8 Apr 40. (1061).
 1342 MALANIEWSKI Wincenty de, London, 26 July 40. (3372).
 1343 MIKUŁOWSKI Jerzy, London, 11 Oct 40. (4578).
 1344 NOAKOWSKI Jan Chrzciciel, London, 8 Sept 39. (5098).
 1345 NEFENCEKI August, London, 21 Jan 40. (141).
 1346 NIEZABITOWSKI Stefan, London, 23 May 40. (2088).
 1347 OLESOWSKI Samuel, London, 13 Sept 38. (5721).
 1348 OSTROWSKI Jan, London, 27 March 39. (899).
 1349 OLSZEWSKI Piotr, London, 5 Nov 39. (6139).
 1350 ORŁOWSKI Kazimierz, Dover, 12 March 39. (232).
 1351 OLENTZKI Józef, London, 14 June 39. (2543).
 1352 OSTRZESZEWCZ (?) Gaspard, London, 8 Sept. 39. (5098).
 1353 OLSZOWSKI Józef Prosper d', Brigghton, 24 Aug 40. (81).
 1354 ORZOWENSKI Józef, London, 9 Nov 40. (4858).
 1355 POLAK Wolf Reuben, London, 5 July 38. (3860).
 1356 POLAK Marcus, London, 16 Sept. 38. (5792).
 1357 PHILIPESKI Nashel, Hull, 28 Sept 38. (215).
 1358 POLAK Leonard, London, 14 Feb 39. (342).
 1359 POLAK Marcus Andrzej, London, 14 Feb 39. (341).
 1360 POTOCKA Countess and son, daughter and suite, London, 28 march
 39. (158).
 1361 PROHACKI Jan, London, 12 Apr 39. (1202).
 1362 PONIATOWSKI Prince with Princess, his Brother and suite, Dover,
 3 May 39. (777)
 1363 POTOCKI Count August, London, 6 May 39. (1815).

- 1364 POLAK Jan Chrzciciel, Dover, 9 June 39. (971).
 1364 POLAK Marcus Andreas, London, 13 June 39. (2812).
 1366 POLAK Wolf Rubeon, London, 23 June 39. (3086).
 1367 PARZUDAKI Karol, London, 18 July. (3733).
 1368 POLTORACKI A., Brighton, 25 July 39. (42).
 1369 POLAK Marcus, London, 4 Aug 39. (5031).
 1370 POTOCKI Count and servant, Doer, 6 Oct 39. (5670).
 1371 POLAK Izaak Michal, London, 13 May 40. (1832).
 1372 POLAK Moses Joseph, London, 25 June 40. (2747).
 1373 PIOTROWSKI Henryk, London, 26 June 40. (2783).
 1374 POTOCKI Count Aleksander, London, 5 Aug 40. (3523).
 1375 POLAK Marcus Andreas, London, 9 Aug 40. (3585).
 1376 PLOTZKE Wolf, London, 24 Aug 40. (4193).
 1377 PASZKOWICZ Ksawery, London, 21 Oct 40. (4643).
 1378 PLATZK Wolf, London, 2 Nov 40. (4767).
 1379 POLAK Marcus Joseph, London, 10 Dec 40. (4984).
 1380 RUDNICKI Władyśław and Sister, London, 9 July 38. (3946).
 1381 RAJECKI Józef, London, 9 Sept 38. (5858).
 1382 ROMANOWSKI Mikołaj, London, 13 March 39. (757).
 1383 ROTHMASKI Emanuel Stanisław, London, 6 July 39. (3394).
 1384 RAFAŁOWICZ Leon, London, 28 Nov 39. (6291).
 1385 RZATKOWSKI (or: RZADKOWSKI) Jan, London, 1 Jan 40. (1).
 1386 RADOMSKI Konstanty, London, 18 May 40. (1944).
 1388 REY Jan Wilhelm, Dover, 11 Sept 40. (1137).
 1389 SZANKOŁOWSKI Samuel, London, 30 July 38. (4500).
 1390 SOKOŁOWSKI School (Scholom?), Gool, 3 Aug. 38. (7).
 1391 SIEKIERSKI David, London, 18 Aug 38. (4981).
 1392 STRASZEWICZ Aleksander, London, 2 Sept 38. (5391).
 1393 STEMPOWSKI Wincenty, London, 14 Nov 38. (6824).
 1394 SERATZKY Ludwik, London, 20 Dec 38. (7247).
 1395 SZACHROWSKI Józef, Dover, 29 Jan 39. (71).
 1396 STEMPOWSKI Leon, London, 13 March 39. (708).
 1397 SWIZEICKI Józef, London, 14 March 39. (740).
 1398 SZULAKIEWICZ Józef, Dover, 21 March 39. (368).
 1399 STEMPOWSKI Wincenty, London, 10 Apr 39. (1163).
 1400 STEMPOWSKI Leon and Wincenty, London, 3 June 39. (3317).
 1401 SIKORSKI Józef, Chevalier de, Wife, and two Servants, London,
 8 Aug 39. (4236).
 1402 SADLUCKI Adolf, London, 12 Aug 39. (1241).
 1403 STEMPOWSKI Leon and Wincenty, London, 7 Sept 39. (5083).
 1404 SCHABATKA Jan, Dover, 23 Sept 39. (1334).
 1405 STEMPOWSKI Leon and Wincenty, London, 2 Nov 39. (6065).
 1406 STEMPOWSKI Leon and Wincenty, London, 25 Dec 39. (6553).
 1407 SOBAŃSKI Count, London, 24 Dec 39. (6573).
 1408 STEMPOWSKI Wincenty, London, 19 Feb 40. (436).
 1409 SASSECKI Andrzej, London, 2 Apr 40. (915).
 1410 SKORZYŃSKI Szymon, London, 16 Apr 40. (1195).
 1411 SOCHACZEWSKI Jakub, London, 30 May 40. (2229).
 1412 TEMPski Albert von, London, 27 Sept 38. (59999).
 1413 TRZCIŃSKI Franciszek, London, 14 Nov 38 (6828).
 1414 TRZCIŃSKI Franciszek, London, 10 Apr 39. (1162).
 1415 TRZCIŃSKI Franciszek, London, 10 Aug 39. (4303).
 1416 TALKOWSKI Stanisław, London, 13 Aug 39. (4388).
 1417 TRZCIŃSKI Franciszek, London, 27 Nov 39. (6295).
 1418 TRZCIŃSKI Franciszek, London, 24 Jan 40. (157).
 1419 TERLECKI (or: TELEKI?) Maksymilian, London, 17 March 40.
 (702).

- 1420 TRZCIŃSKI Napoleon, London, 13 May 40. (1831).
 1421 TACKI Franciszek, London, 18 June 40. (2602).
 1422 TERLECKI Ignacy, London, 19 June 40. (2655).
 1423 WASILEWSKI Florian, London, 12 June 40. (2508).
 1424 VADURET (?) Dominik POTOCKI, London, 12 June 40. (3521).
 1425 URBANOWICZ Józef von, London, 29 Aug 40. (3970).
 1426 WARZBAD Maksymilian, London, 16 Aug 38. (4936).
 1427 WIŚNIEWSKI Leon, London, 10 Sept 38. (5600).
 1428 WYGNACZYŃSKI St-s Aleksander, London, 26 Sept 38. (5991).
 1429 WYSOCKI Stanisław and Wife, London, 19 Apr 39. (1354).
 1430 WESZECKI (?) Józef, London, 12 Apr 39. (1387).
 1431 WIEŁOBYCKI Denis, Leith, 12 June 39. (13).
 1432 WALEWSKI Count Aleksander, Shoreham, 22 Aug 39. (88).
 1433 WICZYŃSKI Karol, Newcastle, 13 Sept 39. (55).
 1434 WOYNASIŃSKI Józef, London, 29 Sept 39. (5537).
 1435 WOŹNIAKOWSKI Ignacy, London, 14 Aug 39. (3677).
 1436 WIERCIŃSKI Bertold, London, 14 Aug 39. (3678).
 1437 YWANICZ Łazarz, London, 31 Aug 38. (5336).
 1438 YEZIERSKI Jan, London, 16 Apr 40. (3187).
 1439 ŻYWICKI Gabriel, London, 24 Aug 38. (5139).
 1440 ZAWADOWSKI Count, Ramsgate, 5 Sept 38. (5).
 1441 ZIOMBOWSKI Aleksander, London, 24 Feb 39. (862).
 1442 ŻABA Franciszek, London, 10 Feb 39. (1161).
 1443 ZAWADOWSKI La Comtesse and Suite, Dover, 26 Apr 39. (737).
 1444 ZAWADOWSKI Count, London, 17 May 39. (2011).
 1445 ZWICKI Gabriel, London, 17 May 39. (2034).
 1446 ZIOŁKOWSKI Aleksy, London, 5 June 39. (2566).
 1447 ZALESKI Mikołaj, London, 7 Jan 40. (33).
 1448 ZAN Stefan, London, 31 May 40. (2238).
 1449 ŻABA Franciszek, London, 1 June 40. (2251).

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- 1450 ANTOSZEWSKI Adam, London, 5 June 41. (1844).
 1451 ABRAMOWICZ Mojżesz, Dover, 14 May 43. (775).
 1452 BROCHWICZ Paweł WAEGNER de, Dover, 22 Apr 41. (577).
 1453 BOGUSŁAWSKI Wilhelm, London, 4 July 41. (2251).
 1454 BEDEKOWICZ Ludwik, Baron and servant, London, 21 July 41. (2570).
 1455 BARTKOWSKI Jan and wife, London, 11 Aug 41. (2881).
 1456 BORKOWSKI Count Stanisław and servant, Brighton, Brighton, 20 Sept 41. (143).
 1457 BORKOWSKI Chevalier Wladimir de, London, 7 Apr 42. (918).
 1458 BAZANOWSKI Ludwik, London, 19 Aug 42. (3257).
 1459 BORKOWSKI Tytus, London, 28 June 43. (1757).
 1460 BRZEZIŃSKI Paweł, London, 22 July 43. (2118).
 1461 BRINKIEWICZ Jerzy, London, 21 Oct 43. (2961).
 1462 BOJANOWSKI Roman, London, 13 March 44. (255).
 1463 BRUDZEWSKI Aleksander, London, 13 March 44. (256).
 1464 BŁOTNICKI Michał and Leopold, London, 29 July 44. (1296).
 1465 BEDWARSKI Józef, London, 11 Sept 44. (1583).
 1467 BRZEZIŃSKI Stanisław Paweł, London, 28 Sept 44. (1728).
 1468 BILASTOWSKI Jan, Dover, 8 Oct 44. (1795).
 1469 BOGUSŁAWSKI Henryk L. von, Dover, 18 June 45. (1517).
 1470 BRANICKI Comte Ksawery von, and Servant, Dover, 11 July 45. (1725).

- 1471 CZWITKOWICZ Aleksander, London, 6 Jan 41. (14).
 1472 CICHOWSKI Seweryn, London, 31 March 41. (678).
 1473 CIESZKOWSKI August, London, 26 Aug 41. (3090).
 1474 CZARNECKI Józef, dit WASILEWSKI, London, 11 Feb 42. (278).
 1475 CZARNECKI Feliks, London, 4 July 42. (2606).
 1476 CARKOWSKI Jan, London, 21 Oct 42. (4020).
 1477 CHMIELNIK Wilhelm Juliusz and wife, London, 12 May 43. (1104).
 1478 CARAJAŃSKI J. D., Shoreham, 1 June 43. (32).
 1479 CHAMINSKI Jan, Dundee, 16 Apr 44. (1).
 1480 CZAPSKI Comte Józef, Dover, 31 May 44. (847).
 1481 CHEŁCHOWSKI Julian, London, 3 Sept 44. (1547).
 1482 CIECHANOWICKI Count Otton de, London, 25 Sept 44. (1700).
 1483 CHŁAPOWSKI Dezydery von, Dover, 1 Oct 44. (1736).
 1484 CZAPSKI Józef Napoleon, London, 16 Nov 44. (2029).
 1485 CZARTKOWSKI, Dover, 27 Dec 44. (2322).
 1486 CHIMICKI Aleksander, Folkestone, 27 Dec 44. —
 1487 CIECIRSKI Count Stefan, London, 4 July 45. (768).
 1488 CIECHONISKI Albert de, Folkestone, 13 Aug 45. (1280).
 1489 DEMBIAŃSKA Comtesse, Dover, 30 Apr 41. (650).
 1490 DUBANSKI Fryderyk von, London, 11 Aug 41. (885).
 1491 DZIERZBICKI Michał, London, 24 Sept 41. (3488).
 1492 DEMBIŃSKI Gen. H. de, London, 11 Feb 42. (279).
 1493 DEMBROWSKI (or: DOMBROWSKI) Baron Karol, London, 6 June 42. (2199).
 1494 DUROWSKI Felicjan, London, 9 June 42. (2261).
 1495 DROHOJOWSKI Tytus, London, 16 Sept 42. (3656).
 1496 DEMBICKI Le Comte de Jaxa, London, 25 Apr 43. (942).
 1497 DYDYŃSKI Karol M., Plymouth, 8 Sept 43. (3).
 1498 DALIZOWSKI gen. and suite, Folkestone, 26 Sept 43. (269).
 1499 DEMBOWSKI Ignacy, London, 7 Oct 43. (2846).
 1500 DOLAŃSKI Feliks, London, 20 Oct 43. (2963).
 1501 DANIELOWICZ Stanisław, Folkestone, 10 May 44. (642).
 1502 DOWNAROWICZ Władysław, London, 14 July 44. (1148).
 1503 DIUNKOWSKI Stefan von, London, 15 Aug 44. (1411).
 1504 DIERICKA Louise, Dover, 3 Sept 44. (1557).
 1505 DEMBIŃSKA La Comtesse, Dover, 27 Nov 44. (2141).
 1506 DEMBSKI F(ranç)ois Ksawery and wife, Dover, 8 Aug 45. (1984).
 1507 DZIEDUSZYCKI Count Władysław, London, 1 Sept 45. (1287).
 1508 DROHOJOWSKI Antoni, London, 4 Oct 45. (1473).
 1509 BOCKICHICKI Hilary, Grimsby, 11 Aug 45. (2).
 1510 BIERNACKI Aloizy, Folkestone, 28 Sept 45. (1536).
 1511 BALIŃSKI Henryk, London, 4 Oct 45. (1470).
 1512 GUROWSKI Le Comte Ignacy, Dover, 13 June 41. (872).
 1513 GRADYSKI Karol Krystian, London, 28 Aug 41. (3104).
 1514 GALECKI Jan, Dover, 22 Sept 41. (1237).
 1515 GRABOWSKI Michał, London, 23 Sept 41. (3484).
 1516 GUROWSKI Count Mikołaj, London, 2 Oct 41. (3609).
 1517 GONSIOWSKI Henryk,, London, 29 July 42. (3052).
 1518 GIEŁGUD Jan, wife and son, London, 19 Oct 43. (4001).
 1520 GROCHOLSKI Hilary Aleksander, London, 16 Jan 44. (74).
 1521 GOLIŃSKI Abraham, London, 24 May 44. (708).
 1522 GORSKY Maksymilian, Dover, 10 March 45. (439).
 1523 GRABIŃSKI Henryk, Folkestone, 29 Apr 45. (571).
 1524 GOŚCIMSKA Aleftina (?), Folkestone, 26 June 45. (1014).
 1525 HOGE Stanisław, London, 24 Oct 41. (3871).
 1526 HRABOWSKY Dawid, Dover, 11 Dec 42. (1191).

- 1527 JOZEFOWICZ Jan, London, 25 May 41, (1648).
 1528 JANKOLOWICZ Henryk, London, 3 Oct. 41. (3634).
 1529 JASTRZEMBSKI Piotr, London, 22 June 42. (2491).
 1530 JANKOWICZ Antoni and wife, London, 21 Oct 42. (4025).
 1531 JEDLIŃSKI Aleksander, Dover, 10 Apr 42. (544).
 1532 JANIKIEWICZ Eustachy, Dover, 31 May 43. (899).
 1533 JASTRZEBSKI Piotr, London, 22 June 43. (1654).
 1534 JARECKI Rudolf, London, 25 June 43. (1709).
 1535 IŻYCKI Józef, London, 14 July 44. (1148).
 1537 JABŁONOWSKI Prince Karol, Dover, 30 Aug 44. (1523).
 1538 JAKOBOWSKI Herman, London, 9 May 45. (442).
 1539 JANISZEWSKI Jules de, Brighton, 9 May 45. (44).
 1540 JACOBOWSKI Izrael, London, 28 May 45. (564).
 1541 JASNOWSKI Fryderyka, London, 28 July 45. (1013).
 1543 KAMIŃSKI Jan, London, 31 March 41. (856).
 1543 KAMIŃSKI Teodor von, London, 22 Aug. 41. (3032).
 1544 KENDZIERSKI Juliusz, London, 30 Aug 41. (3133).
 1545 KIERZOWSKI Aleksander, London, 1 Sept 41. (3157).
 1546 KIŃSKI Count Dominik, Hull, 14 Sept 41. (1).
 1547 KAMIŃSKI Michał, London, 11 Oct 41. (3676).
 1548 KOŁAKOWSKI Fod. (?) de, London, 22 Oct 41. (3823).
 1549 KAMIŃSKI Michał, London, 19 Nov 41. (4003).
 1550 KACZKOWSKI Antoni, London, 28 Nov 41. (4041).
 1551 KALISCH Mojżesz, London, 9 Dec 41. (4094).
 1552 KAMIŃSKI Michał, London, 3 Feb 42. (175).
 1553 KOSICKI Hipolit, London, 21 Apr 42. (1174).
 1554 KISIELNICKI Edward, London, 22 Apr 42. (1176).
 1555 KAMIŃSKI Bernard and Karol, London, 13 May 42. (1799).
 1556 KAMIŃSKI Karol Edward, Sunderland, 16 May 32. (1).
 1557 KLUKOWSKI Ignacy, Dover, 19 Jan 43. (32).
 1558 KROSYCKI Henryk, London, 9 Apr 43. (764).
 1559 KOLESIŃSKI Benedykt, London, 26 July 43. (2157).
 1560 KIŃSKI Count Dominik, London, 9 Aug 43. (2306).
 1561 KARSNICKI Karol, Brighton, 18 Aug 43. (148).
 1562 KOSZUTSKI Jan, London, 29 Aug 43. (2573).
 1563 KANBLICKI Mikołaj, London, 18 Sept 43. (2749).
 1564 KRAIŃSKI Maurycy, London, 21 Oct 43. (2961).
 1565 KORNICKI Baron, Kajetan, Folkestone, 1 March 44. (222).
 1566 KARNICKI Baron Teodor, Folkestone, 4 March 44. (227).
 1567 KLACZEWSKI Andrzej de, Folkestone, 22 March 44. (321).
 1568 KRALEWSKI Tadeusz, London, 1 Apr 44. (377).
 1569 KUNOWSKI Fryderyk von and brother, London, 28 May 44. (736).
 1570 KUNOWSKI Otto von, London, 28 May 44. (738).
 1571 KORYTKOWSKI Mor. (?), London, 29 May 44. (781).
 1572 KLECZKOWSKI Le Comte, Dover, 10 Sept 44. (1585).
 1573 KREZULSKI M., Shoreham, 16 Sept 44. (193).
 1574 KOLAKOWSKI Abraham von, Dover, 6 Oct 44. (1786).
 1575 KRASMISKI Count Stanisław, Brighton, 7 May 45. (37).
 1576 KUTENOWSKI Fryderyk, Brighton, 5 July 45. (180).
 1577 KOSCIELSKI Artur von, Brighton, 21 July 45. (228).
 1578 KONESKI Fryderyk J. Z., Folkestone, 7 Nov 45. (1677).
 1579 ŁONCZYŃSKI Konstanty, London, 8 Sept 41. (3283).
 1580 LUBOMIRSKI Prince Józef, Dover, 9 Sept 41. (1198).
 1581 LATTINOWICZ Count von and Servants, London, 22 Sept. 41. (3472).
 1582 LUBASZEWSKI Karol, London, 22 Feb 42. (404).
 1583 ŁUBIEŃSKI Karol, Brighton, 15 Aug 42. (76).
 1584 LUBRAŃSKI Cezary, Dover, 19 Jan 42. (51).

- 1585 LINOWSKI Jarosław, London, 24 Jan 42. (106).
 1586 LADISLAS Comte, Dover, 30 Apr 43 43. (686).
 1587 ŁUBIĘŃSKI Cezar, Brighton, 11 July 43. (78).
 1588 LUTOMIRSKI Izidor, Folkestone, 17 Sept 43. (225).
 1589 ŁUBIĘŃSKI Cezar, Dover, 19 Sept 43. (1346).
 1590 LEWIŃSKI Dawid, Dover, 23 Sept 43. (1359).
 1591 LACKI Władysław, London, 23 Sept 43. (2788).
 1592 LUBIĘŃSKI M., Folkestone, 28 Nov 43. (592).
 1593 LASKOWSKA Julia, London, 8 Feb 44. (133).
 1594 ŁUBIĘŃSKI Cezar, Dover, 19 March 44 (266).
 1595 ŁUBIĘŃSKI Cezar, Dover, 4 July 44. (1165).
 1596 ŁUBIĘŃSKI Cezar, Dover, 18 Sept 44. (1630).
 1597 ŁUBIĘŃSKI Cezar, Dover, 25 Nov 44. (2118).
 1598 LUTOMIRSKI Izidor, Dover, 11 Apr 45. (701).
 1599 LASKI Aleksander, Brighton, 7 July 45. (183).
 1600 MORAWSKI Wojciech von, London, 26 Apr 41. (1039).
 1601 MACIEZOWSKI Antoni, London, 10 May 41. (1331).
 1602 MYCIELSKI Józef, London, 5 July 41. (2303).
 1603 MARYLEWSKI Stanisław, London, 26 Aug 41. (3089).
 1604 MYISCLSKI (MYCIELSKI) Michał, London, 9 May 42. (1712).
 1605 MŁADAJOWSKI Franz., London, 3 June 42. (2144).
 1606 MIERCZEWSKI Sobieslas, London, 9 June 42. (2261).
 1607 MICHAŁOWSKI Aloizy, London, 13 July 42. (2822).
 1608 MICHAŁOWICZ Jan Maurycy, London, 1 Aug 42. (3066).
 1609 MARINOWICZ Jan, London, 8 Aug 42. (3156).
 1610 MICHAŁOWSKI Aloizy, London, 20 Aug 42. (3344).
 1611 MICHAŁOWSKI Aloizy, London, 22 Feb 43. (295).
 1612 MITTROWSKI Count Waldemar, 5 May 43. (1029).
 1613 MORACZEWSKI Seweryn, London, 23 Sept 43. (2785).
 1614 MIKLASZEWSKI Andrzej de, Folkestone, 22 March 44. (321).
 1615 MALAWSKI Karol, London, 19 June 44. (912).
 1616 MARYEWSKI Stanisław, London, 14 July 44. (1150).
 1617 MILKIEWICZ Jan, London, 24 Aug 44. (1476).
 1618 MARCZEK Maksymilian, London, 11 March 45. (119).
 1619 MANIKOWSKA Berta, Dover, 20 Apr 45. (848).
 1620 MARCINKOWSKI Ignacy, Dundee, 14 July 45. (2).
 1621 MOSZCZENSKI Władysław, London, 21 July 45. (946).
 1622 MARYLSKI Juliusz, Folkestone, 21 Aug 45. (1330).
 1623 MENSZEWSKI Hilary, de, and Son, London, 6 Oct. 45. (1494).
 1624 MICHAŁOWSKI Aloizy, Dover, 24 Oct 45. (2400).
 1625 NIFINECKI Józef, London, 12 March 42. (441).
 1626 NOWOWIEJSKI Stanisław, London, 1 Au 43. (2237).
 1627 NOWICKA Anna, Folkestone, 27 Nov 43. (580).
 1628 NIEWICEWICZ (NIEMCEWICZ?) Karol, London, 28 Apr 44. (568).
 1629 NOWAKOWSKI Stanisław, Dover, 2 May 44. (960).
 1630 ORŁOWSKI Kazimierz, London, 8 Apr 41. (772).
 1631 OLSZEWSKI Count, Dover, 8 Apr 41. (449).
 1632 ORŁOWSKI Franciszek, London, 23 July 41. (2602).
 1633 OLECHNOWICZ Franciszek, London, 23 Aug 41. (3029).
 1634 OBORSKI Ignacy, London, 30 Sept 42. (3852).
 1635 OSTROWSKI Bolesław, Folkestone, 11 Nov 43. (468).
 1636 OSSOLINSKI Count Dictor (Victor?), London, 27 June 45. (732).
 1637 PŁOCKI Wolf, London, 27 Jan 41. (137).
 1638 PAWLICKOWSKI Ludwik, London, 1 Feb 41. (146).
 1639 PIETRASZEWSKI Michał, Dover, 31 May 41. (817).
 1640 PIÓRKOWSKI Henryk, London, 8 June 41. (1893).
 1641 POLAK Jan Chrzciciel, Dover, 22 June 41. (914).

- 1642 POLAK Mojżesz Józef, wife and niece, London, 15 July, 41. (2742).
 1643 POTULICKI Count Kazimierz, London, 23 Aug 31. (3018).
 1644 POTOCKI Count and Countess, London, 23 Sept 41. (3485).
 1645 POLAK Leendert, London, 24 Feb 42. (416).
 1646 POLAK Markus, London, 24 March 42. (762).
 1647 POLAK Jeremiasz, London, 24 March 42. (753).
 1648 POLAK Jan Chrzciciel and Daniel, Dover, 19 June 42. (770).
 1649 POLAK Jacques, London, 2 Jan 43. (6).
 1650 PIÓRKOWSKI Henryk, London, 8 Feb 43. (204).
 1651 PRUSINOWSKI Hipolit, London, 23 July 43. (2128).
 1652 PODBIELSKI Józef, London, 18 Aug 43. (2416).
 1653 PONIATOWSKI Dariusz and Cezar, London, 21 Aug 43. (2454).
 1654 POTULICKI Count Kazimierz von, London, 31 Aug 43. (2454).
 1655 POTUŁICKI Kazimierz, London, 27 Aug 43. (2570).
 1656 POZNAŃSKI Meyer, London, 5 Sept 43. (2613).
 1657 PARZUDAKI Karol, Folkestone, 5 Sept 43. (162).
 1658 PONIATOWSKI S., Plymouth, 8 Sept 43. (4).
 1659 PODBIELSKI Józef, Dover, 17 Sept 43. (1341).
 1660 POLAK Jan Chrzciciel and Daniel, Folkestone, 3 June 44. (1052).
 1661 PIMOWSKA Maria, Folkestone, 6 June 44. (1073).
 1662 PETTICZINSKI Wincenty, Dover, 8 Aug 44. (1389).
 1663 PRETWICZ Robert von and Wilhelm von, London, 30 Sept 44. (1723).
 1664 POLAK Józef, Dover, 12 May 45. (1098).
 1665 PONIATOWSKI Seweryn, London, 28 Aug 45. (1275).
 1666 POZNANOWICZ Aleksander and eleven sailors, London 27 Nov 45.
 (1761).
 1667 ROJECKI Józef, London, 27 Nov 45. (322).
 1668 RYKACZEWSKI Erazm, London, 14 May 41. (1463).
 1669 RUDZKI Baron Jan de, London, 15 Sept 41. (3385).
 1670 RACZYŃSKI Count E-d. von, London, 22 Aug 42. (3351).
 1671 REY Amelia Adela, Dover, 24 Sept 42. (1041).
 1672 RADAKOWSKI Wiktor, Dover, 15 Feb 43. (132).
 1673 REISKI Rudolf, London, 6 March 43. (384).
 1674 REMBIELIŃSKI Aleksander, London, 26 March 43. (619).
 1675 RADECKI Edward, Wilhelm von, Gloucester, 27 June 43. (1).
 1676 RACZYŃSKI Hieronim, Dover, 1 July 43. (1110).
 1677 RUDZKI Jan de, London, 11 Sept 43. (2683).
 1678 RUDZKI Ludwik, London, 11 Spet 43. (2684).
 1679 RENKIEWICZ August Ferdynand, London, 13 March 44. (753).
 1680 REY Karol, London, 31 March 44. (349).
 1681 RADZOWSKI Klemens an daughter, Dover, 25 May 44. (801).
 1682 RACIBORSKI Józef, Dover, 30 July 44. (1314).
 1683 RAWECKI Teodor, Dover, 19 Dec 44. (2273).
 1684 RZEWUSKI count and servant, Dover, 27 Feb 45. (367).
 1685 RUDNYAŃSKI Baron Aleksander, London, 13 Aug 45. (1478).
 1686 SZAMALVOSZKY Fryderyk, London, 21 Feb 41. (651).
 1687 SMOLIŃSKI Józef and four others, London, 30 March 41. (651).
 1688 SZCZEPANOWSKI Stanisław, Dover, 10 May 41. (685).
 1689 SZOSTAKOWSKI Franciszek Napoleon, London, 16 June 41. (2044).
 1690 SKARZYŃSKI (Kazimierz) General and servant, Brighton, 13 Sept
 41. (131).
 1691 SZCZAWIŃSKI Jan, London, 6 Jan 42. (20).
 1692 SOWIŃSKI Albert, London, 20 Apr 42. (980).
 1693 SOŁTYK Count Roman, Dover, 14 July 42. (849).
 1694 SZYMAŃSKI (or: SZEMAŃSKI) A. C., London, 22 Sept 42. (3762).
 1695 SZOSTAKOWSKI Franciszek Napoleon de, London, 17 Dec 42. (4434).
 1696 STRASZEWCZ Aleksander, London, 10 Feb 43. (220).

- 1697 SZAFALICKI Fryderyk, London, 24 May 43. (1261).
 1698 SICKEROVSKI Henryk, London, 1 April 43. (2278).
 1699 SOKOLNICKI Michał, London, 4 Sept 43. (2597).
 1700 SZCZEPANOWSKI M., Folkestone, 9 Apr 44. (437).
 1701 SZCZAPIŃSKI Józef, Folkestone, 29 Apr 44. (567).
 1702 SZENKOŁOWSKI Jakób, London, 6 May 44. (559).
 1703 ŚLIWICKI Walenty, London, 29 July 44. (1294).
 1704 SOCOWICZ Krzysztof, London, 14 Oct 44. (1889).
 1705 TCZIŃSKI Dionizy, Londyn, 3 June 41. (1796).
 1706 TACZANOWSKI Alfons von, London, 3 June 41. (1007).
 1707 TURSKI Jan, Dover, 11 Apr 43. (547).
 1708 TUDELOWICZ Efraim, Dover, 15 May 43. (780).
 1709 TURNOWSKI Fryderyk and two ladies, London, 10 June 43. (1489).
 1710 TSCHERNOLOUSKY Anastazy, Folkestone, 6 Apr 44. (422).
 1711 TUESKI Aleksander, Dover, 8 Sept 44. (1582).
 1712 TOKARSKI Jan NOSLIZ von, Dover, 21 March 44, (557).
 1713 TRECKI Zygmunt, Brighton, 16 June 45. (114).
 1714 TUESKI Abraham, Dover, 31 July 45. (1913).
 1715 WĘGIERSKI Karol, London, 9 May 41. (1304).
 1716 WASILEWSKI Józef CZARNECKI, London, 11 Feb. 42. (278).
 1717 WOLANSKI Franciszek, Dover, 20 Nov 42. (1142).
 1718 WITKOWSKI (or: WIŁKOWSKI) Manuel, London, 10 Aug 44. (1374).
 1819 WIELOGŁOWSKI Feliks, London, 17 Sept 44. (1581).
 1720 WOŁKOŃSKI Prince, Princess and servants, London, 25 Sept 44. (1704).
 1721 WADKOWSKI N., Madame, Folkestone, 18 Oct. 44. (1713).
 1722 WASILEWSKI Jan, Folkestone, 28 Feb 45. (229).
 1723 WETMICKI Zefiryn, Folkestone, 13 Aug 45. (1279).
 1724 WERNAOSKI Jan, Dover, 14 Dec 45. (2708).
 1725 ZAMOYSKI Count Konstanty with two daughters and servant, Dover, 10 May 41. (692).
 1726 ZŁOTNICKA Madame, London, 17 June 41. (2057).
 1727 ZAMOJSKI Konstanty and wife, Dover, 23 July 41. (2603).
 1728 ZAMOYSKI Count Jan, London, 21 Oct 41. (3761).
 1729 ZAMOYSKI Count Stanisław, London, 21 Oct 41. (3762).
 1730 ZAMOYSKI Count Władysław, London, 21 Oct 41. (3763).
 1731 ZALESKI Piotr FALKENHAGEN, London, 27 Oct 41. (3840).
 1732 ZABROCKI Jan, London, 20 Nov 41. (4042).
 1733 ZALESKI Count Zygmunt, London, 24 Feb 42. (435).
 1734 ZARAVIŃSKI Rudolf, London, 21 March 42. (739).
 1735 ZŁOTKOWSKI Ignacy, London, 12 Apr 42. (1008).
 1736 ZIOTECKI Roman, Lodon, 22 Aug 42. (3352).
 1737 ZAMOYSKI Jan, Dover, 30 Apr 43. (686).
 1738 ZŁOTKOWSKI Ignacy, London, 12 May 43. (686).
 1739 ZAMOYSKI Count, Shoreham, 12 June 43. (55).
 1740 ZAMOYSKI Konstanty, London, 6 Aug 43. (2788).
 1741 ZAGOWSKI Józef, London, 7 Sept 43. (2631).
 1742 ZIEMBICKI Grzegorz, London, 18 Sept 43. (2741).
 1743 ŻABA Józef, London, 4 Feb 44. (123)
 1744 ŻABA Franciszek, 26 Feb 44. (318).
 1745 ZUZOWSKI Józef, Dover, 7 June 44. (895).
 1746 ZAMOYSKI Konstanty, Brighton, 12 June 44. (91).
 1747 ZŁOTKOWSKI Ignacy, London, 1 July 44. (1022).
 1748 ZAMOYSKI C., Shoreham, 7 Aug 44. (140).
 1749 ZALESKI Count Gui (?), London, 21 May 45. (514).

- 1750 BIELOKOWICZ Franciszek, Dover, 30 Jan 46 (79).
 1751 BRITAWSKI Juda Abraham, London, 13 Aug 46. (1038).
 1752 BORBULOWICZ Jan, Dover, 22 Sept 46. (1961).
 1753 BOGUSŁAWSKI Aloizy and wife, Dover, 5 Jan 47. (20).
 1753 BUCKI (BUTZKY) Mikołaj, Dover, 11 July 47. (1765).
 1754 BARANOWSKI, Shoreham, 13 Sept 47. (245).
 1755 BNIŃSKI Stanisław, London, 8 Nov 47. ((1818)).
 1756 BARANOWSKI Jan Józef, Folkestone, 13 Dec 47. (1989).
 1757 BARANOWSKI Jan Józef, Folkestone, 6 March 48. (329).
 1758 BENICZKY Juliusz von, London, 8 March 48. (129).
 1759 BRUNICKI Count, Dover, 17 March 48. (502).
 1760 BESZYNSKI Robert, London, 28 Apr 48. (383).
 1761 BRANICKI Count, Rover, 27 May 48. (1237).
 1762 BRUNICKI Baron, Konstanty, Dover, 27 June 48. (1650).
 1763 BORKOWSKI Teodor Feliks, London, 14 July 48. (947).
 1764 BŁOTNICKI Hipolit, Folkestone 26 July 48. (1902).
 1765 BOGUSŁAWSKI Eugeniusz, London, 12 Aug 48. (1179).
 1766 BUDZYŃSKI Waldemar, Dover, 5 Sept 48. (2463).
 1767 BRUŃSKI Józef, Dover, 16 Oct 48. (3027).
 1768 CERLECKI Ignacy, London, 21 May 46. (550).
 1769 CZAPLICKI Jan; Dover, 30 July 46. (1544).
 1770 CZERSKI Jan, London, 14 Aug 46. (1031).
 1771 CHOŁOZEWSKI (?) Waldemar, London, 10 July 47. (981).
 1772 CZERWIAKOWSKI (or: CZERNIAKOWSKI ?) Ignacy, London,
 26 July 47. (1053).
 1773 CZECHOWSKI Michał Mateusz, London, 26 Oct 47. (1739).
 1774 CELSKI Jakub, Dover, 23 June 48. (1616).
 1775 CHORAGOWICZ Lucian, Dover, 23 June 48. (1606).
 1776 CZARYŃSKI Maurycy, Dover, 13 Aug 48. (2145).
 1777 CZARTORYSKI Prince and Princess, London, 9 Sept 48. (1386).
 1778 CZARNECKI Antoni, Dover, 11 Oct 48. (2978).
 1779 CZEWSKI Franciszek, London, 13 Nov 48. (1760).
 1780 DANILEWSKI Grzegorz de, Dover, 1 Nov 46. (2311).
 1781 DZIERZBICKI Jan, Dover, 27 June 48. (1611).
 1782 DROHOJOWSKI Count, Dover, 27 June 48. (1650).
 1783 DRZEWIECKI Karol and Wife, Dover, 13 Aug 48. (2159).
 1784 ELBINOWSKI Gaspar (Kasper), London, 19 May 47. (555).
 1785 FRANKLIŃSKI Józef Aleksander and wife, Dover, 3 July 46. (7306).
 1786 FRANKLIŃSKI Józef Aleksander, Folkestone, 18 Jan 47. (109).
 1787 FEDOROWICZ Wincenty and Wife, Folkestone, 31 May 47. (1060).
 1788 GUROWSKI le Comte de, Ramsgate, 9 May 47. (84).
 1789 GADOWSKI Stanisław, Folkestone, 14 May 46. (793).
 1790 GOŁUCHOWSKI Stanisław, London, 14 Aug 46. (1186).
 1791 GOŁUCHOWSKI Agenor, London, 14 Aug 46. (1181).
 1792 GÜSKY (GUSKI) Jan, London, 5 Nov 47. (1799).
 1793 GATANOWSKI Fryderyk, Folkestone, 1 Apr 48. (552).
 1794 GARYNSKI Count, Dover, 7 June 48. (1412).
 1795 GRABSKI Tadeusz, Folkestone, 11 June 48. (1364).
 1796 GRADYSKI Karol Krystian, Folkestone, 3 July 48. (1516).
 1797 GIEŁGUD Kunegunda and son, London, 27 Sept 48. (1513).
 1798 GODEBSKI Bonawentura, London, 13 Nov 48. (1759).
 1799 GORECKI Antoni, Folkestone, 12 Jan 49. (52).
 1800 HORODYSKA Valaret, Folkestone, 5 Aug 48. (1131).
 1801 HOMILIŃSKI Jan, Dover, 10 Aug 48. (2118).

- 1802 HAISKI Jan, Dover, 17 Aug 48. (2184).
 1803 HUCZYŃSKI Józef, Folkestone, 10 Sept 48. (2382).
 1804 HAMBRUSKI Juliusz, London, 20 Nov 48. (1789).
 1805 JACOWSKI Moise Cert, Folkestone, 17 Feb 46. (220).
 1806 JACKOWSKI Ignacy, Folkestone, 19 March 46. (432).
 1807 JARECKI Jakub, wife and three children, London, 18 May 46. (539).
 1808 JABŁONOWSKI Stanisław, Ramsgate, 20 Sept 46. (476).
 1809 IWANOWICZ Tomasz, London, 27 Feb 47. (218).
 1810 JENDRZEJEWICZ Józef, London, 17 March 47. (280).
 1811 JANIŃSKI Jan, Folkestone, 27 May 47. (470).
 1812 JOUKOWSKI (or: JANKOWSKI) Eugeniusz, London, 22 Sept 47. (1532).
 1813 JASIĘNSKI Ignacy Leon, Dover, 21 Feb 47. (269).
 1814 JASTRZĘBSKI Feliks, Dover, 13 March 48. (448).
 1815 JABŁONSKI Józef, London, 1 Sept 48. (1321).
 1816 KOZEWSKI Adolf, Shoreham, 14 Jan. 46. (2).
 1817 KLECKOWSKI C., Ramsgate, 17 Apr 46. (6).
 1818 KLINSKIEWICZ Antoni, Brighton, 20 Apr 46. (25).
 1819 KONESIROWSKI Józef, Brighton, 20 Apr 46. (26).
 1820 KAMOWSKI Aleksander, Folkestone, 25 Apr 46. (672).
 1821 KOŁAKOWSKI Karol, Dover, 12 Sept 46. (1889).
 1822 KRUSZEWSKI Aleksander, Leith, 30 Nov 46. (5).
 1823 KOZIEROWSKI Józef, Folkestone, 9 Dec 46. (2142).
 1824 KIRKOR Abraham and Rebeka, Dover, 7 Jan 47 (38).
 1825 KOWALEWSKI Paweł, Dover, 28 Feb 47. (375).
 1826 KOBYLIŃSKI Ernest, Dover, 10 March 47. (504).
 1827 KALINOWSKI Marian, London, 17 March 47. (280).
 1828 KOWALSKI Maria, Folkestone, 8 Apr 47. (656).
 1829 KOŚCIELSKI Edward and Family, London, 6 Sept 47. (1318).
 1830 KARNICKA Henrietta Countess, daughter, niece and attendant, London, 3 Aug 48. (1135).
 1831 KAMIEŃSKI Gabriel and two servants, Dover, 7 Aug 48. (2085).
 1832 KARACHOWICZ Berta and two Servants, London, 14 Aug 48. (1195).
 1833 KRASNICKI Hipolit, London, 1 Sept 48. (1321).
 1834 KIRMAŃSKI Paweł and sister, Dover, 18 Sept 48. (2669).
 1835 LUKOWSKI Gottlib, Dover, 13 June 46. (1094).
 1836 ŁUBIĘNSKI Cezar, Dover, 17 June 46. (1139).
 1837 ŁUBIĘNSKI Cezar, Dover, 17 Aug 46. (1693).
 1838 LUBLIŃSKI Robert, Folkestone, 11 Oct 46. (1849).
 1839 ŁUBIĘNSKI Cezar, Folkestone, 20 Apr 47. (739).
 1840 LEWIŃSKA Wincentyna and daughter, Dover, 28 June 47. (1626).
 1841 ŁUBIĘNSKI Cezar, Folkestone, 6 July 47. (1318).
 1842 ŁUBIĘNSKI Cezar, Folkestone, 31 Aug 47. (1599).
 1843 LUTOSTAŃSKI Julian, Dover, 7 May 48. (1046).
 1844 LISSOWSKI Józef, London, 19 May 48. (555).
 1845 LUBOMIRSKI Prince and servant, Folkestone, 23 May 48. (1115).
 1846 ŁUKOWSKI Makary, Dover, 23 Dec 48. (1604).
 1847 ŁUBIĘNSKI Cezar, Dover, 31 DDec 48. (3714).
 1848 MALISZYŃSKI Albert, London, 20 June 46. (338).
 1849 MIEROSZEWSKI Count, Shoreham, 22 June 46. (223).
 1850 MYSŁOWSKI Antoni Ritter von, and Son, Dover, 11 Aug. 46. (1635).
 1851 MIELLICZ August, Dover, 18 Aug 46. (1687).
 1852 MACIEJOWSKI Ignacy, Folkestone, 24 Nov 46. (2055).
 1853 MALEWSKI Józef, Dover, 2 Jan 47. (6).
 1854 MANGLOWSKI Fryderyk and three others, Dover, 16 March 47. (545).
 1855 MICHALSKI Bazyli and wife, Dover, 19 Apr 47. (889).

- 1856 MICHALSKI Stanisław, Dover, 28 June 47. (1619).
 1857 MAKOWSKI Aleksander, Folkestone, 29 Nov 47. (1931).
 1858 MALINOWSKI Count, Dover, 29 May 48. (1323).
 1859 MAŃKOWSKI Teodor, Dover, 1 June 48. (1348).
 1860 MALCZEWSKI Józef, Dover, 23 June 48. (1612).
 1861 MICHAŁOWSKI Jan, Dover, 23 June 48. (1610).
 1862 MANKOWSKA Eliza von, Dover, 27 June 48. (1652).
 1863 MONSKI Edward Franciszek, London, 16 Aug 48. (1212).
 1865 MAKOWSKI Aleksander, Folkestone, 21 Aug 48. (2180).
 1866 MOSZYŃSKI Piotr, wife, son and daughter, Dover, 12 Sept 48. (2571).
 1867 MICHALSKI Józef, wife and daughter, Dover, 12 Sept 48. (2567).
 1868 MAŃKOWSKI Teodor, wife and family, Dover, 13 Sept 48. (2576).
 1869 MAŃKOWSKI Fryderyk von, 27 Sept 48. (1506).
 1870 MIKOWSKI Ksawery, de, London, 29 Oct 48. (1702).
 1871 MAKUNIEWICZ Adam, Dover, 8 Jan 49. (59).
 1872 MAZAROWICZ Wincenty, Dover, 11 Jan 49. (94).
 1873 NOWIŃSKI Romuald, Dover, 20 Sept 46. (531).
 1874 NIEMCZYK Alfred, London, 6 Oct 47. (1595).
 1875 NOWIŃSKI Franciszek, Dover, 17 March 48. (502).
 1876 NOWIŃSKI R., Folkestone, 3 March 48. (305).
 1877 NOWIŃSKI Romuald, Dover, 15 May 48. (1156). ,()
 1878 NOWOSIELSKI Feliks, London, 2 June 48. (657).
 1879 NOWAKOWSKI Józef, Dover, 23 June 48. (1605).
 1880 NOWIŃSKI Romuald and brother, Folkestone, 26 June 46. (1466).
 1881 OSTROWSKI Count Justyn, Shoreham, 1 Oct 47. (287).
 1882 OUNKOVSKY Wladimir, London, 10 July 47. (987).
 1883 OTROWSKI Count Justyn, Shoreham, 1 Oct 47. (287).
 1884 OBROMPALSKI Franciszek, Dover, 25 Sept 48. (2754).
 1885 ORŁOWSKI Wincenty, Folkestone, 11 Nov 48. (2759).
 1886 POLACK Janette, London, 13 Jan 46). (26).
 1887 POTOCKI Count Stanisław, Dover, 23 May 46. (936).
 1888 PARZADAKI M., Shoreham, 15 June 46. (188).
 1889 PEŁCZYŃSKI Wincenty, Dover, 25 July 46. (1605).
 1890 PIETRASZEWSKI Ignacy, London, 10 Aug 46. (1015).
 1891 PLESZEWSKI Abraham and wife, London, 14 Aug 46. (1033).
 1892 POTOSKI Jozef and wife, Folkestone, 9 Feb 47. (231).
 1893 POLAK M. Ramsgate, 16 June 47. (45)).
 1894 POLAK M. S., Folkestone, 9 Aug 47. (171).
 1895 PRZEWŁOCKI Klemens, London, 24 Sept 47. (1552).
 1896 PROCHASKA Wenzel, Dover, 28 Jan 48. (117).
 1897 PASZKIEWICZ (PASKEWITSCH) Jan, Folkestone, 1 Apr 48. (554).
 1898 PELCHIŃSKI Wincenty, Folkestone, 6 Apr 48. (628).
 1899 PETROSSKY Maria, Dover, 5 May 48. (1030).
 1900 POLAK Teodor, Folkestone, 18 June 48. (1400).
 1901 PHILLIPPOFSKY (FILIPOWSKI) Józef, Dover, 20 July. (1911).
 1902 PONIATOWSKI Count, Countess and servant, Dover, 14 Sept 48. (2603)
 1903 POLAK Moses Salomon, 26 Oct 48. (1680).
 1904 POLAK Jacques, London, 8 Dec 48. (1848).
 1905 RODOCANAKI Emanuel, Folkestone, 1 Feb 46. (149).
 1906 ROBAKOWSKI Laurent, Dover, 13 March 46. (464).
 1907 RAGOWSKI M., Ramsgate, 14 Aug 46. (369).
 1908 RAKOWSKI Leon, de, Ramsgate, 11 Sept 46. (449).
 1909 ROSTAFIŃSKI Michał, Dover, 19 Nov 46. (2442).
 1910 RKLITZKY Jan, Dover, 2 July 47. (1670).
 1911 RZEWNNSKI Leon, Folkestone, 18 Feb 48. (263).

- 1912 RYBACKI Ignacy, Folkestone, 24 Aug 48. (796).
 1913 RUTKOWSKI Ignacy, Dover, 23 June 48. (1603).
 1914 RULIKOWSKI Lucian, London, 12 Aug 48. (1180).
 1915 STANICKI Jan Kristian, London, 3 Jan 46. (4).
 1916 SAPIEHA Prince Ksawery, Folkestone, 30 Apr 46. (695).
 1917 SADOWSKI Michał, London, 29 May 46. (619).
 1918 SOBOLEWSKI Serge de, Dover, 2 June 46. (1013).
 1919 SZULCZEWSKI Feliks, Folkestone, 1 June 46. (988).
 1920 SABLICKY Andrzej, Dover, 26 June 46. (1219).
 1921 SKORZEWSKI S. R. M., Dover, 21 Aug 46. (121).
 1922 SCHAFFALITZKY le Baron, Dover, 8 Apr 47. (789).
 1923 SOZAŃSKI Antoni, Dover, 18 Apr 47. (881).
 1924 SHADIMEROWSKI Aleksy, Folkestone, 7 June 47. (1101).
 1925 SOKOLSKI Ludwik, London, 11 June 47. 869).
 1926 SZERLANOSKA Neopomucyn, 28 June 47. (1626).
 1927 SIENKOWSKI Józef and Sister, Dover, 24 July 47. (1047).
 1928 SAPIEHA Leon, Folkestone, 27 Sept 47. (1740).
 1929 SZYDŁOWSKI Antoni, Dover, 2 Oct 47. (2400).
 1930 SCHMILIŃSKY Edward, Dover, 28 Nov 47. (2778).
 1931 SOBOLEWSKI Andrzej, Folkestone, 25 May 48. (1141).
 1932 SZCZEPIŃSKI Józef, London, 2 June 48. (658).
 1933 SZMILIŃSKI Karol-Henryk, London, 5 June 48. (667).
 1934 STOPIŃSKI Jan, Folkestone, 15 June 48. (1381).
 1935 SNIZECKI Karol, Folkestone, 15 June 48. (1382).
 1936 SOBOLEWSKI Jan, Dover, 23 June 48. (1614).
 1937 SOBOLEWSKI Zygmunt, London, 12 Aug 48. (1177).
 1938 SOBOLEWSKI Ludwik, 12 Aug 48. (1181).
 1939 SKORZEWSKI Count S., London, 6 Sept 48. (1342).
 1940 STYZLINSKI Venerenda (?), Dover, 12 Sept 48. (2571).
 1941 SZUMLAŃSKI Feliks and servant, London. 14 Oct 48. 1607).
 1942 STAWRINAKI Mikołaj, Dover, 26 Oct 48. (3118).
 1943 SZYMKOWICZ Hilary, Folkestone, 28 Nov 48. (2830).
 1944 TREMBICKI Magt Genl and brother, Dover, 28 Aug 46. (1759).
 1945 TURCZYNOWICZ Roman, Folkestone, 22 March 47. (428).
 1946 TYCZYŃSKI Jan, London, 26 Oct 47. (1781).
 1947 TUMANOWICZ Korneliusz Józef, Dover, 12 May 48. (1109).
 1948 TARNOWSKI Jan Count, London, 9 Sept 48. (1385).
 1949 TYSZKIEWICZ Count Michał, Countess and daughter, Dover,
 26 Sept 48. (2765).
 1950 VOGIŃSKI Wolf, London, 5 Sept 46. (1101).
 1951 URBANEK Ferdynand, London, 18 Sept 47. (1623).
 1952 WROBLEWSKI, Brighton, 5 Sept 46. (420).
 1953 WRZKOWSKI Jan, London, 18 Sept 46. (1202).
 1954 WALEWSKI Konrad, Ramsgate, 31 Oct 46. (559).
 1955 WOLNIEWICZ Włodzimierz, Dover, 16 Nov 47. (2699).
 1956 WILCZYŃSKI Jan, Dover, 15 Apr 48. (855).
 1957 WITKOWSKI Juliusz, London, 29 May 48. (603).
 1958 WODZIŃSKI Adam, Dover, 23 June 48. (1609).
 1959 WILKOWSKI Kazimierz von, London, 23 Oct 48. (1650).
 1960 YZDEBSKI Teofil, Dover, 23 June 48. (1615).
 1961 ŻYCHLIŃSKI Józef von, London, 3 Jan 46. (3).
 1962 ZIELIŃSKI Józef, London, 30 Jan 40. (70).
 1963 ZAWADZKI Stanisław, Folkestone, 15 Apr 46. (619).
 1964 ŹELEŃSKI Count, Dover, 11 Aug 46. (1634).
 1965 ŹABA Józef, Dover, 26 Sept 46. (2002).
 1966 ZŁOTNICKI Captain, Shoreham, 26 May 47. (77).

- 1967 ZIEMIEDKI Hieronim de, Dover, 28 Feb 48. (327).
 1968 ZAMOYSKI C., wife and family, Folkestone, 16 March 48. (417).
 1969 ZAKRZEWSKI Teofil, de, Dover, 19 May 48. (1215).
 1970 ZŁOTKOWSKI Ignacy, London, 21 May 48. (593).
 1971 ZAMOYSKI Konstanty and Sister, Folkestone, 12 July 48. (1610).
 1972 ZAMOYSKI Jan, Dover, 14 July 48. (1838).
 1973 ZABIENSKI Gustaw von, London, 21 Oct 48. (1646).
 1974 ZAMOYSKI Count Władysław, Dover, 4 Jan 49. (31).

ALIENS' CERTIFICATES, 1837, 1849 - 1852

1837

HO-2-15. Various Ports A-N

- 1975 PITIVILLE Lovrence, alias WOLSSKI Wolnsseln, France, J. A. Acteur Dramatique, 21 July 37, Dieppe, France, Brighton 39. Passport French
 1976 JARZINSKA Miss Eliza, France, 24 Aug 37, Dieppe, Brighton 112. Passport French
 1977 MIKLASZEWSKI Piotr, Military, Russia, 19 Sept 37, J. E., Brighton 140. Russ.
 1978 KAMIŃSKI Stanisław, Poland, 22 June 37, Dominica in the West Indies, Leith, No
 1979 KLIMKIEWICZ Henryk, Poland, Refugée Polonais, 17 July 37, Belgium, Ostend, Margate - Ramsgate 8. French
 1980 GAJEWSKI Antoni, Poland (Refugée Polonais), 17 July 37, Belgium, Ostend, Margate - Ramsgate, 9. French
 1981 ABLAMOWICZ D., Poland (Refugée Polonais), 10 Aug 37, France, Boulogne, Margate - Ramsgate 13. French
 1982 ZERNOWSKI Józef, 30 May, France. This alien reports himself as a Polish Exile that he has been ordered from France by the French Government, and that he intend to present himself to the Polish Committee in London. Newhaven 1. No Passport.

HO-2-16. Various Ports P-Z

- 1983 BERENT Ludwik, Poland, 23 Sept 37, Jersey, Plymouth 8. No Passport
 1984 SOBOLEWSKY Serge de, Russia, 24 Apr 37, Havre, Portsmouth 8. Russ. pass.
 1985 RACZYŃSKI Stanisław, Poland, 6 June 37, Havre, Portsmouth 22. French
 1986 PONIATOWSKI Prince Józef, and Wife, France, 18 July 37. Havre, Portsmouth 29. French pass.
 1987 MASS Godfryd and wife, N., 22 years old, Poland, 8 Dec 37, France, Ramsgate 24. No pass.
 1988 MOCOZOWSKI Jan, Poland (Illiterate), 18 Dec 37, Calais, Ramsgate 39. No.
 1989 SUCHECKI Wincenty, Poland, 24 May 37. Jersey, Southampton 50. No.
 1990 ROZBICKI Leonard, Poland, 19 July 37. Jersey, Southampton 105. No.
 1991 ODECHOWSKI Teofil, Poland, 19 July 37, Jersey, Southampton 163. No

- 1992 ZIELANOWICZ Wincenty, Poland, 6 Sept 37, Jersey, Southampton 163. No.
- 1993 LEVENSON Wiktor, Poland, 20 Sept 37, „Lady de Saumarez“, Jersey, Southampton 186. No.
- 1994 PERYLEWICZ Euzebiusz, Poland, 20 Sept 37, „Lady de Saumarez“, Jersey, Southampton, 204. No.
- 1995 KUMPEKIEWICZ Koonstanty, 10 Nov 37, „Lady Saumarez“ Jersey, Southampton 232. No.

HO-2-17. Dover 1 — 500.

- 1996 GRABOWSKI Adam, Poland, 16 Jan 37. France. (38). No.
- 1997 GRODECKI, Le Comte Kazimierz de, Poland, 16 Jan 37. France. (44). French.
- 1998 OSTRÓWSKI Józef B., Poland, 26 Jan 37. France. (79). French.
- 1999 PALIŃSKI Kazimierz, Poland, 30 Jan 37. France. (86). No.
2000. MORE Franz, Poland, 8 Feb 37. France. (103). No.
- 2001 PIETRASZEWSKI Michał, Poland, 17 Feb 37. (145). American.
- 2003 SZCZYGIELSKI Kazimierz, Poland, 26 Feb 37. France. (196). French.
- 2004 PRZYSTANOWSKI Rudolf, Poland, 21 March 37. France. (399). French.
- 2005 GOŁEMBIOWSKI Alfons, Poland, 25 March 37. France. (481). No.

HO-2-18. Dover 501 — 1000

- 2006 MICHAŁOWSKI Michał, Poland, 30 March 37. France. (574). French.
- 2007 TOMACHOWSKI Antoni, Poland, 12 Apr 37. France. (641). No.
- 2008 BAUER Gaspar, Poland, 26 Apr 37. France. (744). Spanish
- 2009 DICZEWSKI Nostitz, Germany, 8 May 37. France. (825). Saxon.
- 2010 GERARA Antoni, Poland, 14 May 37. France. (850). No
- 2011 DEMEIŃSKA Countess (...), Germany, 31 May 37. France. (876). Hamburg
- 2012 ZEWELOFF Pamphile, (Illiterate), Poland, 17 June 37. France. (957). No
- 2013 SCHMIDT Jan, Poland, 23 June 37. France. (992). No

HO-2-19. Dover 1001 — 1700

- 2014 RYCHŁOWSKI Henryk, Poland, 28 June 37. France. (1020). No
- 2015 ŻUGACZEWSKI Stanisław, Poland, 7 July 37. France. (1080). French
- 2016 ORLOVOSKY (ORŁOWSKI), Kazimierz, Poland, 19 July 37. France. ((This person is a Polish Refugee and had a free Passage on board of the French Mail Packet „La Porte“. He states that he was discharged from the Army of the Queen of Spain about six months ago. He wishes to go to Belgium but was sent to this Country by the Police of France).)
- 2017 KOSYESKI Józef. (Illiterate), Poland, 20 July 37. France. (1146). No Is a Polish Refugée, had a free passage on board the French Mail Packet Courier but was sent to this Country on his own request).

- 2018 GEMERSHAUSEN Luis, Poland, 31 July 37. Calais. (1194). No.
 (Remarks as above).
- 2019 MOOR Charles de, Poland, 6 Aug 37. France. (1223). French
- 2020 WOLFF Edward, Poland, 19 Aug 37. France. (1285). Polish
- 2021 PILICHOWSKI Jakub, Poland, 29 Aug 37. France. (1307). French
- 2022 PALIŃSKI Kazimierz, Poland, 31 Aug 37. France. (1317). No.
- 2023 RYMKIEWICZ Antoni, Poland, 12 Sep 37. France. (1389). French
- 2024 LIPSKI Wincenty, Poland, 16 Sept 37. France. (1397). No
- 2025 EISENBAUM Sam. Poland, 4 Oct 37. France (1465). Russian
- 2026 BRAUNHOLDER Aleksander, (Military), Poland, 10 Oct 37. France.
 (1487). No
- 2027 WINENSKI Mikołaj (Military), Poland, 10 Oct 37. France. (1489. No
- 2028 SAMOLENSKI Jan, (Illiterate), Refugée, Poland, 30 Oct 37. (1534).
 No.
 (This person had a free passage on board the Courier French
 Mail Packet. He stated that he was not allowed to remain in
 France).
- 2029 NIEZABITOWSKI Tomasz, Refugée. Poland. 30 Oct 37. France.
 (1535). French
 (Remarks as above).
- 2030 KINAST Ludwik, (Military), Poland, 16 Nov 37. France. (1581). No
- 2031 POTOCKI Bernard, Count, (Military), Poland, 16 Nov 37. France.
 (1681). No
- 2032 ZAMOYSKI Władysław, (Gent.), Poland, 17 Nov 37. France. (1586).
 No
- 2033 KOZŁAWSKI Jan, Refuée, Poland, 17 Nov. France. (1587). French
- 2034 WYSOCKI Władysław. Refugée, Poland, 11 Dec 37. France. (1654).
 French
- 2035 PLEIVE Feliks, Refugée, Poland, 13 Dec 37. France. (1655). No
 (This Person had free passage by order (?) of the French
 Government).
- 2036 KOBYLIŃSKI Ernest, Refugée, Poland, 17 Dec 37. France. (1663).
 French
- 2037 BURLANDO Jan Hipolit, Refugée, Poland, 27 Dec 37. France. (1685).
 No.
 (This Person had a Free Passage and stated that he was sent
 from France by the Police at Calais).

HO-2-20. Hull. 1 — 533

- 2038 ROTHOLZ Z., Poznań, 1 March 37. 1 March 37. Hambro (Ham-
 burg). (14). No
- 2039 NEUMANN E., Gdańsk, 14 March 37. Hambro. (24). No
- 2040 LEVY Samuel Michael, Poznań, 17 March 37. Hambro. (26). No
- 2041 PANTZER Heinrich Robert, Gdańsk, 22 Apr 37. Hambro. (67). No
- 2042 LEVY Samuel Michael, Poland, 25 Apr 37. Hambro. (73). No
- 2043 KLECZEWSKI H. (Signature in Hebrew characters), Pruss., 9 May
 37. Hambro. (175). No
- 2044 WEINBERG Luizenne, Wronawa (?), 23 May 37, Hambro. (195). No
- 2045 EISENBERG Hersch, Wronawa (?), 23 May 37, Hambro. (196). No
- 2046 SILBERSTEIN Moritz, Poznań, 23 May 37, Hambro. (197). No
- 2047 FAUNKELBERG Zigier, Watch Maker, Poland, 23 May 37. Hambro.
 (199). No

- 2048 GOLDKERTER Woy (?), (Signature in Hebrew charakters), Poland, 6 June 37. (239). Hambro. No
- 2049 AUERBACH David, Dealer, Poland, 6 June 37. Hambro. (240). No
- 2050 WANDEL Leizer, Dealer, Poland, 6 June 37. Hambro. (241). No
- 2051 REICH Salomon, Dealer, Poznań, 6 June 37. Hambro. (242). No
- 1052 LEVIN Jakub Mojżesz, Dealer, Poland, 10 June 37, Hambro (251).
No
- 2053 JACOB Simon, Dealer, Poland, 10 June 37. Hambro. (252). No
- 2054 NOWOSIELSKI Jakub, Dealer, Poland, 10 June 37. Hambro. (253).
No
- 2055 HEIMAN J., Dealer, Poland, 10 June 37, Hambro. (255). No
- 2056 BERNSTEIN J., Dealer, Poznań, 10 June 37. Hambro. (257). No
- 2057 BARUCH Simon, Tailor, Poznań, 10 June 37. Hambro. (258). No
- 2058 RISGH David, Tailor, Poznań, 10 June 37.. Hambro. (264). No
- 2059 SZYRAMSKI Schün, Cloth Maker, Pooland, 13 June 37. Hambro.
(264). No.
- 2060 BAKER Lewin, Baker, Poznań, 17 June 37. Hambro. (267). No
- 2061 ISIAKOWSKI Horn, Furrier, Poland, 12 July 37. Hambro. (315). No
- 2062 NATHAN Abram (Sig. in Hebrew characters), Furrier, Poland, 12
July 37. Hambro. (316). No
- 2063 EISENSTEIN Jan Konstanty, Gdańsk, 11 Aug 37. Hambro. (385).
No
- 2064 KALIN Abraham, Tailor, Poznań, 15 Aug 37. Hambro. (400). No
- 2065 SKAMPER Littman, Tailor, Poznań, 16 Aug 37. Hambro. (405). No
- 2066 FAUST Naftal, Merchant, Russ.-Poland, 19 Aug 37. Hambro (409).
No
- 2067 STACHMER Mojżesz, Dealer, Poland, 20 Sept 37, Hambro. (462). No
- 2068 CARO Józef Jakub, Dealer, Poland, 20 Sept 37. Hambro. (463). No
- 2069 NATOWSKI Ludwik, Manufacturer, Poland, 30 Oct. Hambro. (495).
- 2070 GRATZNER L., Emigrant, Poznań, 2 Nov 37. Hambro. (497). No
- 2071 GEBEIDE H. G., Cap-Maker, Poland, 16 Nov 37. Hambro. (508). No
- 2072 GUTTMANN Ascher, Poland, 16 Nov 37. Hambro. (wife and two
children, under 14 years). (510). No
- 2073 MARCUS Salomon, Dealer, Poland, 27 Nov 37. Hambro. (518). No
- 2074 ABRAHAM Jakub, Dealer, Poland, 27 Nov 37. Hambro. (519). No
- 2075 CZARNOMSKI Izidor, Polish Officer, Poland, 11 Dec 37. Gdańsk.
(527). No
- 2076 CASNTAN J. H., Dealer, Rus.-Poland, 13 Dec 37. Hambro. (530). No
- 2077 BRANES, L., Dealer, Rus.-Poland, 21 Dec 37, Hambro. (532). No

HO-2-21. London 1 — 500

- 2078 KOSSECKI Zygmunt, Poland, Sub-lieut., Refuee, 5 Jan 37. Havre
(Queen Adelaida), First visit. (84). French
- 2079 WEISS Samuel, Poland, Furrier, 15 Jan37. Boulogne (Dart), left
London 7 months earlier. (135). German
- 2080 RACZYŃSKI Hieronim Artur, Poland, Refugée, 27 Jan 37. Calais
(Jlliffe). Left Liverpool 11 month earlier. (244). Maltese
- 2081 JANCZEWICZ Antoni, Hungary, Brewer, 28 Jan 37. New York (St.
James) First visit. (305). No
- 2082 DOBRO Walenty, Taylor, Refugée, Poland, 4 Feb 37, Boulogne
(Dart). Left London one year ago. (349). No
- 2083 ROMAŃSKI Michał, servant, Refugée, Poland, 4 Feb 37. Boulogne
(Dart). First arrival. (351). French
- 2084 FRAIND Pincus, Dealer, Poland, 15 Feb 37, Hambro (Harlequin).
Left Hull ten months earlier. (462). Russ.

HO-2-22. London 501 — 1000

- 2085 MAZURKIEWICZ Leon de, Lieut. Belgian Cavalry, Poland, 22 Feb 37. Ostend (Earl Liverpool). First arrival. (589). Belgian
2086 JANKIEL Salomon, Dealer, Poland 28 Feb 37. Hamburg (City of Hamburg). First arr., (670). Hungarian.
2087 TRIPPLIN Teodor Fentholt, Medical Student, Poland, 1 March 37. Copenhagen (Svendre Proder). First arr. (678). Pruss.
2088 MALESZEWSKI Józef, Military, Refugeeé, Poland, 2 March 37. Calais (W. Joliffe). First. (716). French
2089 POLAK Leonard, Merchant, Holland, 5 March 37. Rotterdam (Joliffe). Left London six months earlier. (741). No
2090 HEILBORN Wilhelm, Major (Military officer), Poland, 11 March 37. Hamburg (Countess of Lonsdale). First arr. (847). No
2091 RYMKIEWICZ Antoni, Refugée, Poland, 13 March 37. Ostend (Neptune). First. (893). French
2092 SERATZKY Ludwik, Merchant, Poland, 18 March 37. Boulogne (Kent). First. (991). French.

HO-2-23. London 1000 — 1500

- 2093 SZOŁONCZ Alexander, Ex-military, Poland, 18 March 37. Hamburg (Exchange). First. (1006). Pruss.
2094 Wife of SZOŁONCZ A., information as above. (1007). Pruss.
2095 SZOŁONCZ David, brother of Aleksander, information as above. (1008). Pruss.
2096 AUERBACH Levi, Teacher, Poland, 23 March 31, Calais (W. Joliffe), left London two months earlier. (1059). Pruss.

HO-2-24. London 1500 — 2000

- 2097 MIKORSKI Ksawery, Military Officer, Poland, 20 Apr 37, Calais (Terrist). Left London two years earlier. (1753). French

HO-2-25. London 2001 — 2500

- 2098 BIEŃKOWSKI Marcelli, Officer, Poland, 5 May 37, Ostend (Nuion). First. (2101). Belg.
2099 PITROK August, Agent, Poland, 6 May 37, Boulogne (Emerald). First. (2163). French
2100 RAEMER de, Refugée, Poland, 8 May 37, Antwerp (Terrist). First. (2216). French
2101 CERAWSKI Aleksander, Student of Theology, Poland, 8 May 37, Hambro (City of Hambro). First. (2229). Pruss.
2102 WALIGÓRSKI Józef, Captain, Poland, 11 May 37, Calais (W. Joliffe). First. (2379). French
2103 SUCHORZEWSKI Józef, Capt. Army, Poland, 16 May 37, Hambro (Neptune). 1st. (2476) No

HO-2-26. London 2501 — 3000

- 2104 GODALBERG Jacob (signature in Hebrew charakters), Poland, Dealer, 16 May 37, Hambro (Neptune). 1st. (2579). No
2105 KRAUSHAAR Hymen (Sign. in Heb.), Poland, Dealer, 16 May 37, Hambro (Neptune). 1st. (2582). Russ.

- 2106 SZAPIRO Israel Mojzesz, Hawker, Poland, 16 May 37, Hambro (Neptune). (2584). Prus.
 2107 JACHONOWIECKI Schol, Information as above. (2585). Prus.
 2108 KANEL Henne (Female), Information as above. (2586). Prus.
 2109 HABENSTOCKER Hymen, Dealer, Information as above. (2587). Prus.
 2110 PORZENOWSKI Walenty, Military Refugée, Poland, 19 May 37, Boulogne (Emerald). 1st. (2714). French
 2111 ZORKOWSKY Aron, Furrier, Prussia, 23 May 37, Hambro (North Star). Left seven month earlier. (2879). No
 2112 GEBEIDE Nan(...) Female, Poland, Illiterate, 23 May 37, Hambro (North Star). Left Hull nine weeks earlier. (2880). "Book"
 2113 BANNER Blumel, Female, Russ.-Poland (Sign. In Hebr.), 23 May 37, Hambro (North Star). 1st. (2881). No
 2114 SOKOŁOWSKI Juliusz, Pruss. 23 May 37, Hambro (North Star). 1st. (2883). "Book"
 2115 JACKOWSKI Ignacy, Refugée, Poland, 24 May 37. Left London three months earlier. (2901). No
 2116 SAWASZKIEWICZ Leopold, Refugée, Poland, 24 May 37, Ostend (Earl Liverpool). Left London three month earlier. (2909). Belgian
 2117 MYSZKIEWICZ Kazimierz, Refugée, Poland, 25 May 37, Havre (Wood). 1st. (2972). French
 2118 TRZCIŃSKI Ambrozy, Refugée, Poland, 26 May 37, Boulogne (Magnet). 1st. (3000). French

HO-2-27. London 3001 — 3500

- 2119 IZDEBSKI Teofil, Refugée, Poland, 26 May 37, Boulogne (Magnet), 1st. (3001). No
 2120 ORDON Konstanty, gent., Poland, 30 May 37, Hambro. Left one year earlier. (3150). Belgian
 2121 SOŁTYK Count Roman, General of Artillery, Poland, 1 June 37, Antwerp (Victoria). Left Dover five months earlier. (3170). Belgian
 2122 BILOWSKA Tekla, Female, Poland, 2 June 37, Hambro (Britania). 1st. (3231). No
 2123 ŻABA Adam, Refugée, Poland, 5 June 37, Antwerp (Soho). Left July 1836. (3281). Belg.
 2124 ŻABINSKI Abraham, Shoemaker, Pruss., 6 June, Hambro (City of Hambro). 1st (3288). "Book"
 2125 LYSNIEWSKI Ignacy, Refugée, Poland, 6 June 37, Boulogne (Emerald). Left eight months earlier. (3298). French
 2126 SZCZAPIŃSKI Józef, Refugée, Poland, 6 June 37, Boulogne (Magnet). Left two years earlier. (3320). No
 2127 GAJEWSKI Antoni, Medical Officer, Poland, 8 June 37, Boulogne (Harlequin). 1st. (3398). Pruss.
 2128 DEMBOWSKI baron Karol, Italy, 9 June 37, Boulogne. 1st. (3436). French

HO-2-29. London 4001 — 4500

- 2129 WOYTKIEWICZ Hipolit, Lieut., Refugée, Poland, 19 June 37, Ostend (Union), 1st. (3670). French
 2130 SCHMIDT Jan, Ex-Military, Refugée, Poland, 19 June 37, Ostend (Union), 1st. (3730). French

- 2131 GAJEWSKI Albert, Ex-Officer, Refugée, Poland, 20 June 37, Triest (Peratto), 1st. (3748). No
- 2132 MIKULOWSKI Florian, Liet., Refugée, Poland, 20 June 37, Triest (Peratto), 1st. (3749). No
- 2133 OLIZAROWSKI Florian, Information as above. (3759). No
- 2134 GARYCKI Łukasz, Information as above. (3751). No
- 2135 KUNINSKI Stanisław, Information as above. (3752). No
- 2136 NOWAKOWSKI Konstanty, Information as above. (3753). No

HO-2-29. London 4001 — 45000

- 2137 ROSENBERG Michał, Poland, 28 June 37, Havre (Queen Adelaida). Left London October last. (4096). French
- 2138 KOZŁOWSKI Antoni, Military, Poland, 28 June 37, Calais (P.R.-soon), 1st. 4106). French
(This man has served in the French Army (or Service) at Algiers and Spain and has several wounds, they now send him to this country — he has certificates of his good conduct during his services).
- 2139 CZOSNOWSKI (Colonna de) Ignacy Antoni, Colonel, Poland, 29 June 37, Boulogne (Emerald), 1st. (4152). French
- 2140 POTOCKI Maurycy, Military Officer, Poland, 1 July 37, Calais (Royal Soverein), 1st. (4153). French
- 2141 HORETZKI Feliks, profesor of Music, Poland, 1 July 37, Calais (Royal Souverein). Left Hull one month earlier. (4223). French
- 2142 STAWIERSKI Ignacy, Refugée, Poland, 1 July 37, Calais (Royal Souverein), 1st. (4224). No
- 2143 BENINGHAM Jean-Chretien, Refugée, Poland, Information as above. (4250). No
- 2144 GAJEWSKI Antoni, Dr. Medicine, Refugée, Poland, 4 July 37, Boulogne (Harlequin). Left two days earlier from London. (4319). No
- 2145 RORHEIM Rirreich (?) de, Military Officer, Poland, 4 July 37, Calais (Roy. Souverein), 1st. 4334). No
- 2146 FLATAN Maier, Merchant, Poland, 7 July 37, Antwerp (Victoria), 1st. (4419). No
- 2147 BARUCH Chaim, Dealer, Poland, 7 July 37, Hambro (Countess Lonsdale), 1st. (4432). Polish
- 2148 GUTMAN Behr, Butcher, Poland, 7 July 37. Information as above. (4457-8). No

HO-2-30. London 4501 — 5000

- 2149 STOPIŃSKI Jan, Clock Dealer, Poland, 13 July 37, Calais (W. Jolliffe), 1st. (4672). French
- 2150 STEINKELLER Piotr, Merchant, Poland, 17 July, Hambro (Nep-tune). Left one month earlier. (4759). No
- 2151 BLUMBERG Sarah, Dealer, Poland, 20 July 37. Rotterdam (Giraffe). Left London one year earlier. (4912). Russia

HO-2-31. London 5001 — 5500

- 2152 ŻABA Józef, Polish Officer, Poland, 31 July 37, Antwerp (Solso). Left London six months earlier. (5233). Belgian

- 2153 DYSKI Napoleon, Composer, Poland, 2 Aug 37, Boulogne (Kent),
1st. (5293). French
 2154 ROZETZKY Józef, Refugée, Poland, 3 Aug 37, Calais (Jolliffe).
Left Dover 27 July 37. (5400). No
 2155 LICHTENSTADT Hirsch, Dealer, Poland, 4 Aug 37, Hambro
(Countess Lonsdale), 1st. (5450). No

HO-2-32. London 5501 — 6000

- 2156 OSTROWSKI Jan Nep., Refugée, Poland, 7 Aug 37, Havre (Queen
Adelaïda), 1st. (5538). French
 2157 GORSKI Wincenty, Lieut.-Refugée, Poland, 17 Aug 37, Calais (Jol-
liffe), 1st. (5913). French
 2158 NETREBSKI Jan, Refugée, Poland, 17 Aug 37, Havre (Wood).
Left two years earlier. (5950). French
 2159 DEMASIEWICZ Jan, Servant, Information as above. (5951). French
 2160 OBECKI Edmund, Refugée, Poland, 18 Aug 37, Boulogne (Harle-
quin), 1st. (5978). French
 2161 SCHWARTZ Karol, Refugée, Poland, 18 Aug 37, Calais (Melo...).
Left Dover one year earlier. (5978). No

HO-2-33. London 6001 — 6500

- 2162 GOURLAND Morris, Distiller, Poland, 24 Aug 37, New York (Pre-
sident). Left two years earlier. (6131). No
 2163 CHAPMAN Józef, Military, Poland, 5 Sept 37, Havre (Queen Ade-
laïde). Left three months earlier. (6484). Belgian

HO-2-34. London 6501 — 7000

- 2164 ŁOZIŃSKI Józef, Polish Refugée, Poland, 5 Sept 37, Triest (France),
1st. (6517). No
 2165 KILWEŃ Stanisław, Information as above. (6518). No
 2166 TWORNICKI Andrzej, Information as above. (6519). No
 2167 SZELISKI Count, Poland, 6 Sept 37, Ostend (Earl Liverpool). Left
two months earlier. (6548). No
 2168 ABRAHAMSON Jakub, Furrier, Poland, 12 Sept 37, Hambro
(Thames), 1st. (6735). No
 2169 COHN Hirsch, Weaver, Information as above. (6737). No.
 2170 COHN Samuel, Weaver, Pruss.-Poland, Information as above. (6738).
Pruss.
 2171 ROSENTHAL Leib, Dealer, Russ.-Poland, Information as above.
(6739). No
 2172 MEYER Hirsch, Dealer, Poland, As above. (6740). Pruss.
 2173 REISMANN Hirsch, As above. (6741). Russ.
 2174 POTOCKI J. Count, Poland, 13 Sept 37, Rotterdam (Batavier), 1st.
(6754). Russ.
 2175 KISIELEFF Countess, (Sister of above), As above. (6755). Russ.
Two servants of above, Information as above. (6756-7). Russ.
 2176 CHIAL Mojżesz, Dealer, Poland, 15 Sept 37, Hambro (Countess
Lonsdale), 1st. (6829). Russ.
 2177 WOYTKIEWICZ Hipolit, Doctor Medic., Poland, 18 Sept 37, Bou-
logne (Emerald). Left London two months earlier (6865). No
 2178 MICHałOWSKI Michał, Military, Prussia, 18 Sept 37, Boulogne
(Emerald). Left London one Month. (6866). Pruss.

HO-2-35. London 7001 — 7500

- 2179 STREBEYKO Józef von, Military Refugée, Poland, 25 Sept 37, Memel (Defred), 1st. (7042). Pruss.
2180 EDELS David, Merchant, Poland, 28 Sept 37, Havre (S. Wood). Left London two months. (7154). No
2181 JELONEK Rosa, Female, Poland, 28 Sept 37, Hambro (C. Lonsdale), 1st. (7179). No
2182 SNIATYŃSKI Wojciech, Merchant, Austria, 3 Oct 37, Hambro (Caledonia), 1st. (7236). Austr.
2183 STUDZIŃSKI Karol, Refugée, Poland, 9 Oct 37, Calais (Jolliffe), 1st. 7398). French
2184 WOŁKOWSKI Julian, Information as above. (7399). French

HO-2-36. London 7501 — 8000

- 2185 SZYMAŃSKI Leon, Taylor, Poland, 16 Oct 37, Hambro (J. Bull), 1st, 7541). Russ.
2186 DROZZDOWSKI Wincenty, Military-Refugée, Poland, 23 Oct 37, Calais (Dart), 1st. (7667). French
2187 SYPNIEWSKI Dominik, Information as above. Left London three months (7668). No
2188 ŁABEDSKI Józef, Information as above. Left London four months. (7669). French
2189 LENSKI Józef, Information as above, 1st. (7670). French
2190 DOBROWOLSKI Wincenty, Polish Refugée, 29 Oct 37, Boulogne (Rl Sovn). Left three months, 1st. (7760). No
2191 RUTKOWSKI Ignacy, Military-Refugée, Poland, 6 Nov 37, Trieste (Amelia), 1st. (7857). No
2192 MICHAŁOWSKI Jan, Lieut.-Inf. as above. (7858). No
2193 NOWOSIELSKI Lucjan, Inf. as above. (7860). No
2194 JASICKI Franciszek, sub-lieut., Information as above. (7861). No
2195 DENKEL Edward, Inf. as above. (7863). No
2196 ŁAPIŃSKI Michał, Inf. as above. (7864). No
2197 KRZYŻANOWSKI Lucian, Information as above. (7865). No
2198 WITKOWSKI Feliks, Inf. as above. (7866). No
2199 SOBOLEWSKI Jan, Inf. as above. (7867). No
2200 SUCHODOLSKA Józefa Aleksandra, Lady, Poland, 6 Nov 37, Hambro (Neptune), 1st. (7881). Polish
2201 DELACOUR Franciszek Aleksey, Military, Poland, 9 Nov 37, Calais (Jolliffe). (7929). No

HO-2-37. London 8001 — 8570

- 2202 PURZYCKI Józef, Military, Poland, 16 Nov 37, Boulogne (Emerald). Left London 1835. (8050). French
2203 PUSENBERG Michał, Marble Manufacturer, Poland, 23 Nov 37, Boulogne (Grand Turk). Left July last. (9115). French
2204 PELIZ Izaac, Engrever, Poland, 3 Dec 37, Rotterdam (Giraffe). Left London three months. (8258). Russian
2205 SENSKY Józef, Military, Poland, 5 Dec 37, Ostend (Dart), 1st. Forced to England by the Belgian Government... (8284). —
2206 SZLENKOLOWSKI Jakub, Dealer, Poland, 6 Dec 37, Hambro (Neptune). Left four months. (8297). Pruss.

- 2207 BONTEMPS Eloi, Civil Engineer, Poland, 7 Dec 37, Calais (Joliffe), 1st. (8328). French
 2208 NIEPRZECKI Maksymilian, Military Refugée, Poland, 11 Dec 37, Calais (Melolle). Left three years. (8361). —
 2209 PONGOSKI Stanisław, Traveller, Livonia, 25 Dec 37, Boulogne (Emerald). Left one month. (8503). Russ.

1849

HO-2-176. Various Ports A-Z.

- 2210 ZALLEL David, Russ. Poland, 17 Nov 49, Prussia, Grimsby 1, Russian
 2211 LEISER Hirsch, Russ. Poland, 19 Nov 49, Prussia, Grimsby 2, Russian
 2212 JANKIEL Hirsch, Information as above, Grimsby 3, No
 2213 MARKUS Katzke, Information as above, Grimsby 4, No
 2214 GILLAUM Erlich, Merchant, „Polone“, 15 June 49, Dieppe, New-haven 20, —

HO-2-177. Dover 1 — 1000

- 2215 ZAMOYSKI Władysław Count, Poland, 4 Jan 49, France, (31). —
 2216 MAKUNIEWICZ Adam, Poland, 8 Jan 49, France, (59). —
 2217 SAWICKI Jan, Military, Poland, 20 Jan 48, France, (173). —
 2218 BREZA August von, gent., Prussia, 24 Jan 49, Belgium, (207). —
 2219 GAJEWSKI Eweryst de, Comte, Poland, 2 Feb 49, Belgium, (282). —
 2220 WORCELL Stanisław, gent., Poland, 3 Feb 49, France. (299). —
 2221 OBORSKI Ludwik, Military, Poland, 3 Feb 49, France, (300). —
 2222 PIÓRKOWSKI Henryk, Merchant, Poland, 4 Feb 49, Belgium, (303). —
 2223 STYCZYŃSKI Tadeusz, Merchant, Poland, 13 Feb 49, Belgium, (423). —
 2224 BENIOWSKI Bartłomiej, Merchant, Poland, 18 Feb 49, France, (540). —
 2225 ZAMOYSKI Władysław Count, Poland, 10 March 49, France, (671). —
 2226 NOWIŃSKI Romuald, Gent., 13 March 49, France, (710). —
 2227 ROKICKI Karol J., Prussia, Merchant, 16 March 49, Belgium, (738). —
 2228 ZBYSZEWSKI Wincenty, Gent., Poland, 22 March 49, Belgium, (831). —
 2229 MARZAK Antoni (Anton), Saddler, Austria, 23 March 49, Belgium, (846). —
 2230 HALPERN Mayer, Watchmaker, Poland, 5 Apr 49, France, (996). —
 2231 MAIZEL Hirsch, Schoemaker, Poland, 5 Apr 49, France, (997). —

HO-2-178. Dover 1001 — 2000

- 2232 SAPIEHA Adolf, Gent., Poland, 18 Apr 49, France, (1205).
 2233 ŻELENSKI Andrzej and wife, Artist, Russia, 13 May 49, Belgium, (1630). —
 2234 JACKOWSKI Ignacy, Gent., Poland, 14 May 49, France, (1645). —
 2235 VRIESE Gerret, his wife Julie, his daughter Anica and his son Felix and

- 2236 BOGATSKI Jakub, Taylor, Poland, 23 May 49, France, (1792). —
 2237 MODECKI Józef, Taylor, Poland, 23 May 49, France. (1793). —
 2238 KONTSKI Apolinary de, Artysta, Poland, 27 May 49, Belgium, —

HO-2-179. Dover 2001 — 3000

- 2239 NOWIŃSKI Romuald, Gent., Russia, 8 June 49, France, (2068). Russ.
 2240 RUSZAK Józef, Merchant, Germany, 11 June 49, Belgium, (2096). —
 2241 HECHT (signature rather: UECHT) Ludwik, Student, Poland, 25
June 49, (2332). —
 2242 DEMBIAŃSKI Stanisław von, Gent., Poland, 25 June 49, France,
(2333). —
 2243 CZARTORYSKI Prince Aleksander, with suite, Poland, 6 July 49,
France, (2510 - 2517). —
 2244 BERG, La Comtesse Leopoldine Cieglina (?) de, with QUERRES
Antoinette and
 2245 POTENSKI Franciszka, Austria, 8 July 49, France, (2552-4). —
 2246 PILENSKI Karol, Military, Poland, 9 July 49, France, (2575). —
 2247 BISCHKE Marcin, Military, (Illiterate), Poland, 9 July 49, France,
(2576).
 2248 STEPOWSKI Tomasz, Military (Illiterate), Poland, 9 July 49, France,
(2577).
 2249 JURKI Jan, Information as above, (2578). —
 2250 SAPIEHA Leon, Gent., Austria, 11 July 49, Belgium, (26169).
 2251 SZULIMSKI Antoni, Refugée, Poland, 11 July 49, France, (2619). —
 2252 ADAMSKI Mateusz, Information as above. (2620). —
 2253 RONZYŃSKI Hieronim A., Merchant, Poland, 11 July 49, France,
(2626). —
 2254 MILLER Jan, Gent., Poland, 13 July 49, Belgium, (2643). —
 2255 ZAMOYSKI Zdzisław, Count and his brother, Konstanty, Poland,
13 July 49, France, (2647-8). —
 2256 KOSSONOWICZ Mateusz, Military Refugée, Poland, 16 July 49,
France, (2698). —
 2257 ROSENBERG Mäyer, Military Refugée, Poland, 17 July 49, France,
(2705). —
 2258 FABIANI Aleksander, Information as above, (2706). —
 2259 MROCZKOWSKI Teodor, Inf. as above, (2707). —
 2260 ROKOSOWSKI Józef, Inf. as above, (2708). —
 2261 ZIELIŃSKI Julian, Inf. as above, (2709). —
 2262 KOWALSKI Jakub, Inf. as above, (2710). —
 2263 ZIONSKI Michał, Inf. as above, (2711). —
 2264 BRAZIŃSKI Adam, Inf. as above, (2712). —
 2265 LANCKOROŃSKI Kazimierz, Count, and NANKI Jeremiasz Antoni,
Austria, 17 July 49, Belgium, (2717-18). —
 2266 KANTROWICZ Marcin, Engineer, Poland, 18 July 49, France,
(2742). —
 2267 BENIOWSKI Bartłomiej, Merchant, Poland, 21 July 49, Belgium,
(2798). —
 2268 KROCHOWSKI Krystyn, Musician, Poland, 29 July 49, France,
(2906). No.
 2269 ROZEN Szymon, Gent., Poland, 29 July 49, France, (2909). Russ.
 2270 JABŁOŃSKI Ernest Paweł, Gent., Prussia, 3 Aug 49, Belgium,
(2966). —

HO-2-180. Dover 3001 — 4000

- 2271 KOŚCIELSKI Władysław von, Gent., Prussia, 10 Aug 49, Belgium, (3069). —
2272 BNIŃSKI, Count Ignacy de, Prussia, 11 Aug 49, Belgium, (3079). —
2273 BARDZIŃSKI Stanisław Teofil, Military Refugée, Poland, 12 Aug 49, France, (3084). —
2274 JABŁECKI Julian, Military Refugée, France, 12 Aug 49, France, (30853). —
2275 KLEINER Józef Ludwik de, Military refugée, Poland, 12 Aug 49, France, (3086). —
2276 FABIANKIEWICZ Nikodem, Inf. as above, (3087). —
2277 SCHWEIZER Franciszek, 12 Aug 49, France, Military Refugée, France, (3088). —
2278 KARABANOWICZ Marcelli, 12 Aug 49, Poland, Military Refugée, France, (3089). —
2279 KARŁOWSKI Marcelli, Information as above, (3090). —
2280 PASTERAMATKIEW (?) Michał (Illiterate), Shoemaker, Poland, 15 Aug 49, France, (3124). —
2281 WESTWALEWICZ Feliks, Gent., Poland, 15 Aug 49, France, (3125). —
2282 GEYSON Franciszek, Refugée, Poland, 25 Aug 49, France, (3271). —
2283 GŁOSKOWSKI Albert, Refugée, Poland, 25 Aug France, (3272). —
2284 BORKOWSKI Gustaw, Refugée, Poland, 27 Aug 49, France, (3301). —
2285 CZAPLICKI Teodor, Inf. as above, (3302). —
2286 MOKRZYCKI Edward, Military, Poland, 28 Aug 49, France, (3338). —
2287 SCHIŃSKI Albert, Military Refugée, Poland, 5 Sept 49, France, (3438). —
2288 LUBOMIRSKI Józef, Prince, Poland, 10 Sept 49, France, (3509). —
2289 ZALESKI Leon, Employé (Refugée), Poland, 17 Sept 49, France, (3570). —
2290 FUCHS Maksymilian, Poland, 21 Sept 49, France, (3632). —
2291 NOWICKI Antoni, Miner, Poland, 21 Sept 49, France, (3657). —
2292 LUBIEŃSKI Cezar, Designateur, Poland, 24 Sept 49, France, (3804). —
2293 HOLIŃSKI Aleksander, Gent., Poland, 11 Oct. 49, France, (3870). —
2294 GOLDSTEIN Józef, Painter, Poland. (Illiterate), 20 Oct 49, France, (3974). —
2295 ISSAC Moice, Glazier, Poland, (Illiterate), 20 Oct 49, France, (3975). —

HO-2-181. Dover 4001 — 4653

- 2296 SZARFETH Jan, Military Refugée, Poland, 24 Oct 49, France, (4012). —
2297 LUBIEŃSKI Cezar, Designateur, Poland, 31 Oct 49, France, (4099). —
2298 GAŁĘZOWSKI Severyn, Medicine Doctor, Poland, 3 Nov 49, France, (4117). —
2299 GRUNER Ignacy, Gent., and Katarzyna, his wife, Poland, 3 Nov 49, France, (4118-9). —
2300 TOPLITZ Henryk, Merchant, Poland, 3 Nov 49, France, (4127). —
2301 BRANOWICZ Dawid, Military Refugée, (Illiterate), Poland, 4 Nov 49, France, (4133). —

- 2302 TYLMAŃSKI Wirsinius, Military Refugée, Poland, (Illiterate), 4 Nov 49, France, (4134). —
 2303 BEM LEWIŃSKY Karol, Designateur, Poland, 18 No? 49, France, (4286). —
 2304 MIGURSKI Wacław, Gent., Poland, 22 Nov 49, France, (4450). —
 2305 NAPIORKOWSKI (or, rather, NAPIÓRKOWSKI) Kazimierz, Refugée, Poland, 22 Nov 49, France, (4570). —
 2306 BARANOWSKI Jan Ignacy, Inspector, Poland, 27 Dec 49, France, (4630). —
 2307 BREAŃSKI Leopold, Refugée, Poland, 27 Dec 49, Belgium, (4635). —

HO-2-182. Folkestone 1 — 1000

- 2308 PICK Isaac, Poland, 9 Jan 49, France, (29). French
 2309 GORECKI Antoni, Poland, 9 Jan 49, France, (52). French
 2310 RACZYŃSKI Hieronim Artur, Poland, 21 Jan 49, France, (Together with OSMA Don Jose Domingo de, from Spain), (84185). French
 2311 SAPIEHA Adam, (with his cousin), Austria, 25 Jan 49, France, (106-7). Austr.
 2312 LUBIEŃSKI Cezar, Austria, 20 Feb 49, (with Mr. Pierre Jucques BAUCE), France, (248-9). French
 2313 SANGUSZKO Prince Władysław, Austria, 10 March 49, France, (414). Austr.
 2314 ZAMOYSKI Władysław, Poland, 18 March 49, France, (488). Russian
 2315 PIELZ Isaac, Poland, 26 March 49, France, (563). French
 2316 WIŚNIEWSKA Maria, Poland, 2 Apr 49, France. (626). Austrian
 2317 STAWIKOWSKI Stanisław, Poland, 5 Apr 49 (with Mme Maria A. BEIN from Prussia), France, (669-670). French
 2318 SAWICKI Jan, Poland, 22 Apr 49, France, (751). French
 2319 WIERZBICKI Wincenty and Wife, Poland, 1 May 49, France, (825-6), French
 2320 PICK Isaac, Poland, ? May 49, France, (991). French

HO-2-183. Folkestone 1001 — 1614

- 2321 PERELBERG L., Poland, 24 June 49, France, (1061). French
 2322 HOFFMAN Karol Gustaw, Poland, 1 June 49, France, (1127). German
 2323 LEWICKI Jan, Poland, 1 Sept 49, France, (1205). French
 2324 DARASZ Albert, Poland, 1 Aug 49, France, (1217). French
 2325 WORCELL Stanisław, Information as above, (1218). French
 2726 SAWICKI Jan, Poland, 13 Dec 49, France, (1560). French

HO-2-184. London 1 — 1000

- 2327 GRZESZKOWSKI Jan, Cook, Russia, 24 Jan 49, Hambro, (Countess of Lonsdale), 1st. (86).
 2328 TYSZKIEWICZ Count Wincenty, Poland, 10 Feb 49, Ostend (Triton), Left two years, (135). —
 2329 WOYCOWICZ Piotr, Sailor, (Illiterate), Austria, 16 Apr 49, Hambro (Countess Lonsdale), Left seven years, (460). —
 2330 SCHWARZ Fabian, Poland, 30 Apr 49, Tinman, Hambro (Venezuela), Left three years, (603). —
 2331 MENDELSON Rose and two daughters: Esther sixteen years and twelve, Poland, 4 May 49, Hambro, (Minde), 1st. Ar-val, (654-6). —

- 2332 SHAJE Hermann and KAMER Salomon and wife, Shoemakers, Pruss. Poland, 14 May 49, Hamburg (Pce Royal), (811-13). —
- 2333 BARNETT Isaac, Merchant, Poland, 14 May 49, Hamburg (Pce Royal), Left five weeks, (819). —
- 2334 JASTRZEMBSKI Feliks, Belgium, Piano manufacturer, Ostend, (Sir Edward Banks), Left March 1848, (862). —
- 2335 KUSCH Löbel and Daughter Henrietta, Merchant, Russ.-Poland, 25 May 49, Hamburg (Wilberforce), 1st, (905-6). —
- 2336 FRANKELIŃSKI Hyman (sign. in Hebrew), Russia, 25 May 49, Glassblower, Hamburgh (Wilberforce), Left nine months, (907). —
- 2337 BRIN Mier Liske, Dealer, Poland, 25 May 49, Hambro (Wilberforce), 1st., (914). —
- 2338 ACHTZENER Raphal, Capmaker, Pruss. Poland, Inf. as above, (915). —
- 2339 DANZIGER Jakub, Tailor, Inf. as above, (917). —
- 2340 ENGELMANN Józef, Saddler, Inf as above, Left eight Months, (918).
- 2341 GIBER Jakub Hirsch, Dealer, Inf. as above, 1st (919).
- 2342 GEMBITZER Jakub, Pruss. Poland, 25 May 49, Tailor, Hambro (Wilberforce), 1st. (924).
- 2343 WARTSCHI Szymon and his Sister Marianna, Merchant, Russ. Poland, 25 May 49, Hambro (Wilberforce), 1st., (925-6). —
- 2344 HABENSTOCK Hyam, Poland, Dealer, (sign in Hebrew), 35 May 49, Hambro (Wilberforce), Left two months, (927). —
- 2345 WAKS Jakub, wife, brother Hirsch, and MÜLLER Lew Soda, tin worker, Russ. Poland, 25 May 49, (sign. in Hebrew), Hambro (Wilberforce), 1st.
- 2346 LEWIN Benjamin, Tailor, Russ.-Poland, 25 May 49, Hambro (Wilberforce), 1st.
- 2347 BRAUN Koppel, Poland, Inf. as above, (932).
- 2348 PLASSLER Abraham and wife, Pruss. Poland, Smith, Inf. as above, (934-5).
- 2349 MUGDAN Zachariasz, Poland, Capmaker, Inf. as above, (936).
- 2350 GERSON Ernistina, Pruss. Poland, Inf. as above, (237).
- 2351 GRÜNBAUM Dawid, Russ. Poland, Tailor, Inf. as above, (939).
- 2352 LUFTIK Józef, Tailor and SCHNZER Dawid, Glazier, Poland, 1 June 49, Hamburg (Trident), 1st. 989-990).
- 2353 HEMES Albert, Tailor, Poland, Inf. as above, (992).
- 2354 WRONKE STRASBURGER Rika, (Female), Poland, Inf. as above, (993).
- 2355 HENKE Fryderyk, Bookbinder, Inf. as above, (994).
- 2356 ITZIG Levin Rafael, Dealer, Inf. as above, (996).
- 2357 LIND Wolf, Merchant, Inf. as above, (1000).

HO-2-185. London 1001-2000

- 2358 FROMBERG Baruch, wife Elke and GRAF Jakub with wife and daughter, Dealers, Poland, 4 June 49, Hambro (Prince Royal), 1st. (1040-44).
- 2359 KOMISZEWSKI Jan Erazm (manufacturer) and ŻUKOWSKA Anna and three children and
- 2360 OPITZ Aleksander, ACHENERT (?) Ludwik and Lady, Poland, 8 June 49, Hambro (Caledonia), 1st. (1087-91).
- 2361 SCHEWEL Salomon Mojżesz, Painter, Poland, 18 June 49, Hambro (Caledonia), 1st. (1105).

- 2362 KORKOWICZ Abraham, Tailor and wife and LUX Józef, baker „aus Konin“, Germany, 18 June 49, Hambro (Caledonia), 1st., (1112-14).
- 2363 OLSZEWSKI Andrzej PRUS-, Gentleman, Prussia, 9 49, Ostend, (Triton), Left thre weeks, (1116). —
- 2364 KASZIELORANSKI Aron, (Illiterate), Ropemaker, Poland, 15 June, 49, Hambro (Wilberforce), 1st., (1177). —
- 2365 LEVIEŃ Hirsch, Dealer, (sign. in Hebrew), Inf. as above, (1178). —
- 2366 LÖYN Serafina (female), Inf. as above, (1178). —
- 2367 WULFOWICZ Berek, Shoemaker, (Illiterate), Inf. as above, (1180). —
- 2368 GITTEL Abraham, wife and two children, Poland, (Illiterate), 18 June 49, Hambro (Trident), (1222-5). —
- 2369 MIDER Adam, Furrier, (Illiterate), Poland, 22 June 49, Hambro (Countess of Lonsdale), 1st., (1266). —
- 2370 KALISHER Salomon Hirsh, Furrier, KASPER Ernestine (female), Poland, 22 June, Hambro (Countess of Lonsdale), 1st., (1269-70). —
- 2371 LICHTENBERG Micha, Poland, 22 June 49, (Illiterate), Hambro (Countess of Lonsdale), 1st., (1279). —
- 2372 TELPE Zenon, Dealer, Poland, 22 June 49, Hambro (Countess of Lonsdale), 1st., (1280).
- 2373 STERNBERGER Leon, Singer, Poland, 29 June 49) Hambro (Caledonia), (1352). —
- 2374 DREYSOHN Emanuel, Watchmaker, Inf. as above, (1359).
- 2375 ZUBRZYCKI Tomasz, Priest, Austria, 14 July 49, Ostend (Triton), 1st., (1409). —
- 2376 SOKOLSKI Haim and Wife and EGSTEIN Abel, Dealers, Poland, 16 July 49, Hambro (Princess Royal), 1st., (1447-9). —
- 2377 JASTRZEBSKI Feliks, Pianoforte Manufacturer, Belgium, 18 July 49, Ostend (Sir E. Banks), Left fifteen days, (140). —
- 2378 LACHS Samuel, Merchant, Pruss. Poland, 20 July 49, Hamburg (Caledonia), Left two months, (1498). —
- 2379 ORANCZ Lazier, Merchant (Illiterate), Galicia, 20 July 49, Hamburg (Caledonia), 1st., (1501).
- 2380 BROCKI Moses, Shopman, Poland, Inf. as above, 1502). —
- 2381 ROBINSON Hertz, Dealer, Galicia, Inf. as above, (1503). —
- 2382 WAYTZ Jakub and wife, Dealer, Inf. as above, (1504-5). —
- 2383 LUBRANIECKI Juliusz, Butcher, Inf. as above, (1506). —
- 2384 WALECH Piotr, Lace maker, (Illiterate), Inf. as above, (1509). —
- 2385 KAIZER Samuel, Lace maker, Inf. as above, (1510). —
- 2386 JAKABOWSKI Berek, Furrier, Inf. as above, (1515). —
- 2387 BINKOWSKI (?) Zygmunt, Clerk, Inf. as above, (1525). —
- 2388 MICHALA Abraham, Dealer, Pruss. Poland, 23 July 49, Hamburg (Trident), 1st., (1525).
- 2389 KATTNER Boruch and SCHWARZMANN Hirsch (Both illiterate), Cutlers, Inf. as above, (1527-8).
- 2390 KREUTZMANN Jont (?), Glove maker and KINSTLER Marcus, Sadler (Illiterate), Inf. as above, 1529-30). —
- 2391 WIDKOWSKI Moritz, (Illiterate), Tailor, Pruss. Poland, Inf. as above,)1531). —
- 2392 LUDWIG Ludwik, Schoemaker, Inf. as above, (1532). —
- 2393 GUTTIS Benjamin, (Illiterate), Dealer, 27 July 49, Hamburg (John Bull), 1st., (1567). —
- 2394 LEIL Józef, Inf. as above, (1568). —
- 2395 BENDERSON Ester, Inf. as above, (1569). —

- 2396 BENDERSON Sara, Inf. as above, (1570). —
 2397 BRANDOWSKI Salomon, Inf. as above, (1572). —
 2398 MARCUS Marcus, (Sign. in Hebrew), Inf. as above, (1573). —
 2399 ROSENBAUM Anna, Inf. as above, (1574). —
 2400 EFRYM Gittel, Inf. as above, (1575). —
 2401 PEHR Leon, Cutler, Galicia, Inf. as above, (1584). —
 2402 LESZCZYŃSKI Ludwik, Student, Posen, Inf. as above, (1585). —
 2403 ITSIE Herman (Sign. in Hebrew), his mother, sister and sister-in-law, Bookbinder, Poland, 3 Aug 49, Hamburg (Countess of Lonsdale), 1st., (1694-7). —
 2404 KIERBLEWSKI Nikodem, Dealer, Inf. as above, (1700). —
 2405 RAJNICKI Józef, Inf. as above, (1701). —
 2406 RAJNICKI Aloizy, Inf. as above, (1702). —
 2407 SAMUL Suse, Workwoman, Poland, 7 Aug 49, Hamburg (Princess Royal), (1722). —
 2408 GUTEWSKI Marek Melis (Illiterate), Shoemaker, Inf. as above, (1723). —
 2409 KOWTZKI Apolinary de, Artist, Poland, 29 Aug 49, Ostend (Sir E. Banks), Left two months, (1918). —
 2410 WOLOWSKI Aleksander, LETMAIRE Aleksander, LEPROVEST Louis, Gentlemen, France, 5 Sept 49, Ostend (Sir E. Banks), Left two months, (1986-8). —

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- 2411 GAJEWSKI Ernest de, Traveler, Prussia, 10 Sept 49, Havre (William Jolliffe), Left fourteen days, (2014). —
 2412 LAIVI Marcus, Russ. Poland, Tailor, 14 Sept 49, Hamburg (Caledonia), 1st, (2059). —
 2413 MUND Gete, female, Posen (Pruss.), 17 Sept 49, Hamburg (John Bull), 1st, (2086). —
 2414 WINNICKI Feliks, Dr. Med., Hungary, 24 Sept 49, Hamburg (Princess Royal) 1st, (2124). —
 2415 WIELENSKI Jan, Poland, Apothecary, 1 Oct 49, Hamburg (John Bull), (2198). —
 2416 LEWONIEWSKI Antoni, Poland, Teacher of Gymnastics, 4 Oct 49, Mend, (Margareta-Luiza), 1st., (2237). —
 2417 LASKI Aleksander, Poland, Banker, 6 Oct 49, Ostend (Triton), Left in 1845, (2251). —
 2418 DEMBKOWSKI Piotr, servant of above, Inf. as above, 1st., (2152). —
 2419 FIJEWSKI Ksawery, Poland, Refugée, 15 Oct 49, Antwerp (Soho), 1st., (2310). —
 2420 GOLDBERG Berta W., female, Poland, 19 Oct 49, Hamburg (Countess Lonsdale), 1st. (2377). —
 2421 FIAŁKOWSKI Aleksander, Gent., Poland, 22 Oct 49, Havre (William Jolliffe), 1st., (2394). —
 2422 TEDWEN Józef, Military Refugée, Poland, 29 Oct 49, Hambro (John Bull), Left in one Year, (2448). —
 2423 KRAUS David (of Warschau), Merchant, (Sign. in Hebrew), Poland, 17 Dec 49, Rotterdam (Apollo), 1st., —

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HO-2-187. Various Ports A-Z). All entries from Margate - Ramsgate

- 2424 JAKUBOWSKI, Catholic Priest, Poland, 1 July 50, Bordeaux, (2).
French
2425 WYSOCKI, Poland, 18 July 50, Boulogne, (25). No
2426 WOLICKI Konstanty, Poland, 18 Aug 50, Belgium, (61). Russian
2427 SCVARTIANOFF Madame, Poland, 14 Sept 50, Ostend, (87). Belgian
2428 SATTLER Madame de, 14 Sept 50, Poland, Ostend, (88). „Pologne“
2429 BRZEZIŃSKI, Poland, 15 Sept 50, Ostend, (91). Polish
2430 BERSKI, Poland, 25 Sept 50, Ostend, (94). No
2431 JACKOWSKI St., Poland, 25 Sept 50, Ostend, (95). No
2432 DEMBOWSKI, Poland, 25 Sept 50, Ostend, (96). No
2433 TAJKIEL Fr., Poland, 25 Sept 50, Ostend, (97). No
2434 JACKOWSKI, Poland, 22 Sept 50, Ostend, (97). No
2435 SOKOŁOWSKI, Poland, 22 Sept 50, Ostend, (99). No

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- 2436 BORKOWSKI Jan, Military Refugée, 24 Jan 50, Poland, France, (182). —
2436 KRAJEWSKI Adam, Inf. as above, (183). —
2437 BOROWSKI Ignacy, 28 Jan 50, Inf. as above, (200). —
2438 KRAJEWSKI Adam, 6 March 50, Inf. as above, Belgium, (372). —
2439 PRONIKOWSKI (or: BRONIKOWSKI?) Otto, Gentleman, Germany, 8 Apr 50, Ostend, (619). Pruss.
2440 POLAK Teodor, Merchant, 13 Apr 50, France, Calais, (683). French
2441 CIELECKI, Leopold ZAREMBA-, Gentleman, 10 Apr 50, Austria, Calais, (732). Austr.
2442 ZAWADZKI Marcin, Gentleman, 16 Apr 50, Austria, Calais, (739). Austr.
2443 KOZŁOWSKI Leopold, Musician, 22 Apr 50, France, Calais (Princess Maude), (823).

HO-2-189. Dover 1001 — 1500

- 2444 CZARTORYSKI, Prince Władysław, Poland, 13 May 50, Calais (Princess Maude), (1107). French
2445 RABAZEWICZ Paweł, Poland, 20 May 50, Calais (Princess Maude), (1234). Polish

HO-2-190. Dover 1501 — 2000

- 2446 WYSOCKI Nikodem, Poland, 16 June 50, Calais (Vevid), (1664). Polish
2447 KIERZKOWSKI Ferdynand von, Prussia, 23 June 50, Calais (Undine), (1751). Pruss.
2448 BADEWITZ Gouliel (Gabriel?) Fryderyk, Prussia, 24 June 50, Ostend (Ville d'Ostend), (1772). Pruss.
2449 BADEWITZ Herman, Inf. as above, (1773). Pruss.
2450 SUCHORZEWSKI, Le General Thadee (Tadeusz), Poland, 1 July 50, Calais, (1874). French
2451 ZAMOYSKI Count Konstanty and daughter, Poland, 6 July 50, Calais, (1964-5). French

HO-2-191. Dover 2001 — 3500 (after no. 2099 na 3000 of segg.)

- 2452 BARBICZ Piotr, Germany, 10 July 50, Calais, (2021). German
2453 KOSCHETZKY Heinrich, Prussia, 12 July 50, Ostend, (2022). Pruss.
2454 POLAK Teodor and Wife, France, 20 July 50, Calais, (3082-3).
 French
2455 MICHALOWITZ Jan Maurycy Ferdynnad, Prussia, 23 July 50, Ca-
 lais, (3123). Pruss.
2456 KASELWSKY Ferdynand, Prussia, 25 July 50, Ostend, (3145).
 Pruss.
2457 ŁUCZYŃSKI Count Napoleon, Austria, 26 July 50, Ostend, (3164).
 Austr.
2458 SOSNOWSKI Ludwik and wife, Poland, 7 Aug 50, Calevais, (3508-9).
 Polish
2459 ILNICKI Antoni, Poland, 11 Aug 50, Calais, (3448). Polish
2460 KORSBOWSKY Paweł, Russia, 13 Aug 50, Calais, (3471). Russ.

HO-2-192. Dover 3501 — 4200

- 2461 KHONSKIJ Stanisław V., Russia, 16 Aug 50, Ostend, (3505). Russian
2462 REMBIELIŃSKI Aleksander and wife, Poland, 19 Aug 50, Calais,
 (3548-9). Polish
2463 HELTMA(SIN) Wiktor, Poland, 21 Aug 50, Ostend, (3575). French
2464 CZARTORYSKI Prince Witold, Poland, 29 Aug 50, Calais, (3697).
 Polish
2465 CYPRYSIŃSKI Antoni, Russia, 29 Aug 50, Calais, (3698). Russian
2466 WASKOWSKI Karol, Poland, 6 Sept 50, Calais, (3814. French
2467 RULIKOWSKI Ludwik, Germany, 9 Sept 50, Ostend, (3860). German
2468 NIEPOKOJCZYCKI Benedykt, Russia, 9 Sept 50, Ostend, (3863).
 Russian
2569 RYCHŁOWSKI Stanisław, Poland, 14 Sept 50, Calais, (3929). Russ.
2470 KOLBERG Witold, Poland, 14 Sept 50, Calais, (3930). Russ.
2471 KORZENIOWSKI Józef and wife, 18 Sept 50, Calais, 3982-3). Russ.
2472 SCHLOSSER Henryk, Poland, 6 Oct 50, Ostend (Belg.), (4194). Russ.

HO-2-193. Dover 4201 — 4968

- 2473 KŁAPACKI Polikarp, Poland, 9 Oct 50, France (Calais), (4213).
 French
2474 LUBLIŃSKI Robert, Poland, 11 Oct 50, Calais, (4247). No
2475 TRZOSKOWSKI Jan, Poland, 14 Oct 50, Calais, (4269), French
2476 LEBITZKY Józef, Austria, 19 Oct 50, Calais, (4307). Austrian
2477 LEBITZKY Wilhelm, Inf. as above, (4308). Austr.
2478 LEBITZKY August, Inf. as above, (4309). Austr.
2479 WOLFF Roman, Russ. Poland, 22 Nov 50, Ostend, (4612). French
2480 RAFAŁOWICZ Jakub, Poland, 20 Dec 50, Calais, (4960). French
2481 ZAMOYSKI Count Konstanty, Poland, 30 Dec 50, Calais, (4960).
 French

HO-2-194. Folkestone 1 — 800

- 2482 HOLTORP Hero, Poland, 24 Jan 50, France. (30). French
2483 ZAMOYSKI Count Konstanty, daughter and servant, 9 Apr 50,)130-2).
 French

HO-2-195. London 1 — 500

- 2484 ZABIESKY Gustaw Adolf von, Merchant, Germany, 12 Jan 50, Ostend (Triton), Left five weeks, (25). —
2485 SCHMIDEBERG Józef, Merchant, Poland, 26 Jan 50, Ostend (Triton), 1st., (49). —
2486 ŻABA Adam, Refugée and Teacher, Poland, 4 March 50, Dunkirk (City of Rotterdam), Left in 1844, (199). French
2487 HLADYSCH Eliasz, Furrier, Poland, 14 March 50, Rotterdam (Batavier), 1st., (257).
2488 KALISCH Beniamin, Dealer, Russ.Poland, 25 March 50, Hamburg (John Bull), 1st., (377). —
2489 PALZ Vendel Lewis, Furrier, Poland, 3 Apr 50, Rotterdam (Batavier), 1st., (438). —
2490 FALCZEWSKI Karol, Soldier (Refugée) Poland, 4 Apr 50, Havre (Wm Jolliffe), 1st., 460. —
2491 KORNSTEIN Bernard, Servant (Refugée), Poland, 4 Apr 50, Havre (Wm Jolliffe), 1st., (466). —
2492 BORYSEWICZ Tomasz, Smith (Refugée), Inf. as above, (467). —
2493 WILCZYŃSKI Max, Tailor, Inf. as above, (468). —
2494 LUCAS Wilhelm, Cooper, Inf. as above, but: Pruss.Poland, (469). —
2495 SARANSKI Jerzy, Shoemaker, Inf. as above, but: Hungary, (470). — (470). —
2496 SKROBACZEK Michał, Tailor, Inf. as above, but: Poland, (476). —
2497 DROZDOWSKI Stanisław, Military (Refugée), Inf as above, (477). —
2498 MALARZ Walenty, Inf. as above, (478). —
2499 KOMOROWSKI Aleksander, Apothecary (Refugee), Inf. as above, (479). —
2500 FOGELSKI Maurycy, Military (Refugee), Inf. as above, (482). —
2501 KONSKI August, Inf. as above, (483). —
2502 BLENDOWSKI (sign.: BŁADOWSKI), Military instructor, Poland, Inf. as above, (485).

HO-2-196. London 501 — 1000

- 2503 MICKIEWICZ Andrzej, Military Refugee, Poland, 8 Apr 50, Havre (Harlequin), 1st., (535). —
2504 LENICKI Michał, Inf. as above, (539). —
2505 BRONTAYAL Dawid, Brushmaker, Refugee, Inf. as above, (540). —
2506 FRANZ Józef (sign.: Franz Joseph), Military Refugee, Inf. as above, (541). —
2507 KAPITAŃSKI Antoni, Inf. as above, (542). —
2508 SWANDROWSKI Napoleon, Inf. as above, (545). —
2509 GRISCHIŃSKI Robert, Inf. as above, (546). —
2510 BĘTKOWSKI Julian, Inf. as above, (547). —
2511 LEWANDOWSKI Aleksander, Inf. as above, (548). —
2512 FREUNETT (or: TREUNETT) Franciszek, Inf. as above, (549). —
2513 RICHTER Karol, Inf. as above, (551). —
2514 WASZKOWSKI Konstanty, Cabinet Maker (Refugee), Poland, 11 Apr 50, Havre (Venezuela), 1st., (575). —
2515 NOWICKI Józef, Gilder (Refugee), Inf. as above, (576). —
2516 ISAACS Bernard, Clothes dealer, Poland, 12 Apr 50, Hamburg (John Bull), Left one week, (605). —
2517 KREŃSKI Sebastian, Military (Refugee), 15 Apr 50, Havre (Harlequin), 1st., (616). —
2518 SKUPIŃSKI Błażej, Smith, (Refugee), Inf. as above, (619). —
2519 CZARNOMSKI Kazimierz, Sub. Lieut., Inf. as above, (620). —
2520 LEWANDOWSKI Jan, Military, Inf. as above, (622). —

- 2521 SKUPIŃSKI Błażej (see: no. 619), Inf. as above, (622). —
- 2522 SCHADE Ludwik, Baker, (Refugee), Poland, 18 Apr 50, Havre (Venezuela), (686). —
- 2523 BILINSKI Antoni, Soldier, (Refugee), Poland, Inf. as above, (699). —
- 2524 GOSZTOWTT Adolf, Employé, (Refugee), Lithuania, 29 Apr 50, Havre (Venezuela), 1st., (800). —
- 2525 GRZYBOWSKI Brunon, Student, (Refugee), Poland, Inf. as above, (801). —
- 2526 PAWLICKOWSKI Tomasz, Inf. as above, (802). —
- 2827 KRAJEWSKI Karol, Inf. as above, (803). —
- 2528 BANDROWSKI Antoni, Inf. as above, (804). —
- 2529 MACKIEWICZ Ludwik, Military Officer, (Refugee), Poland, 2 May 50, Havre (Wm Jolliffe), 1st., (838). —
- 2530 LOWENSTAIN Henryk, Merchant, Poland, 2 May 50, Rotterdam (Rainbow), Left six weeks, (853). —
- 2531 SCHILSKY Ludwik, Tailor, Prussia, 3 May 50, Hamburg (Wilberforce), 1st., (858). —
- 2532 GOLDWASER Józef, Tailor, Poland, Inf. as above, (864). —
- 2533 PRZEŁDZIECKI Aloizy, Military Officer and Wife, Poland, 6 May 50, Hamburg, (Thames), 1st., (870-1). —
- 2534 WILKONSKI Kazimierz von, Merchant clerk, Poland, 13 May 50, Hamburg (Princess Royal), Left six months, ((964). —
- 2535 WAGNER Wincenty, Soldier (Refugee), Poland, 13 May 50, Havre (Venezuela), 1st., (967). —
- 2536 KROPINSKI Gustaw, Military Officer, (Refugee), Inf. as above, (971). —
- 2537 AGART Julian, Confectioner, Inf. as above, (972). —
- 2538 JERZMANOWSKI Feliks, Gentleman, (Refugee), Inf. as above, (973). —

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- 2539 DRAZEWSKI Józef, Military Officer, (Refugee), Poland, 20 May 50, Havre (Venezuela), (1049). —
- 2540 ADAMOWICZ Adam, Clerk, (Refugee), Poland, 20 May 50, Memel (Henrietta), 1st., (1056). —
- 2541 MAŃKOWSKY Fryderyk von, Attorney, Hessen, 22 May 50, Ostend (Sir E. Banks), Left one and a half year, (1066). —
- 2542 FELDMANN Nathan (Sign. in Hebrew), Dealer, Poland, 24 May 50, Hamburg (Countess of Lonsdale), 1st., (1105). —
- 2543 KRYŁOWSKY (Sign: KRYŁOSKI) Józef, Cooper, (Refugee), Poland, 29 May 50, Havre (Venezuela), 1st., (1122). —
- 2544 SUKOWSKY Krystyn, Secretary, Prussia, 3 June 50, Rotterdam (Rainbow), 1st., (1235). —
- 2545 SCHERMAN Julian, Gentl'n, Poland, 10 June 50, Hamburg (Countess of Lonsdale) 1st., (1310). —
- 2546 WALCKIEWICZ Dominik (Sign: WALKIEWICZ Jan), Tailor, (Refugee), Poland, 10 June 50, Havre (Venezuela), 1st., (1315). —
- 2547 SIENKOWSKI Wincenty, Gentl., Inf. as above, (1316). —
- 2548 GRABSKI Julian, Milit. Inf. as above, (1317). —
- 2549 JOLLIS Marcus, Merchant, Galicia, 20 June 50, Rotterdam (Rhine), Left six months, (1450). —
- 2550 WARSHAWSKIE Janetta, Lady, Poland, 24 June 50, Hamburg (Countess of L.), 1st., (1494). —

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- 2551 JANKOWSKI Rudolf, Coppersmith (Refugee), Poland, 24 June 50, Havre (Venezuela), 1st., (1505). —
2552 BANDER (or: BANDEL) Piotr, Baker (Refugee), Poland, 11 July 50, Havre (Wm Jolliffe), 1st., (1669). —
2553 BERGER Renata, Female, Shopkeeper, Russ. Poland, 12 July 50, Hambro (Countess of Lonsdale), 1st., 1685). —
2554 FLOCK Katarzyna, Lady, Poland, Inf. as above, (1692). —
2555 LASAR Józef, Tailor (Refugee), Poland, 25 July 50, Havre (Wm Jolliffe), 1st., 1848). —
2556 BIELKE Karol Józef (and Wife), Professor, Poland, 26 July 50, Boulogne (Emerald), 1st., (1891-2). —

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- 2557 MOKRZECKI Edward, Military Officer, (Refugee), Hungary, 2 Sept 50, Antwerp (Soho), 1st., (2255). —
2558 KOŻUCHOWSKI Edward, Gentleman, Prussia, 4 Sept. 50, Ostend (Sir E. Banks), 1st., 2264). —
2559 RULIKOWSKI Count Henryk, Gentl., Poland, 11 Sept 50, Inf. as above, (2336). —
2560 UNRUG Zofia and URBAŃSKA Maria, Ladies, Prussia, Inf. as above, (2337-8). —
2561 DOMASZEWSKI Wiktor, Military, Austria, 12 Sept. 50, Antwerp (Antwerpent), 1st., (2384). —
2562 KUROWSKI Józef, Tailor, Poland, 13 Sept 50, Hambro (John Bull), 1st., (2353). —
2563 PENNINZKI Hymen, Tailor (Illiterate), Poland, 16 Sept 50, Hambro (Princess Royal), 1st., (2374). —
2564 KALISCH Ludwik, Tradesman, Prussia, Inf. as above, Left three years, 2375). —
2565 PONGOSKY Michał, Employé-shoemaker, Poland, 21 Sept 50, Ostend (Triton), 1st., (2414). —
2566 SCHWEDERSKY Tomasz Henryk, Merchant, Prussia, 23 Sept 50. Hamburg (Caledonia), 1st., (2425).
2567 FRANKENSTEIN Schaie, wife and child, Dealer and Tailor, Pruss.-Poland, 27 Sept 50, Hamburg (John Bull), 1st.
2568 HALPERT Maurycy, Gent., Poland, 28 Sept 50, Ostend (Triton), 1st., (2491). —
2569 POPOWSKI Hieronim Władysław, Poland, Mechanic, 30 Sept 50, Havre (Venezuela), 1st., (2497). —

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- 2570 JACKOWSKI Teodor, Engineer, Poland, 7 Oct 50, Havre (Venezuela), 1st., (2523). —
2571 SZWEDE Władysław, Poland, Inf. as above, (2524). —
2572 SEMENEŃKO Piotr, Ecclesiastic, Poland, 12 Oct 50, Ostend (Triton), 1st., (2593). —
2573 MULLER Leopold Fryderyk, Teacher of Languages, Inf. as above, Left three months, (2594). —
2574 STARZEŃSKI Count, Poland, 16 Oct 50, Ostend (Sir E. Banks), 1st., (2631-2). —

- 2575 MERSBECH Karol Bolesław, Merchant, Prussia, 19 Oct 50, Ostend (Triton), Left ten days, (26603). —
 2576 BORUNSKI Józef, Carpenter, Germany, Inf. as above, Left four months, (2665). —
 2577 HOHENSTOCH Rebecca, the wife of a merchant, Poland, 25 Oct 50, Hamburg (John Bull), 1st., (2767). —
 2578 KIERELEWSKI Nikodem, "Military Emigrant", Hungary, 28 Oct 50, Hamburg (Ocean), 1st., (2791). —
 2579 LESZCZYŃSKI Salomon, Merchant, Prussia, 5 Nov 50, Hamburg (Caledonia), 1st., (2846). —
 2580 WARSZEWICZ Józef de, Naturalist, Berlin, Inf. as above, Left eight years. (2848).
 2581 KOZŁOWSKI Jan, Chemist (Refugee), Poland, 7 Nov 50, Havre (Wm Jolliffe), 1st., (2880). —
 2582 LIPIŃSKI Jan, Melter or Soapboiler, Inf. as above, (2882). —
 2583 WOŁOWSKI Count Zygmunt M.A., Pianist, Poland, 15 Nov 50, Havre (Wm Jolliffe), (2928). —
 2584 BELINA Michał, with wife, Bookbinder, Cracow, 7 Dec 50, Ostend (Triton), Left seven years, (3071-2). —
 2685 WYSOCKI Jan, Student (Refugee), Poland, 9 Dec 50, Havre (Columbina), Left four months, (3083). —
 2586 KORYTOWSKI Markus, Tailor, Poland, 28 Dec 50, Hambro (Princess Royal), 1st., (3172). —
 2587 KAFTAŃSKI Adolf (Illiterate), Tailor, Inf. as above, (3173). —

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HO-2-201. Various Ports A-Z

(All arrivals in this volume from Hamburg to Hull, except the last one). Numbers of these documents are missing, except the last one).

- 2588 STENBERG Rose, Poland, 4 July 51. (Britanica), No
 2589 HENIER (?) Helena, Inf. as above, No
 2590 ZIEMECKI Ignacy, Inf. as above, No
 2591 KARGE Franz, Inf. as above, No.
 2592 TERPUCKI Daniel, Prussia, Inf. as above, No
 2593 KACZYŃSKI Aron, Inf. as above, No
 2594 MAŃKIEWICZ Jakub, Prussia, 9 July 51, (Archimedes), Pruss.
 2595 TARGOWICH G. N., (Sign. in Hebrew), Pole, 16 July 51, (Hammonia), Pruss.
 2596 ROTHOLTZ G., (Sign. in Hebrew), Pole, Inf. as above, Pruss.
 2597 KYWNISEWSKI January (In signature: Janusz), Pole, Inf. as above, Pruss.
 2598 MULLER H., Pole, 18 July 51, (Leipzig), —
 2599 LEVINSTEIN Isaac, Inf. as above, Pruss.
 2600 PATCHKOWSKI Izrael (Illiterate), Russia, 19 July 51, —
 2601 BARCZYŃSKI Samuel, Inf. as above, Russ.
 2602 GRONOWSKI Samuel, Inf. as above, Russ.
 2603 LULOWSKI Bernhard, (Illiterate), 26 July 51, Inf. as above, Russ.
 2604 GABRYLEWICZ Faustyn, Prussia and 144 emigrants to USA, all Germans, 18 Aug 51.
 2605 LAPINSKI Noach, Russ., 27 Aug 51, (Britania) —
 2606 LAPINSKI L. F., Russ., 18 Aug 51, —
 2607 ABRAHAMS S., Poland, 20 Oct 51, (Britania) —
 2608 MOSS John, Poland, 21 Oct 51, (Transit ?) —
 2609 LACKMAN Izidor, Poland, 21 Oct 51 (Hammonia) —

- 2610 WERWACKI M., Pruss.Poland, 2 Sept 51, (Archimedes) —
 2611 LICHT, Inf. as above, —
 2612 NEUMAN M., Inf. as above, —
 2613 SCHMUL M., Russ. Poland, Inf. as above, —
 2614 GLASER K., Poland, 5 Sept 51 (Britania), —
 2615 LUBLIŃSKI Mojżesz, Pruss., 9 Sept 51 (Hammonia), —
 2616 KISZKOWSKI Izidor, (Illiterate), Inf. as above, Pruss.
 1617 KAUFMAN Ludwik, Pole, 13 Sept 51, (Marsval ?), —
 2618 MOELLER Leopold, Inf. as above, —
 2619 HERMANN, Inf. as above, —
 2620 BOGPANSKI, Poland, 11 Oct 51, (Marsval ?), —
 2621 STOCZEWSKI Franz and six other German emigrants (for Liver-
 verpool and America), 17 Oct 51 (Britania). —
 2622 GITKOWSKI M., Pruss., 1 Dec 51, (Helen McGregor), Pruss.
 2623 WILEŃSKI J. W., Poland, 5 Dec 51, (Leipzig), Russ.
 2624 ŻYCHLIŃSKI Ryszard, Proprietor, Dresden 2 Aug 51, Arrived from
 Dieppe to Newhaven, (129).

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- 2625 PLATER Count Konstanty, France, 3 Jan 51, France (Calais), (15).
 French
 2626 FELIŃSKI Feliks, Inf. as above, (16). No
 2627 BRZOZOWSKI Zenon, Poland, Inf. as above, (17). No
 2628 KARCZEWSKI Ignacy, Inf. as above, (18). No
 2629 BUCZACKI Stefan, Capitaine Polonais, Poland, 11 Feb 51, Calais,
 (298). No
 2630 ŻEBROWSKI Tadeusz, Poland, 2 March 51, Calais, (508). No
 2631 SZUMSKI Karol and 24 "Travellery Musicians", Poland, 9 March 51,
 Calais (624-49). French
 2632 TREMBICKI Leon Albin, France, 28 March 51, Calais, French

HO-2-203. Dover 1001 — 1500

- 2633 OBOZIŃSKI Ferdynand, Belgium, 9 Apr 51, Calais. (1068). Belgian
 2634 PORECKI Aleksander, Poland, 10 Apr 51 Calais, (1076). French

HO-2-204. Dover 1501 — 2000

- 2635 PONIATOWSKI Cezar, Russia, 2 May 51, Calais, (1661-2). Russian
 2636 PONIATOWSKI August, Inf. as above, (1663). Russian
 2637 MISCHELSKY Mikołaj (Sign.: MICHETSKY), Russia, 7 May 51,
 Calais, (1781). Russ.
 2638 WOLOWSKI Ludwik, France, 7 May 51, Calais, (1870). French

HO-2-205. Dover 2001 — 2500

- 2639 ZAMOYSKI Władysław, France, 15 May 51, Calais, (2013). French
 2640 ZAMOYSKI August, Poland, 15 May, Calais, (2015). Polish
 2641 HOVSWALDE Jan G. H., Poland, 16 may 51, Ostend, (2028). —
 2642 ISOKIERSCHKY Hugo, Prussia, 26 May 51, Calais, (2367). —
 2643 NOWINSKY Włodzimierz, Russia, 26 May 51, Ostend, (2373). Rus-
 sian
 2644 CZARNECKI Jan Jakub, Prussia, 27 May 51, Ostend, (2405). Prus-
 sian
 2645 GOTOWIZNA Berek, Russia, 30 May 51, Ostend, (2495). Russ.
 2646 PUCHALSKI Edward, Germany, 30 May 51, Calais, (2499). German

HO-2-206. Dover 2501 — 3500

- 2647 PASKIEWITSCH Jan, Russia, 6 June 51, Calais, (2836). Russ.
2648 KARŁOWSKI Zygmunt, Hungary, 9 June 51, Ostend, (2424). Hung.
2649 WYSOCKI Ignacy, Prussia, 12 June 51, Calais, (3032). Pruss
2650 PRAWDZICKI Jakub, Inf. as above, (3033). Pruss.
2651 PLATER Comte de, Russia, 14 June 51, Calais, (3100). Russ.
2652 WILCZYŃSKI Karol, Prussia, 17 June 51, Calais, (3233). Pruss

HO-2-207. Dover 3501 — 4500

- 2653 BRANDES Israel, Poland, 30 June 51, Calais, (3632). Russ.
2654 LESSER Zygmunt, Poland, 30 June 51, Calais, (3633). Russ.
2655 BRZOZOWSKI Franciszek (?), Austria, 2 July 51, Calais, (3796).
Austr.
2656 WOŁOWSKI Józef, Poland, 8 July 51, Calais, (4051). French
2657 MAŃKOWSKI Fryderyk von, and Wife, 8 July 51, Ostend, (4063).
German
2658 TATARKEWICZ Jakub, Poland, 10 July 51, Calais, (4199). Russian

HO-2-208. Dover 4501 — 5000

- 2659 CYBULSKI Marian, Russia, 10 July 51, Calais, (4504). Pruss.
2660 DEMBLIN Heinrich (Sign.: de COTLENRY de DEMBLIN), Austria, 16 July 51, Calais, (5745 / in fact: 4746). Pruss.
2661 TWARDOWSKI Dobrogostyn, Germany, 21 July 51, Ostend. (5927 /
in fact: 4927). Germ.
2662 LANCKOROŃSKI Count Kazimierz, Austria, 21 July 51, (5942 /
in fact: 4942). Austr.
2663 SZYMAŃSKI Bartłomiej, France, 26 July 51, Calais, (4855). French
2664 WIŚNIEWSKI Antoni, Austria, 28 July 51, Ostend, (4928). Aust.
2665 SZAŁOWSKA Eleonora, Austr., 28 July 51, Ostend, (4929), Austr.
2666 REMBIELIŃSKI Aleksander, Russia, 28 July 51, Ostend, (4956).
Russ.

HO-2-209. Dover 5001 — 6000

- 2667 PIETROWSKI Jan Nepomucyn, Prussia, 30 July 51, Calais, (5050).
Pruss.
2668 SZEMBEK Count Adam, and servant, Poland, 1 Aug 51, Ostend,
(5107-8). Germ.
2669 WITKOWSKI Arnold, Posen, 7 Aug 51, Calais, (5324). Pruss.
2670 BANDKIE-STĘŻYŃSKI and wife, Poland, 10 Aug 51, Calais, (5453).
Russ.
2671 SWIATSKY Le Cer Jan de, Conseilier d'Etat, Russia, 12 Aug 51,
Calais, (5453). Russ.
2672 ŻELEŃSKI Guy de Vilelle (?), Austria, 17 Aug 51, Calais, (5585).
Austr.
2673 RUDNICKI Bronisław von, Austria, 22 Aug 51, Calais, (5702). Austr.
2674 KOSNOWSKI Colonel Comte du TABASE (?), wife and servant,
Poland, 26 Aug 51, Calais, (3771-3). French
2675 KRASNOPOLSKI Izaac, Russia, 27 Aug 51, Calais, (5782). Russ.
2676 LEWITSKY Sergiusz, Russia, 27 Aug 51, Calais, (5789). Russ.

- 2677 KACZYŃSKI Paul, Russia, 1 Sept 51, Calais, (5856). Russ.
 2678 JASIŃSKI Jan, Russia, Inf. as above, (5858). Russ.
 2679 SKORUPKA Leon, Count (Graf), Austria, 1 Sept 51, Calais, (5862).
 Austr.
 2680 ALKIEWICZ Wincenty, Prussia, 2 Sept 51, Ostend, (5879). Pruss.
 2681 NIEMOYIEWSKI Leopold, Germany, 2 Sept, Calais, (5883). Germ.
 2682 LEWIŃSKI Karol, Germany, 5 Sept 51, Calais, (5910). Germ.
 2683 ŁUBIEŃSKI Count Juliusz and wife, Prussia, 6 Sept 51, Calais,
 (5918-9). Pruss.
 2684 KASZLOWSKI Ferdynand, Prussia, 8 Sept 51, Ostend, (5959). Pruss.

HO-2-210. Dover 6001 — 6646

- 2685 CHRAPKIEWICZ Mateusz, Prussia, 15 Sept 51, Calais, (6069). Pruss.
 2686 POTOCKI Stanisław Count, Austria, 15 Sept 51, Ostend, (6078).
 Austr.
 2687 SAPIEHA Adam, Austria, 26 Sept 51, Ostend, (6225). Austr.
 2688 DZIEDUSZYCKI Aleksander, Inf. as above, (6226). Austr.
 2689 DZIEDUSZYCKI Włodzimierz, Inf. as above, (6227). Austr.
 2690 BETKOWSKI Jan, Germany, 3 Oct 51, Calais, (6307). German
 2691 KLYSZYŃSKI Piotr, Pruss. Poland, 3 Oct 51, Calais, (3610). Pruss.
 2693 CZAPSKI Count Józef Napoleon, Pruss. Poland, 3 Oct 51, Calais,
 (6311). Pruss.
 2693 OPOLSKI Ologisino (Sign.: A.), Russia, 7 Oct 51, Calais, (6381).
 Russ.
 2694 STABLEWSKI Elisze, Prussia, 8 Oct 51, Calais, (6402). Russ.
 2695 ZAMOYSKI Count Stanisław, Poland, (Pole), 21 Nov, Calais, (6570).
 Russ.

HO-2-211. Folkestone 1 — 1000

- 2696 MIERECZOWSKI Józef, Poland, 22 March 51, France, (195). No
 2697 SUMMER Henryk, Poland, 24 March 51, France, (197). French
 2698 MOSZYŃSKI P., Austria, (With Mme DOBRAŃSKA), 23 Apr 51,
 France, (422-3). Austr.
 2699 BROŃSKI, Major (?) Count de BRONNO-, Poland, 30 Apr 51,
 France, (549). French
 2700 WIŚNIEWSKI F., Poland, 18 May 51, France, (869). French

HO-2-212. Folkestone 1001 — 2000

- 2701 KIESERITZKY Lionel, Russia, 24 May 51, France, (1067). French
 2702 URBANOWSKI Kazimierz, Poland, 1 June 51, France, (1278).
 French
 2703 POTOCKI Count Adam, with Wife and two Servants, Austria, 11
 June 51, France, (1655-8). Aust.
 2704 BRANICKI Aleksander, and his secretary, Russia, 11 June 51, France,
 (1673-4). Russ.

HO-2-213. Folkestone 2002 — 3000

- 2705 HERSOY Franciszek (Sign.: Emil HIRZOY), with mother and
 cousin, Poland, 19 June 51, France, (2137-9). French

- 2706 CZARTORYSKI Prince Witold, with three Ladies, Poland, 27 June 51, France, (238-9), (3000-1), Sardinia, Sardynian
 2707 WEDRYCHOWSKI Leon, (with wife), France, 5 July 51, France, (2789-90). French
 2708 SOBOLEWSKI Józef (Giuseppe) Count, C..., with servant, 9 July 51, Sardinia, (2981-2). Sardynian

HO-2-214. Folkestone 3001 — 4000

- 2709 KASZYC Józef, France, 13 July 51, France, (3101). French
 2710 MOSCZEŃSKI Count Józef, with Wife and two Servant, Poland, 15 July 51, France, (3255-8). French
 2711 MAŁACHOWSKI Count, France 17 July 51, France, (3424). French
 2712 CHRZANOWSKI Wojciech, Poland, 17 July 51, France, (3455). French
 2713 MORAWSKI Karol Teodor, France, 17 July 51, France, (3438). French
 2714 ŻARCZYŃSKI A., France, 23 July 51, France, (3694). French

HO-2-215. Folkestone 4001 — 5000

- 2715 ŚLAWECKI Wincenty, Poland, 9 Aug 51, France, (4490). French

HO-2-216. Folkestone 5001 — 6000

- 2716 DROHOJOWSKI Count, Austria, 18 Aug 51, France, (5135). Austrian
 2717 ZIENKIEWICZ Wiktor and sister, Poland, 21 Aug 51, France, (5381-2). French
 2718 OLAY Franciszek, Poland, 22 Aug 51, France, (5450). French
 2719 PIRONOWSKA Maria, France, 27 Aug 51, France, (5747). French
 2720 POTOCKA Zofia, sister-in-law, two female and one male servants, 29 Aug 51, (5789-93). Austrian

HO-2-217. Folkestone 6001 — 7281

- 2721 KAROLOWSKI Mikołaj and CLARE Max, Russia, 9 Sept 51, France, (6139-40). Russ.
 2722 JAZWIEŃSKI Michał and Son, Poland, 9 Sept 51, France, (6167-8). Polish
 2723 KWIATKOWSKI Józef, wife and sister, Poland, 17 Sept 51, France, (6494-6). Polish
 2724 CIELECKI Leopold ZAREMBA de, and Miss GARATEYNY, Austria, 22 Sept 51, France, (6621-2). Austr.
 2725 HLUSZNIEWICZ Antoni, France, 24 Sept 51, France, (6656). French
 2726 BROŃSKI Comte de BRONNO-, Poland, 1 Oct 51, France, (6847). French
 2727 LUBOMIRSKI Jerzy, Austria, 3 Oct 51, France, (6857). Austr.
 2728 POSLOWSKI Tytus, Poland, 3 Oct 51, France, (6860). French
 2729 PUSLOWSKI J. K., and servant, Poland, 3 Oct 51, (6861-2). Russian
 2730 BIERNACKI Aloizy, France, 5 Oct 51, France, (6933). French
 2731 EISENLOHR Jan, Poland, 22 Oct 51, France, (7088). French
 2732 CHMIELEWSKI Adam O., Poland, 12 Dec 51, France, (7239). French

HO-2-218. London 1 — 1000

- 2733 LOWENSTAM Henryk, Gentleman, Poland, 4 Jan 51, Ostend (Triton), Left six months. 17
2734 GOŁUCHOWSKI Count Artur, Austria, 11 Jan 51, Havre, (Wm Jolliffe), Left fifteen years, (50).
2735 HILSON Karol, Poland, Polish Officer, Refugee, 16 Jan 51, (Boulogne to Folkestone, 1st. 64. Nb. This person was sent under Military Escort to Boulogne from Dijon (when he was resident and married to a French Woman, having a family) where he was employed at the Railway, for crying out with other Workmen during a visit of the French President to that town "Vive la Republique Democratique!" He received no paper at Folkestone. His passage to London by Rail was paid by Mr. Aimable Delatolic. (?))
2736 HABENSTOCK Ayam (?) and his daughter Flora, Merchant, Poland, (Sign. in Hebrew), 20 Jan 51, Hamburg (Tiger), Left three weeks, (99-100).
2737 JASTRZEMBSKI Feliks, Piano Manufact., Belgium, 27 Jan 51, Antwerp, (Soho), Left one year, (143).
2738 KULIKOWSKI Edward, Military (Refugee), Poland, 31 Jan 51, Havre (Venezuela), 1st., (159).
2739 BERG Herman, Merchant, Poland, 3 Feb 51, Hamburg (John Bull), 1st., (182).
2740 NEUMAN Bernhard, Gentn, Poland, 14 Feb 51, Hamburg (Countess of Lonsdale), Left one year, (277).
2741 GLEDURA Karol, Poland, Military (Refugee), 14 March 51, Inf. as above, 1st., (517).
2742 HARCZYK Berhard, Mercht Grocer, Poland, 8 Apr 51, Hamburg (Sarnia), Left nine years, (854).
2743 JASTRZEMBSKI Feliks, Piano Manufactr, Poland, 16 Apr 51, Ostend (Sir Ed. Banks), Left two month. (940).

HO-2-219. London 1001 — 2000

- 2744 KALINKA Walerian, Compiler, Austria, 26 Apr 51, Ostend (Triton), 1st., (1164).
2745 JOSCOWITZ Dawid, (Illiterate), Shoemaker, Poland, 13 May 51, Hamburg (Caesarea), 1st., (1535).
2747 JANKOWSKY Franz, Furrier, Austria, 19 May 51, Rotterdam (Eyenoor?), 1st., (1693).
2748 PICK Izidor, Poland, Capmaker, 26 May 51, Boulogne (City of Paris), Left fifteen days since, (1962).

HO-2-220. London 2001 — 3000

- 2749 WITKOWSKI Samuel, Tailor, Prussia, Posen, 27 May 51, Hamburg Caesarea), 1st., (2100).
2750 WOISKY Karol von, Gent., Pruss., 31 May 51, Ostend (Triton), 1st., (2266).
2751 JASTRZEBSKI Feliks, Factor, Lithuania, 2 June 51, Antwerp (Soho), Left eighteen days, (2304).
2752 COHEN Salomon, and wife, Cap Maker, Poland, 4 June 51, Hamburg (Sarnia), (2310-20).

- 2753 SZARBINOWSKI Edward, Consellor, Prusia, 7 June 51, Boulogne (Seine), 1st., (2531).
 2754 GRUNOWSKI Robert, Cabinet Maker, Refugee, Poland, 9 June 51, Havre (Rhine), 1st., (2620).
 2755 PSARSKI Wiktor, Gentleman, Prussia, 9 June 51, Antwerp (Soho), 1st., (2636).
 2756 LINKOWSKI Juliusz, Artist, (Native of Turkey), 12 June 51, Calais (Fame), 1st., (2762).
 2757 JOLLIS Marcus, Merchant, Galicia, 12 June 51, Rotterdam (Concordia), Left Aug. 1850, (2774).

HO-2-221. London 3001 — 4000

- 2758 ROSENBERG Wolf, Tailor, Poland, 18 June 51, Hamburg (Elbe), 1st., (3053).
 2759 BRENICKI Isaac, Inf. as above, (3054).
 2760 BIAŁOPŁOSKI Jakub, Inf. as above, (3055).
 2761 STADNICKI Robert A., Gent., Holland, 18 June 51, Rotterdam (Batavian), 1st., (3122).
 2762 STOFFEL Israel Abraham, Mechanic, Poland, 18 June 51, Ostend Sir Ed Bks, 1st., (3179).
 2764 GRABOWSKI Jerzy, Merchant, Austria, 25 June 51, Ostend (Sir Ed Bks), 1st., (3453).
 2764 F(?)PIOŁKOWSKI Teodor, Cabinet Maker, Poland, 30 June 51, Hamburg (J. Bull), 1st., (3667).

HO-2-222. London 4001 — 5000

- 2765 HABROWSKI Jan, Merchant, Prussia, 5 Judy 51, Ostend (Triton), 1st., (4082).

HO-2-223. London 5001 — 6000

- 2766 MEKARSKI Wiktor, Dr of Medicine, Austria, 19 Julia 51, Ostend (Triton), 1st., (5013).
 2767 MARYLSKI Juliusz, Printer, Poland, 21 July 51, Boulogne (City of Paris), 1st., (5132).
 2768 DĄBSKI Jerzy Gustaw, Gentleman, Prussia, 23 July 51, Ostend (Panther), 1st., (5206).
 2769 JAGIELSKI Józef, Inf. as above, (5207).
 2770 POLAK Nathan Samuel, Merchant, Holland, 24 July 51, Antwerp (Baron Osy), 1st., (5285).
 2771 MROZOWSKI Władysław Tomasz, Poland (Emigrant), 26 July 51, Memel (Ps Gezina, Gezina?), 1st., (5384).
 2772 GINIŃSKA la Comtesse, Austria, 28 July 51, Boulogne (City of Paris), 1st., (4577).
 2773 STOCK Hyams Hochen (or: HOCHENSTOCK Hyams) and wife, Merchant, Poland, 28 July 51, Hamburg (J. Bull), Left three weeks, (5496-7).
 2774 GRUNTMAN Karol (Sign: GRUNTMAN Karol ze znik), Poland, 28 July 51, Hamburg (Elbe), 1st., (5550).
 2775 MINETZKI August and wife, Germany, 28 July 51, Hamburg (Elbe), 1st., (5562-3).
 2776 KANNOFSKY Jan, Poland, Inf. as above, (5583).
 2777 KOBLIŃSKI Józef, Agent, Prussia, 29 July 51, Hamburg (Sarnia), 1st., (5597).

HO-2-224. London 6001 — 7000

- 2778 MIELŻYŃSKI Józef von, Gent., Poland, 4 Aug 51, Hamburg (Coun-tess Lonsdale), 1st., (6013).
2779 WILCZEK Michał, Gent., Inf. as above, (6014).
2780 POTULICKI Kazimierz and servant, Inf. as above, (6015).
2781 SOLTUN Esther, Poland, 6 Aug 51, Hamburg (Caesarea), 1st., (6135).
2782 SOLTUN Salomon Isaak, brother of above, Capmaker, Poland, 6 Aug 51, Hamburg (Caesarea), 1st., (6136).
2783 WILKAWSKI Benjamin, Gent., Prussia, 6 Aug 51, Ostend (Rhine), 1st., (6199).

HO-2-225. London 7001 — 8000

- 2784 BENKOWSKI Edward, Artist, Painter, Prussia, 13 Aug 51, Ostend (P. Rhine), 1st., (7008).
2785 FARFAROWSKI Elise de, and Sister, Russia, 14 Aug 51, Calais (P. Fame), 1st., 7043-44).
2786 POLAK Józef, Gentleman, France, 16 Aug 51, Boulogne (Seine), 1st., (7263).
2787 GOŁUCHOWSKI Stanisław, Gentleman, Austria, 18 Aug 51, Ostend (Panther), 1st., (7438).
2768 JANUSZEWSKI Juliusz, Gent., Poland, 21 Aug 51, Calais (Menad), 1st., (7103).
2789 OLEŚCZYZŃSKI Władysław, Artist (Statuary), Poland, 22 Aug 51, Boulogne, (City of Boulogne), 1st., (7741).
2790 NIEPOKOJCZYCKI Benedykt, Gent., Poland, 23 Aug 51, Ostend (Triton), 1st., (7747).
2791 TWARDOWSKI Ksawery, Judge, Prussia, Inf. as above, (7750).
2792 PONIŃSKI Count Edward, Poland, 25 Aug 51, Ostend (Panther), 1st., (7907).

HO-2-226. London 8001 — 9000

- 2793 KOWALEWSKI Karol, Painter, Poland, 27 Aug 51, Ostend (Rhine), 1st., (8049).
2794 BAGIŃSKI Karol, Painter, Poland, 27 Aug 51, Ostend (Rhine), 1st., (8050).
2795 PESKOEWSKY August (Janner?), Poland (Illiterate), 29 Aug 51, Hamburg (Caledonia), 1st., (8232).
2796 HOFFMAN Edward, Merchant, Poland, 29 Aug 51, inf. as above, (8233).
2797 VERBEISZKY Franz, Locksmith, Inf, as above, (8241).
2788 LEWINSOHN John, Student, Poland, 29 Aug 51, Boulogne (City of Boulogne), 1st., (8247).
2799 KONETZKI Fryderyk, Merchant, Bremen, 29 Aug 51, Bremen (Mag-net), 1st., (8261).
2800 JENDRZEJEWICZ Sperat and wife, Austria, Gent., 29 Aug 51, Boulogne (City of Boulogne), 1st., (8277-8).
2801 LOTH Georg, Merchant, Poland, 30 Aug 51, Ostend (Triton), 1st., (8317).
2802 MINTER Karol, Kaufman, Inf. as above, (8318).
2803 POLETYŁO Count Jan, Inf. as above, (8328).

- 2804 LINDER Jan, Sculptor, Inf. as above, (8332).
 2805 ESLAEGER Moritz, Gent., Inf. as above, (8336).
 2806 POZNAŃSKI Józef, Gent., Warsaw, 1 Sept 51, Ostend (Panther), 1st., (8395).
 2807 DUNIECKI Józef, Gent., Advocate, Poland, 1 Sept. 51. Boulogne (City of Paris), 1st., (8426).
 2808 DUNIECKI Paweł, Son of above, Inf. as above, (8427).
 2809 KARNICKI Count, Austria, 4 Sept 51, Ostend (Panther), 1st., (8732).
 2810 LEVY Leser, Merchant, Poland, 4 Sept 51, Ostend (Panther), 1st., (8732).
 2811 HORDLICZKA Wilhelm, F., Merchant, Inf. as above, (8735).
 2812 MITTAG, Inf. as above, (8736).
 2813 PIK Jakub, Inf. as above, (8737).
 2814 KIRCHMAYER Julian, Krakau, ESTRICH (?), (Österreich), Landlord, Poland, 5 Sept 51, Hamburg (Princess Royal), 1st., (8750).
 2815 FUCHS Jan, Gent., Poland, Inf. as above, (8751).
 2816 CHEŁMICKI Alfons, Student, Prussia, 6 Sept 51, Ostend (Triton), 1st., (8796).
 2817 KWILECKI Herman, K., Inf. as above, (8797).
 2818 KWILECKI Władysław, (brother of above), Inf. as above, (8798).
 2819 SICHROWSKI Henryk, Secretary to Rail Road, Austria, 8 Sept 51, Ostend (Panther), 1st., (8926).
 2820 CHLEBOWSKI Leon, Cashier, Prussia, Posen, 8 Sept 51, Ostend (Panther), 1st., (8944).

HO-2-227. London 9001 — 10000

- 2821 MODZELEWSKI Wincenty, Professor, Poland, 9 Sept 51, Calais (Menad), 1st., 9003).
 2822 MALESKY Alfons, Engraver, France, 10 Sept 51, Boulogne (Albion), Left two weeks since, (9072).
 2823 CONIAR Emil, Gent., Warsaw, 11 Sept 51, Ostend (Panther), 1st., (9278).
 2824 ESSAKOFF, Denitz, Inf. as above, (9279).
 wives of above, inf. as above, (9280-1)
 2825 JWIECKI (or: JOVRECKI) Adolf, Confectioner, Poland, 12 Sept 51, Hamburg (Caledonia), 1st., (9303).
 2826 GEMBITZKI Henryk, Workman, Poland, Inf. as above, (9312).
 2827 WYSOCKI Aleksander, Gent., Russia, 12 Sept 51. Boulogne (City of Boulogne), 1st., (9339).
 2828 WYSOCKI Bazyli, Gent., Russia, Inf. as above, but: Left eight month, (9345).
 2829 MIKULSKI Józef, Military, Poland, 13 Sept 51, Boulogne (Seine), 1st., (9384).
 2830 MECIŃSKI Cezar, Hungary, 13 Sept 51, Ostend (Triton), 1st., (9401).
 2831 JABLONOWSKI Stanisław, Inf. as above, (9402).
 2832 ROSANOWSKI Feliks, Inf. as above, (9403).
 2833 DROHOJEWSKI Seweryn, Inf. as above, (9404).
 2834 RUDNICKI Michał, Russia, Proprietor, 15 Sept 51, Boulogne (City of Paris), 1st., (9478).
 2835 NELKEN Heyman, Cigar-maker, Poland, 19 Sept 51, Hamburg, (Princess Royal), 1st., (9702).
 2836 MOES Fryderyk, Manufacturer, Poland, 22 Sept 51, Ostend (Panther), 1st., (9782).

- 2837 SZEMIOTH Franciszek, Rentier (de Paris?), Pologne, 25 Sept 51,
Calais (Fame), Left two years since, French
2838 SPLRZYŃSKI August, Horlogier, Austria, 25 Sept 51, Calais
(Fame), 1st., (9923).
2839 SZUMSKI M., Geometre, France, Inf. as above, (9924).

HO-2-228. London 10001 — 11283

- 2840 PODOWSKI Stanisław, Refugee, Poland, 29 Sept 51, Boulogne (City
of Paris), 1st., (10003).
2841 BIERNACKI Włodzimierz de, Gent., Prussia (Posen), 1 Oct 51,
Ostend (P. Rhine), 1st., (10009).
2842 SKARZYŃSKI Wincenty (with Lady), Gent., Inf as above, (10091-2).
2843 LESZCZYŃSKI Henryk, Gent., Prussia, 1 Oct 51, Hamburg (Caesa-
rea), 1st., (10108).
2844 BELAŃSKI Kazimierz, Military Officer, Turkey, 4 Oct 51, Ostend
(Jolliffe), Left two months since, (10240).
2845 ZIEMBICKI Jerzy, Dr, of Medicine, Austria, 4 Oct 51, Ostend (Jol-
liffe), Left one year since, (10248).
2846 KEMPNER Abraham, wife and RAPPERPAK Hannah, Poland,
6 Oct 51, Hamburg (John Bull), Left two months, (10272-4).
2847 SZOŁDRCKI Emil, Gent., Prussia, 9 Oct 51, Calais (Fame), 1st.,
(10366).
2848 WALESZYŃSKI Konstanty, Accountant, Prussia, 25 Oct 51, Ostend
(Panther), 1st., (10653).
2849 GEMBITZKA Rozalia and child, Lady, Pruss. Poland, 31 Oct 51,
Hamburg (Ps Royal, (10827).
2850 HOEBENSTOCK Hyams, Merchant, Poland, 3 Nov 51, Hamburg
(John Bull), Left seven weeks, (10955).
2851 TRZCIŃSKI Wincenty, Refugee, Poland, 14 Nov 51, Hamburg (Prin-
cess Royal), Left three weeks.
2852 BRUSTHEIN Franciszek and Lady, Family Courier, Poland, 15 Nov
51, Ostend (Panther), Left three months, (10962-3).

1852

HO-2-229. Dover 1 — 1000

- 2853 GORECKI Antoni, Pole, 17 March 52, Calais, (265). French
2854 SZYMAŃSKI Barłomiej, France, 5 Apr 52, Calais, (313). French
2855 SUMIŃSKI LESZCZYC, Prussia, 30 Apr 52, Calais, (415). Prussian
2856 FISOOLER (?) Dawid, Poland, 31 May 52, Calais, (585). No
2857 SELEMAK Klemens, Poland, 26 June 52, Calais, (758). French

HO-2-230. Dover 1001 — 1560

- 2858 GOLDSTAND Leon, Poland, 20 Sept 52, Calais, (1176). Russian
2859 GOTOWIZNA Berek, Russia, 29 Nov 52, Ostend, (1465). Russian
2860 BLECZKOWSKI Count, France, 5 Dec 52, Calais, (1475). French
2861 BAWOROWSKI Włodzimierz, Vienna, 5 Dec 52, Calais, (1480).
American.

HO-2231. Folkestone 1 — 1270

- 2862 SZEMBEK Count Józef and sister, Poland, 29 May 52, France,
(513-4). Polish
2863 SWIEJKOWSKI Leon, Russia, 29 May 52, France, (515). Russian
2864 SWIEJKOWSKI Leon, Russia 10 June 52, France (?), Russian

- 2865 DAWIDOWSKI Stanisław, Prussia, 19 Aug 52, France, (899). Prussian
 2866 MILCZOWSKI Cezar, Russia, 22 Aug 52, France, (909). Russian
 2857 POZNAK Napoleon, France, 11 Sept 52, France (918). French
 2868 SAWICKI Jan, France, 9 Dec 52, France, (1239). French

HO-2-232. London 1 — 1000

- 2869 EISENBERG Moses, (Sign. in Hebrew), Poland, 12 Jan 52, Hamburg (Princess Royal), 1st., (59).
 2870 SCHLEJKE Abraham, Shoemaker, Inf. as above, (60).
 2871 KATZ A., Goldsmith, Galicia, 26 Jan 52, Hamburg (Neptune), 1st., (96).
 2872 SKOWROŃSKI Ludwik, Political Refugée, Poland, Inf. as above, (204).
 2873 AMATYS Stanisław, Furrier, Poland, 2 March 52, Hamburg (Countess Lonsdale), Left three months, (518).
 2874 FIEDLER August Julian, Merchant, Inf. as above, 1st., (519).
 2875 TSCHOPPIK Ludwik, Merchant, Galicia, Inf. as above, Left nine months, (522).
 2876 KRATOCHWILL Józef, Miller, Pruss. Poland, 3 Apr 52, Bremen (Adonis), 1st., (875).

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- 2877 CHALLASEN Henryk, Designer, Poland, 10 Apr 52, Ostend (Panter), 1st., (1008).
 2878 JASTRZĘBSKI Feliks, Pianoforte Manufacturer, Belgium, 12 Apr 52, Antwerp (Tiger), Left Nov 51, (1040).
 2879 SZARBINOWSKI Edward, Merchant, France, 30 Apr 52, Hamburg (John Bull), Left seven weeks, (1302).
 2880 GOLDSTEIN Zahariasz, Glazier, Poland, 1 May 52, Havre (Sir E. Banks), 1st., (1812).
 2881 WOŁOWSKI Aleksander, Teacher (Refugee), Poland, 7 May 52, Hamburg (Wilbeforce), 1st., (1415).
 2882 LANCKOROŃSKI Stanisław, Count, Russia, 10 May 52, Hamburg (Countess Lonsdale), 1st., (1448).
 2883 ABRAHAMS Salomon, Merchant, Poland, 25 (?) May 52, Hamburg (Caesarea), Left 13 months, (1458).
 2884 WROBLEWSKI Adam, Apothecary, Russ.-Poland, 12 May 52, Inf. as above, 1st., (1459).
 2885 FALK Sternszusz, (Sign. in Hebrew), printer, Poland, 17 May 52, Hamburg (Pes Royal), 1st., (1547).
 2886 TUCH (or FUCH) Juliusz, Commercial Traveler residing in Hamburg, Poland, 21 May 52, Hamburg (Wilbeforce), Left one year, (1646).
 2887 KOMINKOWSKI Julian, Furrier, Inf, as above, 1st., (1650).
 2888 SANDERS Sarah and Brother under age, Lady, Russ. Poland, 24 May 52, Hamburg (C. of Lonsdale), 1st., (1681).
 2889 HOEBENSTOCK Hyams, Merchant, Poland, Inf. as above, Left seven weeks, (1682).
 2890 HOEBENSTOCK Kitty, daughter of above, Inf. as above, 1682/?.
 2891 WIESNER Aloizy, Wife and two children, Military Officer, Refugee, Poland, 24 May 52, Havre (Wm Jolliffe), 1st., (1691-2)

- 2892 KOŽMIŃSKI Ignacy, Geometrician, Prus. Poland, 27 May 52, Hamburg (John Bull), (1782).
 2893 HIRSCHFELD Georg, Danzig, Shopman, 4 June 52, Hamburg (Wilberforce), 1st., (1894).

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- 2894 SANDERSKI Adalbert (Wojciech), Agricultural, Bohemia, 16 June 52, Hamburg, 1st., (2059).
 2895 MAJEWSKY Jewel, Tailor, Poland, 21 June 52, Hamburg (C. Lonsdale), 1st., (2161).
 2896 KOWALEWSKI Wincenty, wife Anna, Cook, Poland, 25 June 52, Hamburg (John Bull), 1st., (2226-7).
 2897 ZSULAVSKI Zygmunt, wife and three children, Gentleman, Poland, 3 July 52, Ostend (Panther), 1st., (2317-8).
 2898 NIESZAWSKI Moritz, Capmaker, Rus. Poland, 9 July 52, Hamburg (J. Bull), 1st., (2412).
 2899 RUSZCZEWSKI Hieronim, Gen., Refugee, Poland, Inf. as above, (2418).
 2900 KREMSKI Teodor, Candidate in Law, Russia, 12 July 52, Rotterdam (Frenoord), Left two years, (2439).
 2901 WETZSTEIN Salomon, Student in Philosophy, Poland, 14 July 52, Hamburg (Sarnia), 1st., (2466).
 2902 FIEISCHER Mistal, Inf. as above, (2467).
 2903 DUERNER Gotthelf Beniamin, Coppersmith, Danzig, 16 July 52, Hamburg (Caledonia), 1st., (2509).
 2904 BRODNICKI Jan, Hatter, (Refugee), Poland, 22 July 52, Havre (Colombine), 1st., (2606).
 2905 WENDT Aleksy, wife and sister, Merchant, Danzing, Polish-Prussia, 24 July 52, Ostend (Panther), Left four months, (2618-20).
 1906 STONSKI Adam, Military, Poland, 2 Aug 52, Antwerp (Ravensbourne), 1st., (2696).
 2907 GROZIŃSKI Juliusz, Tailor (Refugee), Prus.-Poland, 2 Aug 52, Rotterdam (Frenoord), 1st., (2715).
 2908 WEBER Antoni, Sugar Refiner, 9 Aug 52, Hamburg (Princ. Royal), 1st., (2809).
 2909 CZEREPIŃSKI Walenty, Pocket Bookmaker, Poland, 17 Aug 52, Havre (Tourist), 1st., (2886).
 2910 CHICORA Jacoba, (Sign. in Hebrew), Dealer, Poland, 20 Aug 52, Hamburg (J. Bull), 1st., (2926).
 2911 WENTOSKI Ruben, Ja . . . , (Sign. in Hebrew), Poland, Hamburg (J. Bull), 1st., (2927).
 2912 STRELITZKI Bernard Jakub, Musician, Poland, Rotterdam (Adonis), 1st., (2945).

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- 2913 STRELITSKY Bernard, and sister, Artist Musician, Holland, 30 Aug 52, Rotterdam, (3024-5).
 2914 JASTRZĘBSKI Feliks, Pianoforte Manufacturer, Belgium, 30 Aug 52, Antwerp (Rauensborne), Left in four Months, (3051).
 2915 SCHÜBERT Aleksander, Engineer, Poland, 10 Sept 52, Hamburg 1st., (3236).
 2916 WAYCZYŃSKI Antoni and MICHAŁOWSKI Aeveron, Nobles, Russia, 15 Sept 52, (3295-6).

- 2917 GOLEJEWSKI Adam, GOLEJEWSKI Antoni, OCZOJALSKI Stefan, HENCKEL Guedon, Nobles, Russia, 15 Sept 52, Ostend (Tristan), (3204-7).
- 2918 SIELSKI Piotr, Domestic, Poland, 24 Sept 52, Hamburg (Caledonia), 1st., (3441).
- 2919 GŁOGOWSKI Adolf, Gentleman, Poland, 29 Sept 52, Ostend, (Triten), left one week.
- 2920 CZOSNOWSKI Jakub, his wife, KOMARNICKA Wiktoria, Gentleman, Ladies, Poland, 29 Sept 52, Ostend (Triton), 1st., (3557-9).
- 2921 MNISZECH the Count, Russia, 30 Sept 52, Antwerp (Baron Osy), Left in one year, (3676).
- 2922 LANCKOROŃSKI Count Kazimierz, Austria, 30 Sept 52, Antwerp (Baron Osy), Left in one year, (3576).
- 2923 OSTRZYCKI Maciej (In the sign. added: "or POLSKI"), Military, Poland, 1 Oct 52, Hamburg (John Bull), 1st., (3583).
- 2924 KCZCZYCKI (Sign.: KRZCZYCKI), Edmund de, Gentleman, Poland, 11 Oct 57, Hamburg (Countess Lonsdale), 1st., (3717).
- 2925 MOKRZECKI Edward, Lieut., Military Officer, Poland, 14 Oct 52, Antwerp (Baron Osy), Left fourteen days, (3795).
- 2926 KRYGROWSKI Antoni, Joiner, Russ. Poland, 30 Oct 52, Hamburg (Elbe), 1st., (3921).
- 2927 ZYNKOWICZ Anna and three children, Lady, Poland, 3 Nov 52, Ostend (Triton), 1st., (3947).

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- 2928 POLAK Samuel M., Diamond Merchant, Holland, 11 Nov 52, Rotterdam (Rhine), Left one month, (4020).
- 2929 DAMAŃSKI Jan Karol, Master of Ship, Prussia, 12 Nov 52, Hamburg (Moselle), Left 1834, (4029).
- 2930 SZYMAŃSKI Kazimierz, Forester, Poland, 12 Nov 52, Hamburg (Mosele), 1st., (4036).
- 2931 KERWER Wilhelm and Wife and SCHMIDT Wilhelmina, Pianist, Poland, 20 Nov 52, Ostend (Panther), 1st., (4091-8).
- 2932 PASCOWICZ Spirydian, Seaman, Austria, 29 Nov 52, Antwerp (Ravensbaume), 1st., (4181).
- 2933 KORECKI Ludwik, Philologer, Poland, 21 Dec 52, Hamburg (Wilberforce), 1st., (4386).
- 2934 ILLAKOWICZ Michał, and his wife, Elżbieta, Painter, Poland, 31 Dec 52, Bordeaux (Mercury), 1st., (4477-8).

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