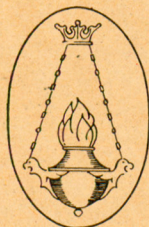


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XVI  
ANTEMURALE



NON EXSTINGUETUR

ROMAE  
1972



# INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM POLONICUM ROMAE

## VIA DEGLI SCIPIONI 284 - ROMA

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### IAM PRIDEM ROMAE PRODIERUNT HAEC VOLUMINA

(continuatio *Studia Teologiczne* — Wilno, vol. I-X):

- XI — MEYSZTOWICZ V., *Repertorium bibliographicum pro rebus Polonicis Archivi Secreti Vaticani*. Vaticani, 1943.
- XII — MEYSZTOWICZ V., *De archivo Nuntiaturae Varsaviensis quod nunc in Archivo Secreto Vaticano servatur*. Vaticani, 1944.
- XIII — SAVIO P., *De Actis Nuntiaturae Poloniae quae partem Archivi Secretariatus Status constituunt*. Romae, 1947.
- XIV — MEYSZTOWICZ V., *Prospectica descriptio Archivi Secreti Vaticani*. (Ed. chirotypica, exhausta).

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ANTEMURALE, I-XVI, Romae, 1954-1972

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### ELEMENTA AD FONTIUM EDITIONES

- Vol. I — *Polonica ex Libris Obligationum et Solutionum Camerae Apostolicae*. Collegit J. LISOWSKI, pp. XV+292, 704 doc. (A.D. 1373-1565) Ind. nom. propr. 1960. (Archivum Secretum Vaticanum).
- Vol. II — « *Liber Disparata Antiqua Continens* » Praes. E. WINKLER, pp. XVIII+190, 281 doc. (ante a. 1424) 19 facs. Ind. nom. propr. 1960. (Archivum Capituli Trident.).
- 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.
- Vol. IV — *Res Polonicae Elisabetha I Angliae Regnante Conscriptae ex Archivis Publicis Londoniarum*. Ed. C. H. TALBOT, pp. XVI+311, 166 doc. (A.D. 1578-1603) 9 tab., Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron., glossarium verb. ang. ant., 1961.
- Vol. V — *Repertorium Rerum Polonicarum ex Archivo Dragonetti de Torres in Civitate Aquilana*. Ed. P. COLLURA, pp. XI+86, 483 doc. (A.D. 1568-1682) 4 tab. 1962.







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## **F O N T E S**





STANISLAS BÓBR-TYLINGO  
(HALIFAX, CANADA)

## LES CONVERSATIONS DU BARON DE HÜBNER À PARIS (1863)

### PRÉFACE

*Les documents que nous publions ci-dessous proviennent des papiers du baron de Hübner conservés à l'institut d'histoire médiévale et moderne de l'université de Padoue.<sup>1)</sup> Une partie de ces documents a été éditée par Hübner lui-même en 1891.<sup>2)</sup> Après sa mort ont paru en 1904 deux volumes de ses "Neuf ans de souvenirs d'un ambassadeur d'Autriche à Paris sous le Second Empire 1851-1859".<sup>3)</sup> Ce sont des extraits de son journal dont on doit se méfier. La traduction des passages en allemand fourmille de fautes d'interprétation du vrai sens de mots traduits, plusieurs insertions tirées de lettres particulières ne sont même pas marquées. Un lecteur non avisé les prendra pour les notes authentiques du journal. L'édition allemande, basée sur l'édition française, n'est pas meilleure. La dernière publication en date des documents de Hübner est celle de Marie Drudi.<sup>4)</sup> Elle nous présente des extraits des conversations de Hübner à Paris en 1862 et n'ayant trait qu'aux affaires italiennes; les autres questions, celles d'Allemagne, du Mexique, de Hongrie ont été omises.*

*Hübner retourna à Paris en 1863 après un voyage prolongé en Espagne. Il y trouva un seul sujet de préoccupation pour les milieux politiques: la Pologne. L'atmosphère, à cause du refus autrichien d'une alliance avec la France, était plutôt tendue. L'empereur, dans sa première conversation, lui rappela les hésitations de Vienne pendant la guerre de Crimée et le résultat de cette politique d'alors: la guerre d'Italie et la perte de la Lombardie. Le diplomate autrichien s'efforça naturellement de défendre l'attitude de son gouvernement, mais ses paroles relatives à l'effort du cabinet de Paris d'engager l'Autriche "dans des guerres dont le but n'est pas clairement défini, dont les avantages sont fort problématiques" déno-*

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1) Istituto di storia medioevale e moderna dell'università di Padova.

2) HÜBNER JOSEPH ALEXANDER: Ein Jahr meines Lebens, 1848-49. Leipzig 1891.

3) Madame Craven nota en avril 1889: "Le comte Hübner, qui est ici (à Paris), et que je vois beaucoup, écrit ses mémoires pour qu'ils soient publiés après sa mort. Je lui disais de suivre votre exemple et de les faire imprimer en attendant, pour que ses amis puissent les lire. Il m'a répondu que c'était impossible, qu'il n'en avait pas les moyens. - MRS. BISHOP: Madame Craven, Paris 1897, p. 430.

4) Maria CESSI DRUDI: Carteggio di J.A. von Hübner. Rassegna degli archivi di Stato, 1959, p. 309-316.

taient le manque de connaissance du contenu des propositions françaises et du vrai caractère de la mission du prince Metternich en mars 1863. Son affirmation de la solidarité austro-russe en face du problème polonais prouvait, mieux que les déclarations d'amitié à l'adresse de Paris, que la constance des intérêts autrichiens, dans l'optique de Vienne, excluait un rapprochement quelconque avec la France, aussi bien en 1853-56, qu'en 1863 ou 1870. Hübner répéta sa conversation avec Napoléon III à l'ambassadeur d'Angleterre qui en manda le contenu à Londres. Lord Cowley remarqua avec un certain déplaisir que l'empereur n'avait même pas mentionné le nom de l'Angleterre.<sup>5)</sup>

La deuxième lettre de Hübner en date du 19 juin s'occupe de la question de Cracovie et de la possibilité de son évocation par une des puissances participantes à la conférence projetée. Pour parer à un tel danger il suggéra à Rechberg, ministre des affaires étrangères d'Autriche, à qui d'ailleurs étaient adressées toutes les lettres que nous publions, de s'entendre d'avance avec les cabinets de Paris et de Londres pour exclure de la discussion le problème de Cracovie. Il craignait surtout qu'une des puissances mineures comme la Suède ou le Portugal pût se laisser entraîner à en parler. Rechberg prit d'ailleurs les devants et, dans une note du 12 juin envoyée aux puissances occidentales, il souligna que l'Autriche, en motivant son intervention officieuse dans les affaires de Pologne par des raisons d'opportunité et en reléguant autant que possible au second plan les traités et le souvenir de 1815, voulait éviter que la question de Cracovie fût mise sur le tapis.<sup>6)</sup>

Cette question s'était déjà posée au début de l'année. Ce fut bien Rechberg qui au cours de son entretien avec l'ambassadeur d'Angleterre mentionna Cracovie pour faire ressortir la difficulté où se trouvait Vienne de demander à la Russie le rétablissement en Pologne des conditions stipulées par le traité de 1815.<sup>7)</sup> Cette vérité fut comprise par Drouyn de Lhuys, ministre des affaires étrangères de France, quand il déclarait qu'il ne fallait espérer "d'un dévoreur de Cracovie" qu'il invoquât les traités de 1815. En mai, au moment où une intervention française paraissait imminente, Palmerston préconisait une solution autrichienne, c'est-à-dire l'indépendance du Royaume du Congrès avec, pour roi, un archiduc qui apporterait Cracovie en cadeau.<sup>8)</sup> Il dit franchement à

5) FO (Foreign Office) 27/1491, France, 29-V-1863.

6) HHS (Haus-Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Wien). Frankreich 76, 12-V-1863. S. BóBR-TYLINGO: Napoléon III, l'Europe et la Pologne en 1863-4, Antemurale, VII-VIII, 1963, p. 159.

7) Bloomfield à Russell, 12-III-1863, FILIPOWICZ: Confidential correspondence of the British Government respecting the insurrection in Poland 1863, No. 188. - BóBR-TYLINGO, op. cit. p. 84.

8) Palmerston écrit à Russell: "I see no objection to your Draft suggesting to France the notion of an armistice for a year between the Poles and the Russians. It is a good step for keeping alive the concert between us and France on Polish affairs and it might possibly be acceded to by Russians and Poles, though that seems unlikely. Each Party might attach to the arrangement Conditions which the other Party would not agree to. It is perhaps too soon to make to Russia any Proposal not founded on the Treaty of 1815 which she has admitted as a Basis, but if the war continues much longer and the Poles to make Head - might not the Peace of Europe be secured by an arrangement which should erect the Kingdom of Poland as defined by the Treaty of 1815 into an independent State adding to it the Town and territory of Cracow, and placing the archduke Maximilian as the King? There might be a Question about the Polish Parts of the Duchy of Posen and about Galicia, but they might be talked about afterwards, if the foregoing arrangement were agreed to as a Basis.



*l'ambassadeur d'Autriche, le comte d'Apponyi, que la meilleure solution serait de reconstituer une monarchie polonaise indépendante sous le sceptre d'un archiduc. Il ajouta que, dans ce cas, le retour de Cracovie à cette monarchie serait indispensable.<sup>9)</sup> Lord Palmerston ne cachait d'ailleurs pas son opinion aux autres ambassadeurs intéressés.<sup>10)</sup> La réponse autrichienne est bien connue. Déjà le 23 mai Rechberg répondit que l'idée d'un trône polonais offert à un prince de la maison d'Autriche ne l'intéressait pas. "L'histoire nous apprend en effet combien les dynasties gagnent peu à l'établissement de branches cadettes sur des trônes étrangers".<sup>11)</sup>*

*La troisième lettre fut expédiée après la réponse russe remise le 14 septembre et elle décrivait bien l'abatement dans le quel se trouvait la diplomatie impériale. Drouyn de Lhuys récapitula les dernières négociations diplomatiques pour bien souligner que c'était le manque de coopération des trois cours européennes qui avait permis à la Russie de répondre d'une manière insolente aux dernières propositions occidentales. L'original de cette lettre se trouve à Vienne et elle a déjà été utilisée dans notre étude.<sup>12)</sup>*

*La valeur de ces documents est incontestable. Ils complètent notre connaissance de cette tragique année, soulignent, une fois de plus, l'implacable hostilité de l'Autriche catholique à l'indépendance de la monarchie polonaise. Une telle solution du problème était pour ses diplomates une "idée monstrueuse".*

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Of course such a scheme could scarcely be broached to Russia until Things shall have gone much warmer for her, or until France shall have become more warlikenly inclined. But such a scheme would be a security to Germany by removing Russia from her advanced Wedge on Vistula without putting France there in the Place of France". - Palmerston à Russell, 5-IV-1863, Public Record Office, 30-22-14 E. L'opinion répétée le 22 mai, Palmerston à Russell, PRO. 30-22-14 F.

9) Palmerston à Russell, 31-V-1863, Ibidem: "I said that Cracow would of course be required, but I did not see why Galicia should follow and that as to Family Feelings My Experience in European affairs has shown me that Family Ties and Feelings among reigning Families are often the main Guider of habitual Conduct". - Apponyi à Rechberg, 1-VI, rapport 38-A, HHS. England 60. Bóbr-Tylingo, p. 161.

10) "Ich vergass zu erwähnen, dass Lord Palmerston mir noch sagte, Krakau müsse mit dem unabhängigen Königreich Polen vereinigt werden: das würde daher Österreich herausgeben müssen (natürlich alles auf Grund der Verträge von 1815)". - Bernstorff, Londres, à Bismarck, Auswärtige Politik Preussens, III, 11-V-1863, Nr. 499.

11) Rechberg à Apponyi, 23-V-1863, HHS. England 62. Bóbr-Tylingo, p. 155.

12) BÓBR-TYLINGO, op. cit. p. 212.



*Doc. N. 1.*

*A Monsieur le Comte de Rechberg. Vienne*

*Paris 28 mai 1863.*

Mon cher ami. A la veille de mon départ pour Vienne, je crois utile de vous soumettre quelques informations qui me semblent mériter d'être portées à votre connaissance. Le Prince de Metternich aura la bonté de vous faire parvenir cette lettre à moins que je ne sois mon propre courrier. Notre Ambassadeur a eu la bonté de me mettre au courant des affaires et de régler avec moi éventuellement le langage que je tiendrais le cas échéant.

Au jour même de mon arrivée à Paris — il y a plus de trois semaines — j'ai rencontré au bois de Boulogne l'Impératrice, et à ma rentrée j'ai trouvé une invitation pour le bal du surlendemain aux Tuileries. La gracieuseté était d'autant plus grande que je ne m'étais pas encore inscrit au palais. A ce bal l'Impératrice m'a beaucoup distingué, mais l'Empereur s'était retiré avant que j'eusse pu l'approcher. Mr Drouyn de Lhuys, informé de ma présence, a bien voulu m'inviter à dîner et m'entretenir longuement de la situation diplomatique et de la phase où se trouvaient alors les négociations concernant la Pologne. Il m'a dit que l'Empereur me verrait. En effet j'ai reçu une seconde invitation, mais le bal auquel j'étais convié, ayant dû être remis à cause d'une indisposition de l'Impératrice, ce n'était que lundi dernier que j'ai eu l'honneur d'approcher l'Empereur.

Il m'a arrêté au milieu de la salle où l'on dansait, et s'est entretenu avec moi pendant plus d'une demi-heure. Je tâcherai de reproduire ici textuellement les parties essentielles de cette causerie.

L'Empereur est entré d'emblée en matière. Après m'avoir exposé brièvement les différentes phases des négociations entre les cours de Vienne, de Paris et de Londres: "Vous connaissez — m'a-t-il dit — mon intimité avec l'Empereur Alexandre. Dans toutes les occasions je n'ai eu qu'à me louer de lui. Aussi lorsque l'insurrection a éclaté en Pologne, je me suis abstenu de toute démarche qui aurait pu augmenter les embarras de la Russie. Mais quand j'ai vu que l'opinion en France était fortement émue en faveur des polonais, mon embarras était extrême. D'une côté j'étais retenu par un sentiment de pudeur et de loyauté envers l'Empereur Alexandre, si parfaitement bon pour moi, de l'autre côté en présence des sympathies de la France pour la Pologne — (que S.M.<sup>13</sup>) exagère singulièrement) — j'étais à mon grand regret obligé de faire quelque chose".

"Je me suis alors adressé à l'Autriche. Je lui ai fait des propositions. Elle pourrait compter sur ma loyauté. Elle a des difficultés sur ses frontières, en Italie, en Herzégovine, dans les Principautés, même en

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13) S.M. = Sa Majesté.

"Hongrie. Eh bien j'aurais mis du baume sur tout ceci. Mais je devrais "être sûr de son concours, tout comme elle pourrait compter sur ma "loyauté. Je suis persuadé que durant le concert entre l'Empereur et "moi, la Russie céderait, et que nous éviterions la guerre, car je ne veux "pas la guerre. Mais, si la guerre malheureusement devenait inévitable, "je devrais pourtant compter sur la coopération de l'Autriche. Or, je vous "avoue, ce qui m'arrive de Vienne ne me satisfait pas. Je vois qu'on n'est "pas franc et qu'on entre dans les mêmes voies qu'en 1854 et 1855 lors "de la guerre de Crimée. Qu'est-ce qui était le résultat de sa politique "d'alors? La guerre d'Italie que je n'aurais jamais faite si l'Autriche avait "été plus franchement avec nous pendant la guerre avec la Russie".

"Néanmoins, je crois que l'Empereur François-Joseph a des sym-  
"pathies pour moi plus que pour la Russie et la Prusse qui sont ses  
"ennemis implacables. Qu'en pensez-vous?"

"Je sais Sire — ai-je répondu — qu'il y avait un temps où M.A.M.<sup>14)</sup>  
avait pour V.M.<sup>15)</sup> les plus vives sympathies. Il vous les a témoignées,  
Sire, en saluant l'un des premiers votre avènement en 1851, et Il les a  
prouvées dans toutes les circonstances. Je ne me permettrai pas d'exa-  
miner ici au long la conduite de l'Autriche pendant la guerre d'Orient.  
J'oserai seulement rappeler à l'Empereur que c'était à la suite de l'ulti-  
mum autrichien que la Russie a accepté les préliminaires de paix  
formulés par V.M. de concert avec l'Autriche et l'Angleterre. Est-ce là  
un manque de franchise? Je crois au contraire, et M.A.M. en est persuadé,  
que la Cour de Vienne a puissamment secondé la France et l'Angleterre,  
et s'il en fallait une preuve c'est la haine que la Russie lui a vouée  
depuis cette époque. Comment serait-il possible que S.M. Apostolique  
conserve pour V.M. les sympathies d'autrefois? Comment aurait-Elle  
pu oublier, Sire, que vous lui avez déclaré la guerre, malgré les services  
qu'Elle vous a rendus lors des négociations d'Orient, seulement parce  
qu'Elle n'est pas allée si loin que vous le désiriez, et sans aucune provo-  
cation de sa part? Comment aurait-Elle oublié la perte de la Lombardie?

"Cela est vrai" a dit l'Empereur d'un ton convaincu. "Cela est vrai".

"Mais" — ai-je continué — "si ces sympathies sont diminuées, est-ce  
à dire qu'elles ne pourront être ravivées? Je suis loin de le penser.  
Seulement, je crois que les moyens choisis par Mr Drouyn de Lhuys ne  
sont pas de nature à atteindre ce but. Je vois votre Cabinet s'engager  
dans les mêmes voies comme en 1854. C'est-à-dire demander des enga-  
gements impossibles, interpréter ceux qu'il a obtenus autrement que  
nous, faire entrevoir des avantages que les principes, l'origine, la situation  
de premier souverain de l'Allemagne ne permettent pas même à M.A.M.  
de discuter, encore moins d'accepter, faire des insinuations qui sont des  
menaces déguisées, et que par conséquent la dignité et la grandeur de  
mon Souverain l'obligent à repousser".

"A quoi cette politique a-t-elle mené lors de la guerre de Crimée si ce  
n'est à des malentendus, à un refroidissement de rapports, enfin comme  
dit V.M. — quoique je ne puisse admettre cette connexité — à la  
guerre avec l'Autriche. V.M. fait appel aux sympathies de M.A.M. En  
l'apprenant, S.M. en sera vivement touchée, mais je ne pense pas que ce  
soit là le moyen de les faire renaitre".

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14) M.A.M. = Mon Auguste Maître.

15) V.M. = Votre Majesté.

"Mais alors quoi faire?" a dit mon interlocuteur.

"Chacun est le meilleur juge de sa propre situation".

"Cela est vrai, on ne peut jamais se mettre à la place des autres".

"En 1859 on nous a cru beaucoup plus malades que nous n'étions, aujourd'hui on nous croit parfaitement guéris, et en mesure de nous engager dans des guerres dont le but n'est pas clairement défini, dont les avantages sont fort problématiques, dont les dangers sont incontestables. Non que l'Autriche n'ait fait d'immenses progrès dans les dernières années. Mais il nous reste encore des questions délicates et difficiles à résoudre, et quoique toujours prête et en mesure de tirer l'épée pour la défense de son honneur et de ses intérêts, l'Autriche est peu disposée à prendre des engagements qui pourraient lui imposer l'obligation de participer à une guerre agressive. Et n'oubliez pas, Sire, la grande différence qu'il y a entre la situation d'aujourd'hui et celle de 1855. Dans la question d'Orient, les intérêts de l'Autriche étaient avec les puissances occidentales. Dans les affaires de Pologne ils se trouvent du côté de la Russie, car du jour où une portion de la Pologne russe aurait acquis son indépendance, la possession de la Galicie par l'Autriche deviendrait au moins précaire. Diplomatiquement parlant, il n'est pas question en ce moment-ci de rendre son indépendance à une partie de la Pologne russe, mais de semblables prétentions ne tarderaient pas à se présenter. Des pertes de territoires pour l'Autriche et la Prusse pourraient en résulter à moins d'un remaniement de la carte d'Europe. Or, ni l'Autriche, ni aucune autre grande puissance que je sache est disposée à vous suivre sur ce terrain".

"Ainsi au lieu de nous demander des engagements qu'on n'obtiendra pas, ou qui, obtenus, seront interprétés par nous autrement que par V.M., et donneront par conséquent à bien des mécomptes et à un refroidissement des rapports entre Paris et Vienne avec tous les inconvénients et dangers pour l'Europe qui en résulteront nécessairement, ne vaudra-t-il pas mieux respecter la réserve de l'Autriche, agir seul ou avec ceux qui voudront s'associer à votre marche et éviter de toucher aux questions qui vous éloignent forcément de la Cour de Vienne, et je mets dans cette catégorie avant tout les questions de nationalité; enfin opérer en sorte, qu'au moment décisif, l'Autriche soit amenée par la force des choses et non par des engagements pris à mettre son poids qui est immense du côté de la balance où se trouvera la France".

L'Empereur m'a paru triste et préoccupé probablement de la situation intérieure qui sans le menacer d'un danger imminent semble se compliquer et influera puissamment, selon l'issue des élections, sur la marche de sa politique extérieure.

Recevez mon cher ami tous mes hommages.

*Doc. N. 2.*

*An Graf Rechberg. Wien.*

*19 Juni 1863*

Je mehr ich die verschiedenen Zwischenfälle bedenke welche auf einer Conferenz der acht Mächte und auf der nun einmal nicht zu vermeidenden,



und aus vielen Gründen wünschenswerthen Grundlage der Wiener Verträge vorkommen können, je wahrscheinlicher wird es mir, dass von irgendeiner Seite her der Versuch gemacht werde die Annexion Krakaus zur Sprache zu bringen. Zwar schwerlich unmittelbar von Russland und Preussen, da ersteres in uns gedrungen ist Krakau zu nehmen, letzteres obgleich wider Willen, die Annexion anerkannt hat. Aber eine der mitkonferirenden Mittelmächte - etwa Schweden oder Portugal - könnten sich wohl bestimmen lassen, als Wortführer zu dienen.

Welche Mittel gibt es um diese Gefahr zu beschwören?

Ihre Expedition nach Paris und London vom 13 (?) <sup>16)</sup> deutet bereits den Weg an, welcher möglicher Weise (meiner Ansicht nach *allein*) zum Ziele führen kann. Sehr wünschenswerth erschien mir dass unsere Botschafter noch *vor* dem Zusammentritt der Conferenz — wenn sie überhaupt zu Stande kommt — sich der entschiedenen Mitwirkung der Westmächte für die Ausschliessung jeder Debatte über Krakau auf das Positivste versicherten. Freilich werden die Cabinete von Paris und London eine solche Zusage nicht umsonst gewähren wollen. Vielleicht ist der Preis ein zu hoher. Aber der Versuch einer *vorläufigen* Verständigung, scheint mir, sollte doch gemacht werden. Wird er nicht gemacht oder gelingt er nicht, so gerathen wir in eine sehr schwierige Lage.

Man könnte einwenden: Il ne faut pas réveiller le chat qui dort, aber die Katze schläft eben nicht.

Verzeihen Sie diese Elucubrationen eines Waldeinsamen.

P.S. Es sollte mich gar nicht wundern dass England und Frankreich den Gedanken haben, diese Frage als Schwert des Democles über dem Haupte des österreichischen Bevollmächtigten schweben zu lassen, um ihn hindurch zu einem engeren Anschlusse an die Ihrigen zu bewegen.

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16) Il s'agissait de la note de Rechberg du 12 juin.

*Doc. N. 3.*

*A Monsieur le Comte de Rechberg. Vienne.*

*Paris. 24 septembre 1863*

Mon cher ami. J'ai vu hier Mr Drouyn de Lhuys que j'ai trouvé dans un état de découragement, d'embarras et d'inquiétude difficile à exprimer et qu'il n'a pas même essayé de dissimuler. Il m'a retracé le tableau des négociations concernant la Pologne, disant que c'était à tort qu'on supposait à la France des projets chimériques, que le cabinet français au contraire avait dans toutes les phases des pourparlers avec Vienne et Londres maintenu ce point de vue, qu'il était prêt à faire beaucoup ou peu, selon les convenances de ses alliés, pour peu qu'on fit quelque chose.

Mais à Vienne comme à Londres, on n'a opposé aux propositions de la France que des hésitations. Il avait (Mr Drouyn de Lhuys) conseillé des notes identiques. Cette idée singulièrement faite pour produire de l'effet à St Petersburg a été déclinée. Le cabinet français s'est résigné, et la conséquence a été un refus presque péremptoire de la Russie

d'écouter les conseils timidement offerts des trois puissances. Alors, le cabinet français, toujours dans l'espoir d'obtenir un résultat modeste mais suffisant, a proposé une convention éventuelle entre les trois Cours. Là aussi il n'a rencontré que des refus. Le cabinet russe parfaitement édifié d'ailleurs par le langage inconcevable de Lord John Russell au Parlement sur le manque d'unité et de résolution des trois puissances, a persisté dans son attitude hautaine et poussé l'insolence au point de clore de sa propre autorité les pourparlers avec les trois cabinets. Ceux-ci restent sous le coup d'un camouflé inoui et sans exemple dans l'histoire contemporaine. (C'est toujours Mr Drouyn de Lhuys qui parle). Peut-on s'en tenir là? C'est difficile, et pourtant il n'y a rien à faire.

Tel était en résumé le langage du Ministre. Conformément à votre désir, j'ai essayé de le remonter un peu. La tâche n'était pas facile, et j'avoue que personne n'était moins que moi en état de la remplir, car je lui avais prédit, comme aussi à son maître, il y a quatre mois à la même place, que dans la voie où il s'était engagé, il ne rencontrerait que des mécomptes, et que le succès me paraissait impossible. J'ose à ce sujet, référer à mes lettres de Paris du mois de mai expédiées par l'entremise du Prince de Metternich. C'étaient de bons conseils offerts amicalement, et qui n'ont pas été écoutés. Je le lui rappelai, non pas pour le narguer, mais pour lui faire comprendre que le non-succès des efforts qu'il avait faits à Vienne n'était pas dû à un manque de bon vouloir de notre A.M., toujours désireux de marcher de concert avec l'Empereur Napoléon, mais à la force des choses, aux situations données, aux intérêts de l'Autriche, et à l'attitude analogue que l'Angleterre avait dû prendre dans cette affaire.

Tout ce qui précède n'a qu'un intérêt médiocre. Il est clair qu'on est ici mécontent et irrité. Or Mr Drouyn de Lhuys l'est d'autant plus qu'il a trop d'esprit pour ne point comprendre que c'est à lui-même qu'il doit s'en prendre principalement. Aussi ses recriminations n'avaient-elles nullement le caractère d'une mise en accusation des cabinets de Vienne et de Londres. C'était plutôt un examen de conscience et un aveu des propres fautes.

J'en arrive maintenant au point essentiel de notre conversation, et je ne saurais assez appeler votre attention sur les paroles suivantes de mon interlocuteur. Je tâcherai de les reproduire textuellement.

"Pour le moment il n'y a plus rien à faire en faveur de la Pologne, m'a-t-il dit, en terminant. L'Autriche et l'Angleterre s'étant séparées de nous, la France reste seule. Elle ne fera pas de Don Quichotisme pour les pauvres Polonais. La Russie étouffera l'insurrection, elle pacifiera la Pologne à sa manière. La question ne sera pas vidée, mais pour le quart d'heure, tout sera dit. Seulement le gouvernement russe ayant excité les passions de ses populations, aura besoin de leur ouvrir un champ où elles puissent s'assouvir. Ce sera probablement sous le drapeau du Panславisme, en Orient, en Turquie, dans les Principautés, en Serbie, que sais-je? qu'il agira. L'Autriche, l'Angleterre qui y ont de grands intérêts, se verront alors obligés d'intervenir. La France se réservera de sauvegarder les siens. Chacun pour soi, guerre maritime, guerre continentale, mais guerre, et encore une guerre sans but connu, sans programme connu, sans direction connue".

Mr Drouyn de Lhuys n'a pas prononcé le mot Italie. Je lui ai parlé du prix que N.A.M. attachait à le savoir là où il est, et combien vous étiez dans les mêmes sentiments. Il s'est montré flatté en donnant à entendre qu'il fallait l'aider à y rester.

Maintenant voici les conclusions auxquelles j'en arrive à propos de ces paroles étranges et obscures que Mr Drouyn de Lhuys a d'ailleurs dites aussi à d'autres personnes, et qui semblent être le mot d'ordre du moment, soit pour laisser entrevoir un plan déjà arrêté dans l'esprit de l'Empereur, soit pour cacher l'embarras où l'on se trouve d'en former un. Je me trompe. Ce ne sont pas des conclusions que je prends la liberté de vous soumettre, ce sont de simples suppositions. Comment en effet former des conclusions là où l'élément principal manque: la pensée du maître, absent de Paris, d'ordinaire impénétrable, et habitué à mûrir quelque surprise pendant son séjour à Biarritz. Je me bornerai donc à dire que personne ne doute qu'il ne soit décidé à prendre sa revanche, soit en tâchant de réunir sur un autre terrain les puissances qui n'ont pas voulu le suivre en Pologne, soit en se tournant contre elles ou contre l'une d'elles sous le prétexte de l'avoir abandonné dans cette occasion.

Je dois ajouter que Paris qui cesse d'être Paris quand l'Empereur est absent, est désert, que les personnages politiques ne sont pas encore rentrés, et que ceux qui s'y trouvent sont dans la plus grande ignorance des intentions de Napoléon.

Que Mr Drouyn de Lhuys ait besoin d'un succès pour se maintenir, qu'il cherche l'appui principal auprès du cabinet autrichien, qu'il essaie, dans ce but, tantôt de nous cajoler et tantôt de nous impressionner en faisant entrevoir vaguement des complications graves, c'est ce qui ne fait pas doute. Peut-être le mot d'Orient lancé dans ses conversations est-il un de ces moyens, inventés par lui, d'agir à Vienne et à Londres? Mais il est possible aussi que cette insinuation remonte à une origine plus haute. C'est là ce qu'il vaudrait la peine de vérifier.

La publication sur le Moniteur de la lettre du gouvernement insurrectionnel polonais au prince Czartoryski, est un mauvais symptôme, mauvais à tout égards. La pensée en appartient certainement à l'Empereur et semblerait préluder à la mise en avant de l'idée monstrueuse de reconnaître aux insurgés les droits de belligérants.

**S T U D I A**





STANISLAS KIRKOR  
(LONDRES)

LES DONATAIRES POLONAIS DE NAPOLEON

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1. *Aperçu historique*

Les décrets napoléoniens, accordant des dotations, indiquent toujours le montant en francs de revenu annuel prévu pour chacune d'elles. Cependant, on aurait tort de croire qu'il s'agit là d'une rente annuelle versée par le trésor français ou celui d'un autre pays. A l'exception du cas de "Monte di Milano", les dotations représentent des propriétés

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\*) Une semblable dissertation de M. S. Kirkor, complément à un dictionnaire biographique des donataires polonais, va paraître prochainement en polonais dans le volume VI des "Matériaux pour la biographie, généalogie et science héraldique polonaise" (Materiały do biografii, genealogii i heraldyki polskiej), Buenos Aires et Paris.

foncières ou autres, ou bien des actions: les chiffres figurant dans les listes indiquent leur revenu évalué ou probable. On retrouve dans certains décrets et notamment dans celui du 19 mars 1808<sup>1)</sup> l'expression "montant du revenu des biens", dans la plupart des cas le montant seul étant indiqué sans aucune précision, suivi parfois d'une mention sur la classe de la dotation: 4ème classe - 4.000 frs., 5ème classe - 2.000 frs., 6ème classe - 500 frs., ou bien du nombre d'actions dont le revenu monte à 500 frs. par an.

Les biens constituant l'objet des dotations, étaient situés dans la plupart des cas sur les territoires des pays dépendant de Napoléon. Ces propriétés foncières ainsi que les autres faisaient partie des biens réservés à la disposition de l'Empereur aux termes des accords conclus avec ces états. En France, seules deux propriétés faisaient l'objet de dotations - celles du Canal du Midi et du Canal du Loing,<sup>2)</sup> retirées aux anciens propriétaires et transmises aux Sociétés anonymes dont les actions se montent à 10.000 frs. en valeur nominale, devaient rapporter 5% du revenu annuel fixe, soit 500 frs. et en plus, une participation indéfinie au revenu net. Les dotations fondées sur la source de revenu déterminée comme "Octroi du Rhin" étaient de la même nature. Seules les dotations attribuées sous forme de rentes sur la Banque Monte Napoleone di Milano ("Monte di Milano"), où une somme de 1.200.000 frs. de revenu annuel était réservée par Napoléon à sa propre disposition,<sup>3)</sup> constituent des rentes annuelles d'un montant fixe. Par contre, des mentions comme Westphalie, Hanovre, Rome etc. concernent des propriétés foncières ou autres, situées sur les territoires de ces pays et dont la gestion a été confiée aux bénéficiaires eux-mêmes ou bien aux associations des donataires.

Les dotations napoléoniennes étaient transmissibles aux descendants mâles en ligne directe par ordre de primogéniture et, en cas de titre lié à la dotation, comme celui de duc, comte, baron ou chevalier de l'Empire, il était indispensable d'instituer un majorat afin de préserver ce titre.<sup>4)</sup> Les biens concédés ne pouvaient être engagés ni aliénés sauf autorisation de l'Empereur, à condition que le placement des fonds, obtenus par la vente, soit effectué en France sous forme de biens appropriés, actions de la Banque de France ou rente française. Grâce à ces mesures, Napoléon envisageait la création d'une nouvelle élite jouissant de sécurité matérielle et d'une position aristocratique, acquise à titre de récompense pour les mérites et qui, à son avis, devait servir de base à une hiérarchie sociale nécessaire à la consolidation de la nation française.<sup>5)</sup> Evidemment, cet objectif ne pouvait viser les dotations mineures et

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1) *Archives Nationales de France*. AF IV 301.

2) MONIKA SENKOWSKA-GLUCK. Les dotations napoléoniennes au Duché de Varsovie. Etude historique et juridique. Edition de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences. Institut National "Im. Ossoliński", Wrocław-Varsovie-Cracovie 1968, p. 51.

MONIKA SENKOWSKA-GLUCK. Les donataires de Napoléon, *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, chez Armand Colin. T. XVII, Paris, juillet-septembre 1970, p. 680-693.

3) M. SENKOWSKA-GLUCK. Les donataires... p. 680, 683.

4) M. SENKOWSKA-GLUCK. Les donataires... p. 682.

SIMON KONARSKI. *Armorial de la noblesse polonaise titrée*. Paris 1958, p. 57.

5) M. SENKOWSKA-GLUCK. Les donataires... p. 692.

surtout celles non liées aux titres de noblesse et dans ces cas précis, il s'agissait de récompenser les mérites des soldats et invalides et de leur assurer ainsi qu'à leurs familles une base sûre d'existence; toutefois elles étaient soumises aux mêmes restrictions en ce qui concerne l'aliénation et l'engagement et également aux mêmes principes du droit de succession que les précédentes. Faute de descendance mâle, la dotation était rendue à sa source, soit à l'Empereur, et se retrouvait sous l'Administration de l'intendant général de l'Armée et, à partir de 1810, faisait partie du Domaine Extraordinaire de la Couronne. En vue de préserver les futurs droits du Domaine, celui-ci exerçait un contrôle sur tous les biens faisant l'objet de dotations et entretenait leurs dossiers. Je n'ai constaté que trois exceptions à ces règles concernant notamment le Prince Joseph Poniatowski et les généraux Dąbrowski et Zajączek.

Au début les dotations napoléoniennes étaient liées à l'intégration dans le Royaume d'Italie des territoires vénitiens enlevés à l'Autriche (suite au décret du 30 mars 1806) ainsi qu'à la guerre avec la Prusse et la Russie dans les années 1806-1807 et à la création du Grand Duché de Varsovie. En vertu des décrets signés à Tilsit en date du 30 juin 1807, Napoléon accordait aux 27 maréchaux et généraux français des dotations sous forme d'anciens biens nationaux au Duché de Varsovie. Ces biens devaient leur rapporter un revenu annuel de 1,132,000 frs., calculé sur l'estimation effectuée par les autorités du Grand Duché, conformément au décret impérial du 4 juin 1807. De même les décrets signés par Napoléon le 30 juin 1807 accordaient des dotations au Prince Poniatowski et aux généraux Dąbrowski et Zajączek.<sup>6)</sup> Ces trois noms sont gravés sur l'Arc de Triomphe à Paris. Le Prince Poniatowski, neveu du dernier roi de Pologne, et commandant en chef de l'armée polonaise pendant la guerre contre la Russie en 1792, a été nommé ministre de la Guerre du Grand Duché de Varsovie, créé par Napoléon après la campagne de Prusse de 1806-1807. Plus tard il est devenu commandant en chef de l'Armée du Grand Duché. Nommé maréchal de France en octobre 1813, il a trouvé la mort dans l'Elster, le 19 octobre 1813, en couvrant la retraite de l'armée française après la bataille de Leipzig. Le général Dąbrowski était organisateur et commandant des légions polonaises au cours des campagnes d'Italie. Rappelé par Napoléon, à l'époque de la campagne de Prusse en 1806, il fut chargé d'organiser les forces polonaises en Pologne libérée. Il s'est distingué à plusieurs reprises. Il est mort en 1818. Le général Zajączek (Zayonschek) a fait son service militaire dans l'armée polonaise, où il s'est rendu célèbre, ensuite dans l'armée française et à partir de 1807, dans l'armée du Grand Duché de Varsovie. Grièvement blessé au cours de la bataille de la Bérézina en novembre 1812, il fut fait prisonnier de guerre. Après 1815 il fut nommé vice-roi de Pologne par Alexandre I. Il est mort en 1826.

Aux termes des décrets mentionnés ci-dessus, le Prince Poniatowski recevait la partie située sur la rive gauche du Niemen de la Starostie de Wielona qui lui avait appartenu avant le partage de la Pologne. Ces biens lui avaient été confisqués par le gouvernement prussien. C'était donc une sorte de restitution des biens dont les revenus étaient estimés

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6) *Archives Nationales* AF IV 259 cote 1797. A. Révérend, *Armorial du Premier Empire*. Titres, majorats et armoiries concédés par Napoléon Ier. Paris 1894-1897, T. 4 p. 94, indique la date du 4 juin 1807 comme celle du décret de dotation accordée au Prince Joseph Poniatowski, ce qui est erroné.

à 25.900 frs. Quant aux décrets portant sur les dotations en faveur des généraux Dąbrowski et Zajączek, ils ne précisent pas les biens concernés, mais stipulent que les titulaires vont recevoir des biens évalués à 1.000.000 frs. chacun et rapportant 50.000 frs. de revenu annuel. <sup>7)</sup> Les biens restitués ou offerts au Prince Joseph Poniatowski et aux généraux Dąbrowski et Zajączek leur étaient attribués "en toute propriété" libre de toute restriction en ce qui concerne l'engagement, l'aliénation ou les droits de succession et présentent, en conséquence, les caractéristiques légales différentes des dotations napoléoniennes ordinaires. (C'est la raison pour laquelle je n'ai pas jugé indiqué de les inclure dans l'énumération des donataires polonais de Napoléon).

Les dotations napoléoniennes, d'ordre général, n'étaient attribuées qu'aux Polonais ayant fait leur service militaire dans l'armée française ou bien dans des régiments polonais faisant partie de l'armée française, comme le 1er régiment de cheval-légers de la Garde, ainsi que les régiments de la Légion de la Vistule. De même, les généraux Dąbrowski et Zajączek, bien qu'appartenant à l'armée du Grand Duché au moment où les biens situés sur ce territoire leur furent concédés, avaient servi durant de longues années dans l'armée française ou celles, qui y étaient attachées. Lorsque en 1808, la Légion de la Vistule, ancienne Légion Polacco-Italienne, fut dirigée sur l'Espagne, les trois régiments d'infanterie du Duché de Varsovie la suivirent et leur courage aux combats était presque égal à celui de la Légion de la Vistule. Cependant parmi les membres de ces régiments, personne ne bénéficia de dotations ni de titres impériaux qui étaient largement distribués, en récompense de la campagne espagnole, aux officiers et soldats d'infanterie de la Légion de la Vistule. A l'époque, le principe selon lequel les titres et dotations ne pouvaient revenir qu'aux soldats et officiers au service de l'armée française, n'était pas suivi en règle générale; en effet de nombreux officiers de l'armée de Saxe et d'Italie furent l'objet de ces faveurs.

Chronologiquement, les premiers Polonais ayant reçu des dotations napoléoniennes ordinaires, sont les suivants:

(1) Casimir Skarżyński, chef d'escadron, aide de camp du maréchal Lannes,

(2) Georges Constantin Zenowicz, chef d'escadron, adjoint à l'Etat major du corps du général Oudinot, et

(3) Kabienowski, chef de bataillon, adjoint à l'Etat major de la 1ère division du 3ème corps du maréchal Davout.

Ils bénéficient tous des dotations de 6ème classe, de 500 frs. de rente annuelle, sur la "Monte di Milano" en vertu du décret du 17 mars 1808.<sup>8)</sup>

Casimir Skarżyński (fils de Georges Skarżyński, qui après la conclusion du traité de paix à Tilsit, était devenu plénipotentiaire et administrateur des biens du maréchal Lannes, concédés à titre de donation napoléonienne au Duché de Varsovie),<sup>9)</sup> figurait dans le décret en tant que Casimir et n'a jamais profité de cette dotation. En effet, en dépit d'une longue correspondance à ce sujet, l'erreur ne fut pas rectifiée et

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7) M. SENKOWSKA-GLUCK. Les dotations... p. 176 et suiv. La dotation accordée au Prince J. Poniatowski n'y est pas mentionnée, étant considérée probablement comme une restitution.

8) Arch. Nat. AF IV 300.

9) M. SENKOWSKA-GLUCK. Les dotations... p. 111.

il figure toujours comme Casimir dans le "Livret des donataires" de 1815.<sup>10)</sup>

Quant à Zenowicz, nommé plus tard adjudant-commandant et attaché à l'Etat Major général pendant les Cent-Jours, il fut porteur de l'ordre de Napoléon au maréchal Grouchy du 18 juin 1815 à 10 heures du matin. En 1848, il a publié à Paris un ouvrage intitulé: "Waterloo. Déposition sur les quatre journées de la campagne de 1815".

En ce qui concerne le chef de bataillon Kabiensowski, il n'a pas été possible d'obtenir des renseignements complémentaires outre la mention figurant dans le décret et toutes les recherches de son dossier personnel dans les archives du Service historique de l'Armée au Château de Vincennes n'ont donné aucun résultat. On peut considérer comme certain que ce nom est erroné et qu'il s'agirait de Florian Kobyliński, qui pendant la guerre contre la Prusse en 1806-1807, fit son service militaire dans la 1ère division du 3ème corps; plus tard il fut adjoint à l'Etat major du 3ème corps du Maréchal Davout. Il reçut le titre de baron de l'Empire, en vertu du décret du 3 décembre 1809, toutefois sans une dotation appropriée, très probablement en raison d'une fortune personnelle lui permettant de fonder un majorat, lié au titre reçu. Pendant la campagne de 1812, il perdit une jambe et fut fait prisonnier.

Vient ensuite:

(4) Louis-Mathieu Dembowski, colonel adjoint commandant, chef d'Etat Major de la 2ème division de Dragons, bénéficiaire selon le *décret du 19 mars 1808*, d'une dotation de 2.000 frs. de revenu des biens de Westphalie. Elle est passée, après sa mort, avec le titre de baron, à son fils mineur Ignace-Louis, conformément au décret napoléonien du 11 décembre 1813.<sup>11)</sup>

Après la campagne autrichienne de 1809, de nombreux Polonais reçurent des dotations et des titres.

*En vertu des décrets du 15 août 1809*<sup>12)</sup>

(5) Adam-Désiré Chłapowski, capitaine, officier d'ordonnance de Napoléon fut bénéficiaire du titre de baron, ainsi que d'une dotation de 4.000 frs. de revenu des biens du Hanovre (remplacés ensuite par ceux de Westphalie). En janvier 1811, il fut nommé chef d'escadron au 1er régiment de cheval-légers de la Garde. En 1831 il fut nommé général de brigade de l'armée polonaise et il joua un rôle important pendant la guerre contre la Russie. Il écrivit, publiés en 1908 à Paris, ses "Mémoires sur les guerres de Napoléon".

Des dotations du même genre, accompagnées du titre de baron, ont été accordées à la même date à Joseph Félix Lazowski, général de division de l'armée française, dont le nom figure sur l'Arc de Triomphe

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10) Arch. Nat. AF\* IV 307. A Révérend, Cit., T. 4. p. 26. Suivant l'auteur, Casimir Starzyński était bénéficiaire du titre de chevalier de l'Empire en plus d'une dotation. Toutefois, d'après le texte, il est certain qu'il s'agit de Casimir Skarzynski.

11) Arch. Nat. AF\* IV 301 et AF IV 312.

12) Arch. Nat. AF\* IV 398.

à Paris, et à André Milosevitz, général de brigade de l'armée italienne, tous les deux d'origine polonaise, nés hors de la Pologne et ne se considérant pas comme Polonais. En conséquence ils ne figurent pas dans ma liste au nombre des donataires polonais. Pour la même raison il n'est pas inclus dans cette liste Théophile Théodore Petrykowski, colonel des cuirassiers de Saxe, bénéficiant aux termes du *décret du 3 décembre 1809*<sup>13)</sup> d'une dotation de 4.000 frs. de revenu des biens du Hanovre, accompagnée du titre de chevalier de l'Empire, ainsi que Jean Frédéric Petrykowski, major de l'armée de Saxe, titulaire d'une dotation de 2.000 frs. de revenu des biens de Trasimène en vertu du *décret du 16 mai 1811*.<sup>14)</sup> Le *décret du 4 octobre 1810* réglait une deuxième dotation de 4.000 frs. de revenu des biens du Tyrol italien en faveur d'André Milosevitz.<sup>15)</sup>

Dans sa lettre, adressée à Napoléon le 6 octobre 1809, le maréchal Berthier regrette que le chef de bataillon Malchelsky (Stanislas Malczewski), adjoint à l'Etat major général de l'armée, n'ait obtenu aucune de ces faveurs et suggère que le titre de chevalier de l'Empire ainsi qu'une dotation de 2.000 frs. lui soient accordés. Cette proposition ne fut pas acceptée et la raison en était sans doute que Malczewski, chef de bataillon de nomination polonaise, n'était pas à l'époque officier français. On le retrouve plus tard avec le grade de colonel d'infanterie de la Légion de la Vistule. Il est tombé sur le champ de bataille lors de la retraite de Leipzig de l'armée française le 19 octobre 1813.

Aux termes du *décret du 15 août 1809*, les dotations se montant à 500 frs. de revenu sur la Monte di Milano (ultérieurement remplacé par celui du Canal du Midi) ont été attribuées aux soldats suivants:

(6) Martin Zielinski, cheveu-léger, figurant dans le décret comme Lelinski - erreur qui a été rectifiée par le *décret du 3 mai 1812*<sup>17)</sup> seulement. Des erreurs et rectifications de ce genre étaient nombreuses.

(7) Joseph Chlebowsky (Klebowsky), cheveu-léger et

(8) Zwioldowski (?), cheveu-léger.

Lorsque ces deux derniers succombèrent à leurs blessures, deux autres indiqués sous les numéros (10) et (11) prirent leurs places.

*Aux termes du décret du 3 décembre 1809*<sup>18)</sup>

(9) François Olszewski, lieutenant en 1er du 1er régiment de cheveu-légers de la Garde, grièvement blessé au cours de la bataille d'Essling, le 22 mai 1809, a reçu une dotation de 2.000 frs. de revenu des biens de Bayreuth (remplacés ultérieurement par ceux de Westphalie).

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13) Arch. Nat. AF IV 421.

14) Arch. Nat. AF IV 553.

15) Arch. Nat. AF IV 484.

16) Arch. Nat. AF IV 311.

17) Arch. Nat. AF\* IV 311, p. 719.

18) Arch. Nat. AF IV 421.



Voici la liste des donataires de la même date, bénéficiant de 500 frs. de revenu du Canal du Midi:

(10) Joseph Daniszewski, cheval-léger,

(11) Jacques Stanislas Zawadzki, maréchal des logis du 1er régiment de cheval-légers de la Garde. Ils furent grièvement blessés, comme les précédents (6), (7) et (8), au cours de la bataille de Wagram.

*Vient ensuite en vertu du décret du 16 janvier 1810*<sup>19)</sup>

(12) Adam-Désiré Chłapowski, précédemment indiqué sous (5), titulaire d'une dotation de 1.000 frs. de revenu du Canal du Loing.

Les plus nombreuses étaient les dotations et titres accordés en récompense de la campagne autrichienne aux termes des *décrets du 15 mars 1810*.<sup>20)</sup> Voici la liste des officiers et soldats, objet de ces faveurs, tous membres du 1er régiment de cheval-légers de la Garde:

*Dotations de 4.000 frs. de revenu et titre de baron*

(13) Thomas Lubieński, chef d'escadron - des biens du Hanovre (remplacés ultérieurement par ceux de Westphalie),

(14) Ignace-Ferdinand Stokowski, chef d'escadron - des biens de Hanovre (remplacés ultérieurement par ceux de Rome).

*Dotations de 2.000 frs. de revenu et titre de baron*

(15) Jean-Hippolyte Kozieltulski, chef d'escadron - des biens de Trasi-mène (c'est lui qui commandait l'escadron de cheval-légers au moment de la célèbre charge de Somosierra le 30 novembre 1808),

*Dotations de 1.000 frs. de revenu du Canal du Midi*

*Capitaines:*

(16) Séverin Fredro,

(17) Jean-Paul Jerzmanowski - dotation accompagnée du titre de chevalier de l'Empire, il fut nommé baron, le 16 août 1813 (il sera nommé commandant de l'Escadron Napoléon à l'Ile d'Elbe. Nommé colonel de la Garde Impériale, le 14 avril 1815, il fut blessé à Waterloo).

(18) Pierre Krasiński,

(19) Vincent-Léon Szeptycki - dotation accompagnée du titre de chevalier de l'Empire.

*Dotations de 500 frs.*

*Capitaines* (rentes sur la Monte di Milano, accompagnées du titre de chevalier de l'Empire):

(20) François Xavier Lubieński,

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19) Arch. Nat. AF IV 430.

20) Arch. Nat. AF IV 441.

(21) Stanislas Rostworowski,

(22) Félix Trzciński.

*Lieutenants en 1er.* (Ceux indiqués sous (23) et (36) de la Monte di Milano, les autres du Canal du Loing):

(23) Alexandre Brocki - avec titre de chevalier de l'Empire,

(24) Joseph Etienne François Xavier Giedroyć,

(25) Stanislas Hempel,

(26) Joseph Stanislas Heymans,

(27) Antoine Jankowski, nommé capitaine le 6 décembre 1811, fut nommé colonel de l'armée polonaise à son retour en Pologne en 1815 et conquiert son grade de général dans la guerre contre la Russie en 1830-1831. Nommé successivement général de brigade et général de division, il fut tué à Varsovie au cours de l'émeute du 15 août 1831.

(28) Hermolaus Jordan,

(29) François Henri Łuszczewski,

(30) Vincent Mikułowski,

(31) André Niegolewski,

(32) Michel Pfeiffer,

(33) Ambroise Nicolas Skarżyński, nommé baron le 16 mars 1814,

(34) Joseph Alexandre Luc Wybicki - avec titre de chevalier de l'Empire,

(35) Vincent Zajączek (Zayonchek),

(36) Joseph Załuski, nommé baron le 16 août 1813,

(37) Benoît Zielonka,

*Lieutenants en 2ème (du Canal du Loing):*

(38) Gaëtan Baliński,

(39) Vincent Dobiecki,

(40) Jean Gnatowski,

(41) Florien Gotartowski,

(42) Joachim Hempel,

(43) Joseph Antoine Hoffmann,

(44) Adam Jaraczewski,

(45) Stanislas Jasiński,

(46) Valentin Korycki,

(47) Louis Kruszewski,

(48) Joseph Malinowski,

(49) Mathieu Mierzejewski,

(50) Victor Roman,

(51) Vincent Toedwen,

(52) Dominique Zawidzki.

*Maréchaux des logis (rentes sur la Monte di Milano):*

(53) Jean Bierzyński,

(54) Paul Kapuściński,

- (55) Victor Lubański,
- (56) Stanislas Wąsowicz.

*Brigadiers (rentes sur la Monte di Milano):*

- (57) Adam Dąbrowski,
- (58) Stanislas Auguste Krajewski,
- (59) Valérien Łaszczyński,
- (60) Ambroise Ordyniec,
- (61) Joseph Jean Struzieński.

*Cheveau-légers (rentes sur la Monte di Milano):*

- (62) Raphaël Lipski,
- (63) Florian Lisiecki,
- (64) Théodore Łukowski,
- (65) Antoine Polichnowski,
- (66) Clément Raczyński,
- (67) Alexandre Smarzewski,
- (68) Barthélemy Zdzański.

*Les dotations suivantes datent de l'époque de la campagne espagnole:*

En vertu du décret du 7 août 1810<sup>21)</sup> des dotations de 4.000 frs. de revenu des biens de Hanovre (remplacés ultérieurement par ceux de Rome), avec titre de baron, ont été distribuées comme suit:

- (69) Joseph Chłopicki, général de brigade,
- (70) Nicolas Alexandre Kąsinowski, colonel du 1er régiment de la Légion de la Vistule (tombé sur le champ de bataille de la Bérézina le 28 novembre 1812).

*En vertu du décret du 15 août 1810<sup>22)</sup>*

(71) Vincent Krasieński, colonel du 1er régiment de cheveau-légers de la Garde, a bénéficié d'une dotation de 4.000 frs. de revenu des biens de Westphalie. Plus tard

(72) le décret du 20 mai 1811 réglait en sa faveur le sort d'une dotation de 35.967 frs. de revenu des biens d'Opinogóra du Duché de Varsovie, accordée d'abord au maréchal Bernadotte qui y avait renoncé au moment où il était devenu l'héritier de la Couronne de Suède. Avant le partage de la Pologne cette starostie avait appartenu à la famille Krasieński, on peut donc considérer cette dotation comme une restitution. De plus, elle était accompagnée du titre de comte.<sup>23)</sup> Nommé par Napoléon général de division le 18 novembre 1813 et chef du corps polonais en France, le 4 avril 1814, qu'il a ramené en Pologne en juillet 1814. A l'époque du Royaume de Pologne, il est devenu sénateur, mais

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21) Arch. Nat. AF IV 469.

22) Arch. Nat. AF IV 473.

23) Arch. Nat. AF IV 555 - M. SENKOWSKA-GLUCK. Les dotations... p. 161 et 176.

a compromis son excellente réputation antérieure par une attitude servile envers les Russes. Il est mort en 1858.

*En vertu des décrets du 30 juin 1811* <sup>24)</sup>

(73) Joseph Chłopicki, déjà mentionné sous (69), a reçu une dotation de 4.000 frs. de revenu des biens de Hanovre (remplacés ultérieurement par ceux de Westphalie) et en même temps son titre de baron fut renouvelé en raison d'une erreur dans l'orthographe de son nom dans le décret précédent. Toutefois, en dépit de cette rectification, le nom gravé sur l'Arc de Triomphe à Paris est toujours celui de Klopisky. Il s'est distingué à plusieurs reprises en Italie, en Espagne et en Russie. Grièvement blessé le 10 septembre 1812 près de Moscou, il dut rentrer en France et ensuite en Pologne. Après l'insurrection de Varsovie du 29 novembre 1830, il était pour un certain temps dictateur en Pologne. Blessé le 25 février 1831 au cours de la bataille de Grochów, où il commandait les troupes polonaises, il s'est retiré à Cracovie. Il est mort en 1854.

(74) Thomas Lubieński, mentionné sous (13), colonel du 2ème régiment de lanciers de la Vistule, a reçu une dotation de 2.000 frs. de revenu des biens d'Erfurt. Le fait que jusqu'à cette date, le régiment formé le 7 février 1811, n'avait pris part à aucune opération, fait penser que son commandant a été honoré plutôt en tant que chef d'escadron du 1er régiment de cheval-légers de la Garde. Il a été nommé plus tard général de division de l'armée polonaise et prit part à la guerre contre la Russie en 1830-1831. Il est mort en 1870.

*En vertu des décrets du 6 août 1811* <sup>25)</sup>

(75) Joseph Chłopicki, déjà mentionné sous (69) et (73), reçut une dotation de 4.000 frs. de revenu des biens de Hanovre, et

(76) Stanislas Klicki, colonel du 1er régiment de lanciers de la Vistule bénéficia du titre de baron et d'une dotation de 2.000 frs. de revenu des biens de Montenotte. En 1813, il fut nommé général de brigade de la 9ème division de la cavalerie légère.

Au début de l'année 1812, les régiments de la Légion de la Vistule, après avoir quitté l'Espagne furent incorporés dans la Grande Armée, formée à cette époque en vue de la guerre imminente avec la Russie, et toute une division, attachée au corps de la Garde, fut formée de l'infanterie de la Légion.

Lorsque fut terminée la participation des régiments de la Légion dans les opérations d'Espagne, le décret du 31 mars 1812 <sup>26)</sup> récompensa les mérites des combattants par les dotations suivantes:

(77) Henri-Otton Milberg, capitaine et aide-de-camp du général Chłopicki, reçut, avec le titre de chevalier de l'Empire, une dotation de 500 frs. de revenu sur l'Octroi du Rhin.

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24) Arch. Nat. AF IV 563.

25) Arch. Nat. AF IV 572.

26) Arch. Nat. AF IV 647.

*Le 1er régiment de la Légion de la Vistule*

(78) Joseph Georges Chłusowicz, colonel, bénéficiaire du titre de baron et d'une dotation de 4.000 frs. de revenu des biens de Westphalie.

*Dotations de 2.000 frs. de revenu des biens de Westphalie (remplacés ultérieurement par ceux de Trasimène) avec titre de chevalier de l'Empire sont attribuées aux:*

*Chefs de bataillon:*

- (79) Adam Bieliński,
- (80) Adam Gaspar Mierosławski,
- (81) Vincent Pawełcki.

*Dotations de 1.000 frs. de revenu (à celui mentionné sous (84) sur l'Octroi du Rhin, à celui mentionné sous (86) - sur le Canal du Loing, et aux autres des rentes sur la Monte di Milano) avec titre de chevalier de l'Empire:*

*Capitaines:*

- (82) Albert Lipowski,
- (83) Vincent Markowski,
- (84) Joseph Gabriel Mroziński,
- (85) Macaire Jean Népomucène Murzynowski,
- (86) Gaëtan Wysocki,
- (87) Jean Zimmer,
- (88) Louis Żukowski.

*Dotations de 500 frs. sur l'Octroi du Rhin:*

a) avec titre de chevalier de l'Empire:

- (89) François Xavier Baldauf, chirurgien-major,
- (90) Georges Frédéric Kitz, chirurgien-major,
- (91) Ignace Łoski, Lieutenant en 1er,
- (92) Joseph Soczyński, Lieutenant en 1er,
- (93) François Ziemięcki, Lieutenant en 1er,
- (94) Fabien Burakowski, Lieutenant en 2ème.

b) sans titre:

- (95) — Rakowski, adjudant, sous-officier,
- (96) André Ballau, sergent,
- (97) Casimir Gajda, sergent,
- (98) — Kasiński (v. Kasnicki), sergent,
- (99) Sachowicz, caporal.

*Le 2ème régiment de la Légion de la Vistule*

*Dotation de 4.000 frs. de revenu des biens de Westphalie avec titre de baron obtenue par:*

- (100) Jean Nicodème Joseph Michałowski, major.

*Dotations de 2.000 frs. de revenu des biens de Westphalie avec titre de chevalier de l'Empire:*

*Chefs de bataillon:*

- (101) Mathieu Bayer,
- (102) Joseph François Falk Regulski.

*Dotations de 1.000 frs. de revenu sur l'Octroi du Rhin avec titre de chevalier de l'Empire:*

*Capitaines:*

- (103) Gaëtan Korczyński,
- (104) Nicolas Lechnowski,
- (105) Jean Razowski,
- (106) Stanislas François Michel Rechowicz,
- (107) Stanislas Smett.

*Dotations de 500 frs. sur l'Octroi du Rhin:*

*a) avec titre de chevalier de l'Empire:*

- (108) Frédéric Gulicz (Gulitz), chirurgien-major,
- (109) Casimir Rutecki, chirurgien-major,
- (110) Casimir Dobrzycki, lieutenant en 1er,
- (111) Jean Kolecki, lieutenant en 1er,
- (112) Stanislas Derengowski (Doregowski), lieutenant en 2ème,
- (113) Maximilien Lasocki, lieutenant en 2ème,
- (114) Marcel Bartholomé Niechcielski, lieutenant en 2ème,
- (115) Michel Starowolski, lieutenant en 2ème,
- (116) André Godefroy Vincent Wendorf, lieutenant en 2ème.

*b) sans titre*

- (117) Séraphin Garczyński, sergent,
- (118) Mathieu Łukowski, sergent,
- (119) Benoît Radziszewski, sergent,
- (120) Jean Sendzia, sergent,
- (121) Thomas Dzieszcza, fusilier,
- (122) André Wienkiewicz, fusilier.

*Le 3ème régiment de la Légion de la Vistule*

*Dotations de 4.000 frs. de revenu avec titre de baron:*

(123) Paul Fądzielski (Fondzielski), colonel, des biens de Westphalie (grièvement blessé lors de la retraite en Russie en 1812; il succomba à ses blessures en février 1813).

(124) Michel Kosiński, major, des biens de Rome.

*Dotations de 2.000 frs. de revenu avec titre de chevalier de l'Empire:*

*Chefs de bataillon:*

- (125) Albert Godlewski, des biens de Westphalie,



(126) François Schütz, des biens de Bayreuth (remplacés ultérieurement par ceux de Trasimène).

*Dotations de 1.000 frs. sur l'Octroi du Rhin avec titre de chevalier de l'Empire:*

*Capitaines:*

- (127) Joseph Bogdanowicz (Bohdanowicz),
- (128) Pierre Daszkiewicz,
- (129) Louis Krukowski (Krokowski),
- (130) Fortuné Mścichowski,
- (131) Antoine Sosnowski,
- (132) Albert Stawski.

*Dotations de 500 frs. sur l'Octroi du Rhin:*

*a) avec titre de chevalier de l'Empire:*

- (133) François Kitz, chirurgien-major,
- (134) François Wyszyński, lieutenant en 1er,
- (135) Adam Ignace Kulczycki, lieutenant en 2ème,
- (136) Jean Wołowicz, lieutenant en 2ème,
- (137) Joseph Zienkiewicz, lieutenant en 2ème,
- (138) Stanislas Zubrzycki, lieutenant en 2ème,

*b) sans titre:*

- (139) Adam Glatzer, adjudant sous-officier,
- (140) Jean Jalla, sergent,
- (141) Théodore Lamiński, sergent,
- (142) Jean Racibor, sergent,
- (143) Jean Ritter, sergent.

Ce qui semble surprenant dans la liste sus-mentionnée, c'est le manque total de dotations et titres pour le 1er régiment de lanciers de la Vistule, bien que cette formation se signala par sa vaillance à plusieurs reprises, et surtout pendant la bataille de Albuera le 16 mai 1811 où une forte rançon de vies humaines a été payée par ce régiment pour remporter des succès considérables. Auparavant, seul le colonel Klicki avait bénéficié d'un titre et d'une dotation.<sup>27)</sup>

A l'époque des combats ultérieurs, une seule dotation a été accordée aux termes du *décret du 11 juillet 1813*.<sup>28)</sup>

(144) Jean Kozłowski, capitaine du 2ème régiment de la Légion de la Vistule, a reçu une dotation de 500 frs. de revenu du Canal du Loing, probablement en raison de son âge (50 ans) ainsi que de ses blessures.

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27) Certains auteurs affirment que le chef de ce régiment, le colonel Jean Konopka avait reçu de Napoléon une dotation ainsi que le titre de baron. C'est une erreur. En effet, on ne trouve pas son nom dans les décrets de dotations, non plus que dans le "Livret des donataires" de 1815 (Arch. Nat. AF\* IV 307) contenant la liste complète des donataires de Napoléon — à l'exception d'Alexandre Walewski — classée par ordre alphabétique. Le titre de baron, dont bénéficie la famille Konopka, est d'origine autrichienne (S. Konarski, Cit.; p. 385). Après la bataille d'Albuera, le colonel Konopka fut promu le 6 août 1811 au grade de général de brigade et le jour même le colonel Klicki recevait une dotation et le titre.

28) Arch. Nat. AF IV 788.

Toutes les dotations étaient accordées aux militaires à titre de récompense pour la participation aux combats. Cependant aucune définition du principe régissant le choix des bénéficiaires ne se dégage pas. Sans aucun doute, dans certains cas, une recommandation de la part de l'entourage de l'Empereur ou de maréchaux, jouait un rôle prépondérant. La raison essentielle restait toutefois la récompense des combattants de mérite ou grièvement blessés.<sup>29)</sup>

De toute autre nature étaient les donations attribuées à

(145) Alexandre Florien Joseph Walewski, fils naturel de Napoléon et de Marie Walewska, bénéficiant aux termes du *décret impérial du 5 mai 1812* du titre de comte ainsi que d'une dotation de 169.516 frs. de revenu des biens du Royaume de Naples, à condition qu'à sa majorité, une rente annuelle de 50.000 frs. soit versée à sa mère, sur cette dotation.

Celle-ci était soumise au même règlement que toutes les autres dotations napoléoniennes, le majorat y compris, à l'exception qu'à défaut de descendants masculins, la dotation soit transmissible en ligne féminine. Après la trahison du roi de Naples (en janvier 1814) une dotation de 50.000 frs. de revenu annuel a été attribuée à Walewski suite au *décret impérial de février 1814*.<sup>30)</sup>

## *2. Etat général des dotations accordées avant la première abdication de Napoléon*

Le revenu annuel total des dotations citées dans la dissertation présente, les dotations au Prince Joseph Poniatowski ainsi qu'aux généraux Dąbrowski et Zajączek y compris, à l'exception de celles d'Alexandre Walewski, se monte à 304.867 frs. Après déduction des biens nationaux situés sur le territoire du Duché de Varsovie, il reste des dotations représentant un revenu de 143.000 frs., dont bénéficiaient 139 militaires polonais. Ceux-ci faisaient partie des formations suivantes:

	Nombre de donataires	Revenu annuel en frs.
Ier régiment de cheveau-légers de la Garde	63	47.000
La Légion de la Vistule (3 régiments)	70	83.500
Les lanciers de la Vistule (2 régiments)	2	4.000
Formations françaises	5	8.500
Total	140	143.000
A déduire un donataire (T. Lubienski) deux fois cité	1	
Il reste	139 donataires.	

29) M. SENKOWSKA-GLUCK. Les donataires... p. 693.

30) Ces dotations ne figurent pas dans le "Livret des donataires", Arch. Nat. AF\* IV 307. Les formalités nécessaires à la création du majorat pour Walewski ne furent pas remplies intégralement. A. Révérend, Cit. T.I. p. 272, t. 4 p. 393.

Si on laisse de côté les dotations du prince Joseph Poniatowski et des généraux Dąbrowski et Zajączek, en raison de leur catégorie spéciale, voici la liste des Polonais ayant bénéficié des dotations les plus élevées:

Vincent Krasiński	39.967 frs. (dont 35.967 frs. à titre de restitution)
Joseph Chłopicki	12.000 frs.
Thomas Łubieński	6.000 frs.
Adam Désiré Chłapowski	5.000 frs.

Le relevé de toutes les dotations accordées par Napoléon au 11 janvier 1810, comprend 4.035 dotations de revenu total de 18.212.930 frs. Après cette date, leur nombre augmentait constamment. Les données de juillet 1814, — soit après la restauration des Bourbons, — indiquent le nombre de dotations dont le revenu n'excède pas 4.000 frs.<sup>31)</sup> donc de la même catégorie que ces accordées aux 139 donataires polonais. Il manque dans ce relevé des dotations de 1.000 frs., bien que celles-ci figurent dans les décrets et qu'un certain nombre de Polonais ait bénéficié de ce genre de dotations. Il s'agit là évidemment de dotations doublées de 6ème classe (500 frs.) et c'est sous cette forme qu'elles apparaissent dans le relevé. Le tableau ci-joint permet de comparer ce relevé avec les dotations en faveur des militaires polonais.

#### TABLEAU COMPARATIF

du nombre de donataires polonais avec le chiffre total des dotations de Napoléon de revenu n'excédant pas 4.000 frs.

Nombre total de dotations napoléoniennes suivant les données de juillet 1814			Donataires polonais	
Emplacement	Nombre	Montant du revenu annuel	Nombre	Montant du revenu annuel
<i>Dotations à 4.000 frs.</i>		francs		francs
Westphalie	217	868.000	7	28.000
Hanovre	165	660.000	1	4.000
Monte di Milano	5	20.000		
Départ. détachés de la France	4	16.000		
Province romaine	307	1.228.000	4	16.000
Illyrie	72	288.000		
Total	770	3.080.000	12	48.000

31) M. SENKOWSKA-GLUCK. Les donataires... p. 683.

(suite)

<i>Dotations à 2.000 frs.</i>				
Westphalie	308	616.000	5	10.000
Hanovre	36	72.000		
Erfurt	95	190.000	1	2.000
Hesse	2	4.000		
Monte di Milano	67	134.000		
Empire français	55	110.000		
Province romaine	387	774.000		
Trasimène			5	10.000
Montenotte			1	2.000
Total	950	1.900.000	12	24.000
<i>Dotations à 1.000 frs. *)</i>				
Monte di Milano			5	5.000
Octroi du Rhin			12	12.000
Canal du Loing			2	2.000
Canal du Midi			4	4.000
Total			23	23.000
<i>Dotations à 500 frs.</i>				
Monte di Milano	2.021	1.010.500	24	12.000
Octroi du Rhin	500	250.000	38	19.000
Canal du Loing	600	300.000	29	14.500
Canal du Midi	400	200.000	5	2.500
Empire français	4	2.000		
Total	3.525	1.762.500	96	48.000
TOTALITÉ	5.245	6.742.500	143**)	143.000

\*) Ces dotations doivent être considérées comme dotations doublées de 6ème classe: 500 frs. et c'est de cette manière qu'on les a inclus dans le nombre des dotations à 500 frs.

\*\*) En déduisant les dotations ultérieures des mêmes bénéficiaires, on obtient le nombre de 139 pour les donataires polonais.

### 3. Les dotations des Cent-Jours

Après son retour, Napoléon décerna des dotations à tous les officiers et soldats qui l'avaient accompagné pendant son exil à l'Ile d'Elbe<sup>32)</sup> et entre autres aux officiers et soldats de l'escadron polonais, détaché du 1er régiment de cheval-légers de la Garde. Cet escadron surnommé Escadron Napoléon formait l'escorte de l'empereur à son entrée à Paris le 20 mars 1815.

Ainsi aux termes du *décret du 10 avril 1815*,<sup>33)</sup> une dotation de 1.000 frs. était accordée à

(146) Jean Paul Jerzmanowski, major, précédemment cité sous (17), nommé colonel le 14 avril 1815.

Le décret en question était conçu pour récompenser tous les officiers des formations de l'Ile d'Elbe et leurs noms y figuraient, néanmoins, aucun montant n'a été inscrit auprès des quatre autres noms polonais (à part celui de Jerzmanowski). Le général Cambronne recevait une dotation de 4.000 frs., le colonel Mallet, commandant du bataillon de l'infanterie 2.000 frs., tous les autres officiers français 500 frs. chacun.

*Le décret du 27 avril 1815*<sup>34)</sup> réglait les dotations de 200 frs. à tous les sous-officiers et soldats des formations de l'Ile d'Elbe, y compris aux sous-officiers et cheval-légers de l'escadron Napoléon:

#### *Maréchaux des-logis-chefs:*

(147) Alexandre Piotrowski, nommé lieutenant en 2ème le 22 mai 1815,

(148) Jean Raffaczyński, nommé lieutenant en 2ème, le 22 mai 1815,

#### *Maréchaux des logis:*

(149) Martin Bieliński,

(150) Stanislas Borowski,

(151) Jean Faszczewski,

(152) François Mierzejewski, nommé lieutenant en 2ème le 22 mai 1815,

(153) Michel Schulz,

(154) Louis Trzebiatowski, nommé lieutenant en 2ème le 22 mai 1815,

(155) Joseph Zaremba,

#### *Fourriers:*

(156) Jean Michniewicz,

(157) Joseph Poleski,

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32) Dans le "Livret des Donataires" (Arch. Nat. AF\* IV 307) ces dotations sont inscrites en petites lettres par ordre alphabétique aux endroits libres entre les noms de ceux qui en premier lieu y étaient inscrits.

33) Arch. Nat. AF IV 859<sup>9</sup>.

34) Arch. Nat. AF IV 859<sup>13</sup>.

*Brigadiers:*

- (158) Jean Aniołkowski,
- (159) Jean Bocianowski,
- (160) Joseph Borkowski,
- (161) Jean Czarnecki,
- (162) Paul Głaszyński,
- (163) Michel Lewandowski,
- (164) Cyprien Sanikowski,
- (165) Simon Słomiński,

*Maréchal ferrant:*

- (166) Joseph Biernacki,

*Cheveau-légers:*

- (167) Joseph Andruszkiewicz,
- (168) Antoine Bieliński,
- (169) Lucas Biernacki,
- (170) Georges Błocki,
- (171) Albert Borowski,
- (172) François Chwoynowski,
- (173) Antoine Czaykowski,
- (174) Vincent Czumański,
- (175) Georges Danielewicz,
- (176) Gabriel Doffiński,
- (177) Lucas Graczyk,
- (178) Stanislas Gregorewicz,
- (179) François Jankowski,
- (180) François Jasewicz,
- (181) François Jezierski,
- (182) Thomas Kaczkowski,
- (183) Nicolas Kamiński,
- (184) Joseph Kassarek,
- (185) Louis Kaszewski,
- (186) Jean Klimaszewski,
- (187) Jacques Kobzyński,
- (188) Faustin Kotecki,
- (189) François Kotuliński,
- (190) André Kowalewski (Nowakowski?),
- (191) Vincent Kozakiewicz,
- (192) Opportun Kozłowski,
- (193) Stanislas Krawczyński,
- (194) Stanislas Kromer,
- (195) Antoine Krzeczkowski (Krakowski?),

- (196) Jean Krzyński,
- (197) Auguste Kucharski,
- (198) Michel Kulczycki,
- (199) Jean Kulig,
- (200) Charles Kułakowski,
- (201) Michel Kupryan,
- (202) Nicolas Kurzański (Kaszański?),
- (203) Laurent Kwiatkowski,
- (204) André Lejowski,
- (205) Etienne Łada,
- (206) Joseph Łukasiewicz,
- (207) Jacques Mendychowski,
- (208) Joseph Mierzyński,
- (209) Martin Mikołajew,
- (210) Florien Mioduszewski,
- (211) Marcelin Mizgert,
- (212) Joseph Mleczyński,
- (213) Jean Nowak,
- (214) Jean Nowakowski,
- (215) Paul Olechnicki,
- (216) Jacques Orlecki,
- (217) Mathieu Pawłowski,
- (218) Frédéric Piątkowski (Piontowski?),
- (219) Thomas Podlaszewski,
- (220) Edouard Pontner,
- (221) Félix Przyjałkowski,
- (222) Joseph Puchacki,
- (223) Charles Rapczyński,
- (224) Ignace Różyczko,
- (225) Benoît Ruszkowski,
- (226) Adam Sawicki,
- (227) Jean Słobodzyński,
- (228) Mathieu Sobik,
- (229) Jacques Sokołowski,
- (230) Casimir Swedowski,
- (231) Michel Szafrąński,
- (232) Michel Szleczkowski,
- (233) Vincent Szuliszewski,
- (234) Mathieu Szwankowski,
- (235) André Szwarocki,
- (236) Antoine Szymanowicz,
- (237) Léon Szymański,
- (238) Jean Szytkowski,

- (239) Jean Swiecznik,
- (240) Michel Wiszniewski,
- (241) Jean Wysocki,
- (242) Thomas Wysocki,
- (243) Antoine Zawadzki,
- (244) Joseph Zdanowski,
- (245) Martin Zieliński (Mathieu Zielniski?),
- (246) Thomas Zwierzchowski,
- (247) Charles Żabell.

Les noms sus-mentionnés sont, à une seule exception, les mêmes que ceux figurant dans la liste du 10 avril 1814, publiée par Rembowski et relative à la composition proposée de l'escadron qui devait accompagner Napoléon à l'Île d'Elbe.<sup>35)</sup> Il ne manque que celui de Nicolas Chądzyński et c'est Frédéric Piątkowski qui a été indiqué à sa place. L'orthographe de certains noms étant erronée dans le décret de dotations, il a fallu les corriger dans la dissertation présente suivant la liste publiée par Rembowski (certains noms figurent entre parenthèses d'après l'orthographe dans le décret). En plus des noms polonais, on y trouve des noms étrangers de soldats ayant fait partie de l'escadron Napoléon et notamment deux Français - trompettes, également cités par Rembowski, ainsi que cinq mamelouks.

*Les décrets du 10 et 27 avril 1815* diffèrent des précédents. En effet, les biens faisant l'objet des dotations ne sont pas déterminés. Ils stipulent simplement que les dotations étaient accordées sur le Domaine Extraordinaire; elles constituent donc plutôt des rentes annuelles et non des dotations de caractère semblable à celui des précédentes. Par ailleurs, ces dotations étaient transmissibles aux enfants des donataires sans aucune restriction.

*Le décret suivant du 15 mai 1815*<sup>36)</sup> accorde des dotations de 500 frs. aux officiers polonais qui étaient omis dans le décret du 10 avril 1815, cependant aucune mention n'est faite au sujet de la succession.

Voici la liste des donataires:

(248) Gaëtan Baliński, chef d'escadron, mentionné précédemment sous (38),

(249) Jean Stultz l'orthographe correcte: Schultz, ou Szulc), capitaine,

(250) Martin Fiutowski, lieutenant en 1er,

(251) Thomas Skowroński, lieutenant en 2ème.

On trouve tous ces noms chez Rembowski, excepté celui du capitaine Schultz (Szulc) venu du 7ème régiment de cheval-légers-lanciers de ligne. Le lieutenant en 1er Casimir Koch et le lieutenant en 2ème Joseph Piotrowski, indiqués sur la liste de Rembowski, ne figurent pas dans le décret, le premier ayant donné sa démission, le second ayant été

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<sup>35)</sup> *Sources Documentaires concernant l'histoire du régiment des cheval-légers de la Garde de Napoléon I*, publiées par Alexandre Rembowski, Varsovie 1899, p. 503-505.

<sup>36)</sup> Arch. Nat. AF IV 859<sup>17</sup>



arrêté en route sur l'Ile d'Elbe.<sup>37)</sup> Le lieutenant en 2ème Piotrowski inclus dans la liste des officiers du régiment de cheveau-légers-lanciers de la Garde, est en fait l'ancien maréchal des logis chef, cité sous (147), Alexandre Piotrowski.<sup>38)</sup>

Au retour de l'Ile d'Elbe, l'Escadron Napoléon fut incorporé en tant que premier escadron, dans le régiment de cheveau-légers-lanciers de la Garde. Ce régiment s'est distingué à la bataille de Waterloo en attaquant les gardes écossaises et en se battant jusqu'au dernier moment. Après la défaite, le régiment avec l'escadron polonais reculait pas à pas en couvrant la retraite et certains de ses lanciers avec une poignée de chasseurs à cheval de la Garde assuraient la protection de Napoléon.<sup>39)</sup>

#### 4. Le sort des dotations après la chute de l'Empire

Après la chute de l'Empire, seules les dotations décernées avant la première abdication de Napoléon et fondées sur des biens en France dans ses nouvelles frontières, soit le Canal du Midi et le Canal du Loing, ont été maintenues. Elles concernaient 40 donataires polonais. Même lorsque le gouvernement royal rendit les canaux à leurs anciens propriétaires, les droits des donataires et de leurs successeurs ont été honorés jusqu'au moment de leur extinction par manque d'héritiers, ces mesures étant applicables aux étrangers donc également aux donataires polonais. Par contre, les dotations, dont la source de revenu se trouvait en dehors des nouvelles frontières de la France, ont toutes été supprimées. Le général Krasinski réussit à conserver les biens qui lui avaient été accordés en Pologne, ayant obtenu une confirmation de la part des nouvelles autorités du Royaume de Pologne. Les généraux Dąbrowski et Zajaczek jouissant d'une dotation "en toute propriété" n'avaient pas besoin d'une telle confirmation.

D'une manière différente étaient considérées les dotations sous forme de rente sur la banque Monte di Milano, accordées, entre autres, aux 29

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37) Henri Lachouque dans son ouvrage "*Napoléon et la Garde Impériale*", Paris, 1956, indique la composition primitive des officiers de l'escadron de l'Ile d'Elbe (p. 700), une liste du 13 avril 1814, de ceux qui, en raison de leur départ pour l'Ile d'Elbe, devaient recevoir des gratifications en argent (entre autres Schultz, "capitaine commandant l'Escadron Napoléon") (p. 929), ainsi qu'une liste du 1er janvier 1815 des noms des officiers de l'Escadron Napoléon (p. 772-773). Au retour de l'Ile d'Elbe, des officiers polonais accompagnaient Napoléon et leurs signatures figurent sur la proclamation adressée à l'armée; voici leurs noms: major baron Jerzmanowski, capitaine Baliński, capitaine Schultz, lieutenant en 1er Fintowski (Flutowski) et lieutenant en 2ème Schorunski (Skowronski) (p. 776), soit les mêmes qui plus tard furent récompensés par des dotations.

38) *Le Service historique de l'Armée*, 2ème volume du registre "Garde Impériale". 2ème régiment de cheveau-légers-lanciers, p. 89. Dans ce registre, établi en 1820, au moment de la liquidation du régiment, on retrouve les noms des cinq officiers polonais de l'Ile d'Elbe ainsi que des lieutenants en 2ème Raffaczyński, Piotrowski, Trzebiatowski et Mierzejewski, anciens maréchaux des logis. Voici ce qui est noté à leur sujet: "Venu de l'Escadron sacré de l'Ile d'Elbe". On y cite en outre, le nom de Grabowski, qui fut nommé lieutenant en 1er de ce régiment le 22 mai 1815, avec l'annotation suivante: "Etait capitaine au dépôt polonais" — cette mention concerne vraisemblablement le dépôt des régiments polonais à Soissons.

39) FRÉDÉRIC MASSON. *Cavalerie de Napoléon*. Paris 1909, p. 304.

donataires polonais. D'après le traité d'abdication de Napoléon, du 11 avril 1814, les engagements de la banque à l'égard de tous les créanciers seraient remplis. néanmoins, cette clause n'a pas été respectée. C'est seulement après la guerre de 1859 et de l'intégration de la Lombardie au royaume de Sardaigne, que le gouvernement de Sardaigne s'est engagé à verser à la France, à titre de restitution des créances sur la banque Monte di Milano, la somme de 12 millions de frs., dont la moitié était destinée à satisfaire les donataires napoléoniens ou leurs successeurs. Elle leur a été distribuée sous forme de rentes sur l'Etat français, ce qui leur assurait pour l'avenir un revenu se montant au 1/4 environ de celui qui leur avait été accordé au début, toutefois sans aucune compensation pour la période écoulée. Ces rentes étaient soumises à la réglementation légale relative aux dotations napoléoniennes et cet état de choses dura jusqu'en 1905, où le résidu de ces rentes fut racheté par le trésor français de même que les autres biens faisant l'objet des majorats napoléoniens existant encore.<sup>40)</sup>

Les dotations des Cent-Jours ne résistèrent pas à la deuxième chute de l'Empire, n'ayant pas été fondées sur des revenus des biens déterminés, mais sur le Domaine Extraordinaire qui en réalité était lui-même dépourvu de tout revenu et qui en 1818 fut inclus dans le trésor français.<sup>41)</sup> De même, par suite du décret royal du 28 juillet 1815, toutes les distinctions de la Légion d'Honneur, accordées par Napoléon entre le 27 février et le 7 juillet 1815, furent annulées.

Il est presque certain qu'après la révolution à Paris le 27 juillet 1830, des démarches furent entreprises par les intéressés, en vue de faire honorer les dotations accordées pendant les Cent-Jours. C'est dans ce but sans doute, que Michel Schultz, cité sous (153), obtint du directeur des archives une attestation, en date du 8 janvier 1833, confirmant qu'une dotation de 200 frs. lui avait été accordée. Toutefois, il m'a été impossible de vérifier si ces démarches ont été fructueuses.

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40) M. SENKOWSKA-GLUCK. *Les dotations...* p. 182, 185, 188.

41) M. SENKOWSKA-GLUCK. *Les dotations...* p. 190.

42) Arch. Nat. AF\* IV 311.

## ANNEXE

### *Les régiments polonais au service de la France ou de l'Italie, de 1797 à 1814*

*Les Légions polonaises en Italie* (1ère et 2ème) ont été créées le 9 janvier 1797 (20 Nivôse a. V). Toutefois, avant cette date, il existait déjà deux compagnies polonaises attachées à la Légion de Lombardie, ainsi qu'un bataillon polonais auprès de cette Légion, formé en vertu de l'ordre du général Bonaparte du 5 décembre 1796. Ces unités firent ensuite partie des Légions polonaises, qui, après plusieurs réorganisations, furent dissoutes le 20 janvier 1802 (30 Nivôse a. X).

*La Légion du Danube*, formée le 8 septembre 1799 (22 Fructidor a. VII) a été dissoute également le 20 janvier 1802.

*Le régiment de cavalerie*, créé en Italie en janvier 1799 (Nivôse a. VII), a rejoint la Légion du Danube en décembre 1799 (Frimaire a. VIII).

Des formations suivantes furent créées, par suite de la dissolution des unités sus-mentionnées:

*1ère demi-brigade polonaise* - succéda à la première Légion;

*2ème demi-brigade polonaise* - succéda à la deuxième Légion et fut remplacée le 10 décembre 1802 (19 Frimaire a. XI) par la 114ème demi-brigade d'infanterie de ligne française et envoyée à Saint-Domingue.

*3ème demi-brigade polonaise* - succéda à la Légion du Danube et fut remplacée le 2 septembre 1802 (15 Fructidor a. X) par la 113ème demi-brigade d'infanterie de ligne française et envoyée à Saint-Domingue.

*1ère demi-brigade polonaise* - accompagnée du *régiment de cavalerie* resta au service de la République Italienne, ensuite au service du Royaume d'Italie jusqu'au 4 août 1806, et enfin au service du Royaume de Naples jusqu'au 19 février 1807.

*La Légion Polacco-Italienne* - au service de la France, fut créée le 19 février 1807; en mai 1807 elle se rendit en Silésie Prussienne, où 3 régiments d'infanterie de cette Légion furent formés. Elle fut suivie par le *régiment de cavalerie*. Plus tard, toutes ces formations furent dirigées vers la France.

*La Légion de la Vistule* au service de la France fut créée le 31 mars 1808, succédant à la Légion Polacco-Italienne; elle était composée au début de 3 régiments d'infanterie et à partir du 12 février 1810, de 4 régiments d'infanterie. Au mois de juin 1808, elle fut dirigée vers l'Espagne.

*La deuxième Légion de la Vistule* fut formée le 8 juillet 1809 et incorporée dans la première Légion de la Vistule en tant que 4ème régiment d'infanterie et ceci à partir du 12 février 1810.

*Le régiment d'infanterie de la Vistule* fut créé le 18 juin 1813 par le rassemblement des restes des quatre régiments de la Légion de la Vistule.

*Le régiments de lanciers de la Vistule* fut créé le 20 mars 1808 succédant au régiment de cavalerie en provenance d'Italie et sa dénomination fut remplacée le 18 juin 1811 par celle de *7ème régiment de cheval-légers-lanciers de ligne*.

*Le 2ème régiment de lanciers de la Vistule* fut créé le 7 février 1811 et nommé, le 18 avril 1812, le *8ème régiment de cheval-légers-lanciers de ligne*.

*Les Légions du Nord* au service de la France (1ère et 2ème), créées le 20 septembre 1806, rejoignirent le corps du Grand Duché de Varsovie le 13 février 1808.

*Le 1er régiment de hussards* au service de la France fut créé le 12 mars 1807, mais en fait il était déjà sur le point de se former à partir de la mi-octobre 1806. Le 27 octobre 1807 il fut incorporé dans les cadres du régiment de cavalerie en provenance d'Italie.

*Le 1er régiment de cheval-légers de la Garde Impériale*, fut créé le 6 avril 1807. Dans sa grande partie il était composé au début de membres de la Garde d'Honneur de l'Empereur, formée à Varsovie à partir du 19 décembre 1806 et originaire d'une organisation clandestine appelée "Société des Amis de la Patrie". Ainsi les états de service officiels de certains officiers du 1er régiment de cheval-légers de la Garde indiquent comme début de leur service militaire, des dates précédentes la date de la création de ce régiment ou même celle de la Garde d'Honneur.

*Le 3ème régiment de cheval-légers de la Garde Impériale* fut créé le 5 juillet 1812 et ses restes furent incorporés dans le 1er régiment de cheval-légers de la Garde le 22 mars 1813.

*L'Escadron de Tartares Lithuaniens* fut créé le 24 août 1812 auprès du 3ème régiment de cheval-légers de la Garde et ensuite attaché au 1er régiment de cheval-légers de la Garde à partir du 22 mars 1813.

*Le 3ème régiment d'Eclaireurs de la Garde Impériale* fut formé le 9 décembre 1813 auprès du 1er régiment de cheval-légers de la Garde.

*Le Bataillon Polonais de Grenadiers de la Garde Impériale* fut créé le 5 octobre dans le 3ème régiment d'Eclaireurs de la Garde le 1er janvier 1814.

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Le traité d'abdication, signé par Napoléon le 11 avril 1814, stipulait dans son article 19 que "Les troupes polonaises de toute arme qui sont au service de France, auront la liberté de retourner chez elles, conservant armes et bagages, comme un témoignage de leurs services honorables. Les officiers, sous-officiers et soldats conserveront les décorations qui leur ont été accordées, et les pensions affectées à ces décorations".

L'article en question concerne non seulement les formations polonaises dans l'armée française mais aussi le corps du Duché de Varsovie. Les détachements polonais de l'armée française furent rayés des listes de contrôle de cette armée, le 1er mai 1814. Le corps polonais en France se soumit aux ordres d'Alexandre 1er et il quitta la France le 7 juillet 1814, se dirigeant vers le Duché de Varsovie. A l'exception toutefois d'un escadron formé d'officiers, sous-officiers et soldats du 1er régiment de cheval-légers de la Garde, qui accompagnait l'Empereur dans son exil à l'Ile d'Elbe en tant qu'Escadron Napoléon.

*Les unités polonaises dans l'armée française durant les Cent-Jours*

*L'Escadron Napoléon* après sa rentrée de l'Île d'Elbe en France avec l'Empereur, le 1er mars 1815, fut incorporé dans le régiment de cheval-légers-lanciers de la Garde Impériale en tant que 1er escadron, le 25 avril 1815. C'était en effet l'ancien deuxième régiment de cheval-légers de la Garde surnommé "Lanciers rouges" et qui, au cours de la première Restauration, portait le nom du Corps Royal des Cheval-légers de France.

*Le 3ème régiment étranger d'infanterie* (polonais) fut créé aux termes du décret impérial du 11 avril 1815, mais, en réalité, il était déjà sur le point de se former à Soissons, depuis le 29 mars 1815.

*Le 7ème régiment de cheval-légers-lanciers de ligne* (polonais) fut également formé à Soissons.

Après la seconde abdication de Napoléon, toutes les formations polonaises, mentionnées ci-dessus, accompagnèrent l'armée française lors de sa retraite au-delà de la Loire. Après la dissolution de l'Armée de la Loire, elles passèrent (à l'exception du 7ème régiment de cheval-légers-lanciers) sous les ordres d'Alexandre Ier et furent dirigées vers le Royaume de Pologne, pour être incorporées dans les cadres de l'armée polonaise. Elles furent rayées des contrôles de l'armée française le 1er octobre 1815. Le 7ème régiment de cheval-légers-lanciers fut supprimé.



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BRITISH RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS AND THE POLES  
BETWEEN 1832 AND 1870

Religious bodies in Great Britain were confronted with the problem that the nineteenth century Polish emigration before 1865 was primarily political and military in character.<sup>1)</sup> Any relief for the Poles was, therefore, in practice if not in theory, condoning the tactics of the majority of refugees who thought of their exile as being only an enforced interval before a further attack on the partitioning powers. The sole platform on which all the Churches could agree was that of pure charity, but it proved impossible to isolate the mitigation of private misfortunes from the *raison d'être* of Polish exile. Although deprived of the consistent political support of the Papacy, it was difficult for the Poles as a predominantly Catholic nation to avoid giving offence to both the Established Church and dissenting sects. The sympathy of the Catholic Church in England for the persecuted Catholics and Uniates in Poland was, for all practical purposes, outbalanced by the fear that the revolutionary fervour of the Poles would spread to Italy and destroy the Papal possessions. Anglo-Jewry, on the other hand, was not presented with any ideological obstacles to prevent it helping its co-religionists, especially since the majority had not been compelled to leave the homeland for political reasons. Apart from the fact, however, that wealthy Jews in England were absorbed in the problem of their own disabilities and status in society,<sup>2)</sup> the taint of anti-Semitism associated with Poland could not fail to dilute potential support for the movement of national independence.

The traditional view that Polish emigrants as suspected 'red' revolutionaries were regarded with disdain and virtually ignored by the Roman Catholic Church in Britain can no longer be accepted as completely valid.<sup>3)</sup> There was a fundamental division in Catholic thinking with regard to the Polish question.<sup>4)</sup> The Church was faced with the dilemma either of losing prestige if it failed to support, on principle, a basically

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1) This article is a revised and expanded version of a chapter in my doctoral thesis, *Pro-Polish Agitation in Great Britain 1832-1867* (University of London; 1968).

2) See U.R.D.HENRIQUES, "The Jewish Emancipation Controversy in Nineteenth-Century Britain", *Past and Present*, XL (1968), 126-146.

3) Cf. M. WAJSBLUM, "Quakers and Poland 1661-1919", *Polish Review*, XI, 2 (1966), 18.

4) For Irish Catholicism see my forthcoming articles in *Irish Historical Studies*.

Catholic nation,<sup>5)</sup> or of advocating a war for Polish independence, fully aware of the fact that such a conflict could only be revolutionary in character and detrimental to Papal interests in Italy.<sup>6)</sup> Catholic reaction to the problem was not uniform, but even the most progressive and sympathetic elements could not advance a solution wholly or even partially acceptable to the Poles.

Russian persecution of the Catholic Church in Poland was the first argument used by *The Tablet* in 1840 to induce English Catholics to support the efforts of the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland to raise money for the poverty-stricken Polish emigrants.<sup>7)</sup> In May 1842 William Arthur White met Monsignor Cappucini at St. Mary's College, Oscott, and was authorized to assure the clergy in Poland that, if their discretion could be relied upon, the Holy See would not cease to protect and defend the rights of the Church in Poland.<sup>8)</sup> It was, however, forcefully impressed upon Władysław Zamoyski in December 1841 that Rome could do nothing for the Poles.<sup>9)</sup> A fortnight later, Monsignor Cappucini was ready to admit that the Pope placed excessive faith in Russian flattery, although the official and apologetic line taken by the Papacy had been that any interference would only serve to intensify the persecution of Polish Catholics.<sup>10)</sup>

The measures taken by Russia in 1839 to abolish the Uniate religion were belatedly condemned in a Consistorial Allocation of July 1842. This was an attempt by the *ultra* conservative Gregory XVI to vindicate his failure to support the persecuted Catholic Church in Poland and to eradicate the bitter memories of the *Superiori anno*.<sup>11)</sup> The Pope

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5) In 1855 81.7 per cent of the population of the Congress Kingdom was Catholic. For details of other religious bodies see S. KRÓLIK, *Hierarchia kościelna w Królestwie Polskim wobec przygotowania i wybuchu Powstania Syczeńowego* (Warszawa, 1962), 15.

6) As a result of Russian entreaties, the Papal brief *Superiori anno* was issued on 9 June 1832 denouncing the Polish insurrection and condemning "those authors of lying and trickery who, under cover of religion, defy the legitimate power of princes, break all the ties of submission imposed by duty and plunge their country into misfortunes and mourning". See H. DANIEL-ROPS, *The Church in an Age of Revolution* (London, 1965), 215, and E.E.Y. HALES, *Revolution and Papacy, 1769-1846* (London, 1960), 287-288.

7) *The Tablet* (4 July 1840), 129, 2 and 3.

8) Biblioteka Czartoryskich [hereafter cited as B.Cz.] 5526 IV, 266 (William Arthur White to Adam Czartoryski, 25 May 1842). Cappucini was employed by Gregory XVI for diplomatic missions to various countries. William Arthur Adam Kamil White (1824-1891), son of Arthur who was closely connected with the Czartoryski family until his death in March 1856. Born Poland, educated at King William College, Isle of Man and Trinity College, Cambridge. Clerk to consul-general at Warsaw 9 March 1857; vice-consul 9 January 1861; consul at Danzig 9 November 1864; agent and consul in Serbia 27 February 1875; transferred to Bucharest 1 July 1878; envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Bucharest 3 March 1879; envoy extraordinary at Constantinople 18 April 1885 and special ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary at Constantinople 11 October 1886 to death in Berlin, 28 December 1891. See also R.F. LESLIE, "Information and Foreign Policy: An Aspect of the British Official Attitude Towards the Polish Question (1856-1863)" in *Wiek XIX. Prace ofiarowane Stefanowi Kieniewiczowi w 60 rocznicę urodzin* (Warszawa, 1967), 345-353.

9) J. ZAMOYSKA (Ed.), *Generał Zamoyski, 1803-1868* (Poznań, 1910-1930), IV, 211 (Władysław Zamoyski to Adam Czartoryski, 19 December 1841).

10) Op. cit., IV, 212 (Władysław Zamoyski to Adam Czartoryski, 3 January 1842).

11) Polish democrats openly criticized the Pope as an ally of tyranny and enemy of Polish independence. See "Katolicyzm nie zmienia swojej natury", *Demokrata Polski* (23 January 1838), 85-87.



denounced "the fraudulency responsible for a rumour that the Holy See has betrayed the Catholic cause". Recriminations against Russian deception with regard to the real state of religious matters in the Congress Kingdom scarcely appear sincere when viewed in the light of the negotiations between Nicholas I and the Papacy begun in December 1845 and culminating in the Concordat of 1847.<sup>12)</sup> Papal sympathy for Poland could have little meaning when it had been intimated to St. Petersburg that Rome would not embarrass Russia politically. Although the Poles had been treated harshly by the Pope, both Władysław Zamoyski and Thomas Chisholme Anstey contended that no other power had dared to be so openly critical of the Tsarist régime.<sup>13)</sup> Largely as a result of Zamoyski's exertions several British papers discussed the event as one of importance, but *The Protestant*, the monthly organ of the British Reformation Society, in a review of the *Morning Herald's* articles concerning the Allocution accused the *Herald* of supporting Antichrist and exhorted British Protestants to look to Russia for protection against Rome and "Polish Romanists".<sup>14)</sup>

Accounts in English of forcible conversions of Catholics to Russian Orthodoxy were taken both from Czartoryski's Paris organ, *Trzeci Maj*, and from the French Catholic paper, *Univers*. *The Tablet* also printed an appeal, which had first appeared in the *Journal des Débats* in October 1845,<sup>15)</sup> for religious toleration and the renunciation of all intentions of calling for a holy crusade against the Tsar. It is difficult to estimate the influence of *The Tablet* on readers in Great Britain, but conservative Catholics must have been shocked in November 1845 when the paper's usual circumspection on Polish political affairs was replaced by a definite advocacy of, and approval for, insurrection. Despite the news, which had reached London from Paris in October 1845, of alleged Russian brutalities towards the Basilian nuns at Mińsk,<sup>16)</sup> Pope Gregory XVI felt no compunction in receiving the Tsar in Rome and thus betrayed assurances given in 1842. On 22 November 1845 *The Tablet* wrote that

if powerful Church persecutors are to be caressed by the Papacy there would be a danger that persecuted Catholics will not appeal to Rome for protection but might endeavour to secure it by overturning their

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12) H. DANIEL-ROPS, op. cit., 215-216 and 262.

13) J. ZAMOYSKA, op. cit., IV, 246 (Władysław Zamoyski to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 22 August 1842); *Report of the Proceedings of the Eleventh General Meeting of the London Literary Association of the Friends of Poland* [hereafter cited as *Report*] (1843), 55 and 59. Thomas Chisholme Anstey (1816-1873) was a member of the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland from 1842 until his resignation in November 1851 as a result of Kossuth's presence at the Polish-Hungarian Guildhall Ball. Liberal M.P. for Youghal 1847-1852; barrister and Professor of law and jurisprudence at colleges of St. Peter and St. Paul in Bath; Attorney-General in Hong Kong 1855-1859; practised at Bombay Bar 1860-1866 and 1869-1873.

14) *Report of the Annual Meeting of the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland* [hereafter cited as *Report*] (1844), 45.

15) "Poland — Religious Persecution in Russia", *The Tablet* (11 October 1845), 647, 3 and 4.

16) For a full account of the atrocities see *Demokrata Polski* (4 October 1845), 51-52.

Governments to show the Pope that strength is not all on the enemy side. We honestly confess that, were the case ours — such, under present circumstances would be our course.<sup>17)</sup>

The Resurrectionist Order, which was virtually a Church agency of the Hôtel Lambert in France,<sup>18)</sup> first conceived the idea of exploiting the story of the Abbess of the Mińsk Convent in 1846 as an instrument to exert pressure on Western governments in the interests of Poland. In short, the sufferings related by Mother Makryna Mieczysławska were to be manipulated to induce a climate of Russophobia especially in France and England. *The Tablet's* revelations, however, were not opportune. Parliament was absorbed in the problem of the Corn Laws and discontent in Ireland. John Henry Newman's conversion to Catholicism in 1845 and the consequent fears of the Oxford Movement had resulted in the closing of Anglican doors against the perils and encroachments of the Papacy. The Literary Association of the Friends of Poland tried to organize action by placing a précis of the events in *The Times*. John T. Delane, the editor, however, found General Ludwik Bystrzonowski's account so obscure as to be impossible to understand and the Abbess's interview with the Pope was not mentioned in the English press.<sup>19)</sup>

In view of the domestic crisis in England it was clear that the House of Commons did not wish to incur Russian hostility by making a pronouncement on the Mińsk affair. As early as 16 December 1845 William Fox Strangways, the British envoy and minister plenipotentiary at Frankfurt from March 1840 to January 1849, had suggested to Dudley Coutts Stuart that Lord Sandon should take up the question in Parliament.<sup>20)</sup> Fox Strangways believed the story to be possible "and

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17) "Guizot, Nicholas and the Pope", *The Tablet* (22 November 1845), 755, 2 and 3.

18) The *Bractwo Zmartwychwstańców*, founded by Polish exiles who had taken Holy Orders abroad, was viewed with extreme suspicion and distrust by both *émigré* Polish army chaplains and the left-wing emigration. See "Towarzystwo Duchowieństwa Polskiego w Emigracji", *Głos Wolny* (20 January 1865), 236.

19) B.Cz. 5517 I, 2, 746 (Dudley Coutts Stuart to Adam Czartoryski, 30 September 1846).

20) William Thomas Horner Fox Strangways (1795-1865), succeeded as 4th Earl of Ilchester 3 January 1858. Elected member of the Literary Association 1851-1852, member of its Council 1855-1857, vice-president 1858-1861 and president 1864 to death. Appointed British attaché at St. Petersburg 1816, Constantinople 1820, Naples 1822 and The Hague 1824. Appointed secretary of Legation at Florence 1825, Naples 1828, Turin 1832 and Vienna 1833-July 1835. Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs 1835-1840.

Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart (1803-1854), 8th son of 1st Marquis of Bute. Elected to the Literary Association in 1833, vice-president 1834-1848 and president 1848 to death in Stockholm. M.P. for Arundel 1830-1837 and Marylebone 1847-1854. Disinherited as result of marriage to Christina Alexandrina Egypta, daughter of Lucien Bonaparte. Liberal in politics, philanthropist and the foremost English Polonophile.

Lord Dudley Ryder Sandon (1798-1882), succeeded as 2nd Earl of Harrowby 26 December 1847. Elected member of the Literary Association 1843-1844, member of its Council 1844-1846, vice-president 1847 and president 1878 to death. M.P. for Tiverton 1819-1831 and Liverpool 1831-1847; conservative and strong Protestant but supported social reform and Roman Catholic emancipation; married Lady Frances Stuart, daughter of 1st Marquis of Bute; secretary to the India Board December 1830-May 1831; an Ecclesiastic Commissioner 1847-1880; Privy Councillor and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster March-December 1855; Lord Privy Seal December 1855-February 1858; F.R.S. November 1853 and K.G. June 1859.

in the circumstances that is very near believing the fact". He was always searching for "a good thesis to be expiated on" which, if publicized, would advance the Polish cause. This was especially necessary since he was very conscious of Papal apathy towards Polish Catholics.<sup>21)</sup>

The Literary Association could only depend on its own members to raise the question of Mińsk in the House of Commons. Lord Kinnaird,<sup>22)</sup> unimportant in political circles but an active Polonophile and advocate of the abolition of the Corn Laws, asked Aberdeen in the House of Lords on 10 February 1846 for information on Mińsk. Kinnaird was careful to emphasize that his intentions were not hostile to Russia and that an inquiry was desirable for humane and benevolent purposes. Aberdeen regarded the accounts as grossly exaggerated and thought that Nicholas's assurances to the Pope that he would order an investigation and punish the guilty were infinitely preferable to British interference.<sup>23)</sup> This speech was virtually an expression of confidence in the Tsar.<sup>24)</sup> William Francis Cowper, M.P. for Hertford,<sup>25)</sup> asked Peel on 5 March for copies of the dispatches concerning the persecutions, and the motion was seconded by Thomas Wyse, a prominent Irish Catholic.<sup>26)</sup> Wyse did not seek to interfere in the domestic policies of Russia, but held that the House should express its sympathy with the nuns. Peel found no difficulty in persuading the House of Commons to be satisfied with the Russian Government's assurances. The speech made by Wyse was remarkably cautious and this, in conjunction with

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21) Harrowby Manuscripts Trust [hereafter cited as H. MSS.] XXIII, 201 and 203-204 (William Fox Strangways to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 16 November and 16 December 1845).

22) George William Fox Kinnaird (1807-1878), succeeded as 9th Baron 11 December 1826. Elected to the Literary Association 1843-1844, member of its Council 1844-1860, vice-president 1861-1865[?] and president 1865 to death. Grand Master of Scottish Freemasons 1830-1831; created a peer of the U.K. as Baron Rossie of Rossie, Co. Perth 11 June 1831 and created Baron Kinnaird of Rossie 1 September 1860. Privy Councillor 15 June 1840, Knight of the Thistle 6 July 1857 and Lord Lieutenant of Perthshire 14 March 1866 to death. Made excavations in Rome; strong advocate of mechanization of agriculture.

23) "Religious Persecution in Russia", *Hansard*, LXXXIII (10 February 1846), 634-637.

24) It should be remembered that Aberdeen had adopted a more conciliatory attitude towards Russia than Palmerston. At Windsor in September 1844, a verbal agreement had been reached between Aberdeen, Nicholas I and Nesselrode with regard to Anglo-Russian policy in the event of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire.

25) William Francis Cowper (later: Cowper-Temple) (1811-1888), Baron of Mount-Temple, stepson of Lord Palmerston and nephew of Lord Melbourne. M.P. for Hertford 1835-1863 and South Hampshire 1868-1880; Junior Lord of the Treasury 1841; Lord of Admiralty 1846-1852 and 1852-1855; Under Secretary for Home Affairs 1855; President of the Board of Health and Privy Councillor 1855; vice-president of committee of Council on Education 1857-1858 and of Board of Trade 1859; Commissioner of Works 1860-1866; raised to peerage 1880.

26) Thomas Wyse (1791-1862) was elected to the Literary Association in 1832. M.P. for Co. Tipperary 1830-1832 and Waterford 1835-1847. Wealthy landowner and enlightened Liberal; married Laetitia, sister of Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart's wife, but separated in 1828; active in movement for R.C. emancipation but in the 1830's repudiated idea of repealing the Union between England and Ireland; a Lord of the Treasury 1839-1841; secretary for the Board of Control (India) 6 July 1846; British Minister at Athens 1849.

Daniel O'Connell's<sup>27)</sup> failure to speak during the debate, probably suggests a deliberate Irish policy of not antagonizing the Government on a relatively unimportant matter when more vital Irish questions were awaiting solution. Both Thomas Milner Gibson<sup>28)</sup> and the Catholic Philip Howard,<sup>29)</sup> M.P. for Carlisle, protested that the British Government had intervened in the internal affairs of other countries, but it would appear that only the latter really believed the story to be true.<sup>30)</sup> Events in Kraków diverted attention from the Mińsk revelations which could not be exploited to maximum effect in Great Britain because of the lack of substantial evidence. In the face of strong pressure from Władysław Zamoyski not to let the occasion pass unnoticed, Dudley Coutts Stuart was forced to reply in January 1846 that it would be impossible to present the British public with a statement unsupported by incontrovertible facts without inviting ridicule. Zamoyski thought that the "attempted" denials which had appeared in the Russian press should be sufficient proof of guilt. Although there was a slight shift in February 1846 from the general refusal in Britain to give credence to Mother Makryna's story, no real sympathy was ever evoked.<sup>31)</sup> In 1923 she was exposed as an hysterical impostor by the Polish priest, Father Jan Urban.<sup>32)</sup>

In April 1848 *The Tablet* pressed English Catholics to open their purses in so "laudable, humane and Christian a work" as financing the projected return of about 400 Poles to Galicia and the Grand Duchy of Poznań.<sup>33)</sup> Several Catholic priests, including Monsignor Eyre of St. Mary's Catholic Church, Chelsea, were prepared to receive subscriptions which were to be handed over to a general committee expressly established for this purpose by the Poles.<sup>34)</sup> There were no editorial comments on the disturbances in Polish territories in 1848,

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27) Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847) was ardently pro-Polish when it suited his policy of furthering Irish interests. M.P. for Co. Clare 1829-1830, Waterford City 1830-1831, Co. Kerry 1831-1832, Dublin City 1832-1836, Kilkenny Borough 1836-1837, Dublin City 1837-1841 and Co. Cork 1841-1847. Large Catholic landowner in Kerry; J.P. for Kerry 1835-1843 and 1846-1847; director then Governor in 1841 of National Bank of Ireland; shares in the O'Connell Brewery; led the Repeal Movement in Ireland.

28) Thomas Milner Gibson (1806-1884) was elected member of the Literary Association 1843-1844. M.P. for Ipswich 1837-1839, Manchester 1841-1857 and Ashton-under-Lyne 1857-1868. Born in Trinidad; Privy Councillor July 1846; vice-president of the Board of Trade 1846-1848 and President 1859-1866; President of the Poor Law Board 1859; Free Trader but defended industrialists against restrictions on child labour; large fortune and aristocratic connections.

29) Philip Howard (1801-1883) was the second English Catholic to be returned to Parliament after emancipation in 1829; M.P. for Carlisle 1830-1847 and 1848-1852. In 1843 married Eliza Minto, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Major John Canning. Magistrate and Deputy Lieutenant for Carlisle and high sheriff 1860.

30) "The Polish Nuns", *Hansard*, LXXXIV (5 March 1846), 677-684.

31) J. ZAMOYSKA, *op. cit.*, IV, 404-405 and 408-409.

32) See J. URBAN, *Makryna Mieczysławska w świetle prawdy* (Kraków, 1923).

33) "Poland", *The Tablet* (29 April 1848), 275, 1 and 2.

34) "Poland's Exiles", *ibid.*, 288, 3.

but the tone of *The Tablet* was definitely anti-revolutionary,<sup>35)</sup> and by 1849 the Literary Association was being blamed for General Józef Bem's initial victories against Austrian troops in Hungary. Not only did Frederick Lucas believe Bem to be a "robber" shedding blood shamelessly and without just cause, but *The Tablet* even went so far as to hold the Association responsible for the strengthening of Kossuth's opposition to Vienna by the formation of a Polish Legion in Hungary. The justification offered for this sweeping assertion was that money had been provided by the Association both to allow Bem to have a bullet extracted from his thigh at the London hospital in April 1847 and also to maintain him during the year he spent in England.<sup>36)</sup>

It is ironic that the Protestant William Fox Strangways was more alive to the importance of English Catholic support for the Poles and more energetic in pursuing this aim than most Catholics.<sup>37)</sup> He advocated the opening of official English relations with Rome:

the step contemplated, would I believe, place our representative above the Russian which might be advantageous not only gratifying. ...The position thus established of the British representative could not be unfavourable to the cultivation of a cordial feeling between him and the Polish interest at Rome, which I am more and more convinced might be turned to some good use.<sup>38)</sup>

The death of the reactionary Gregory XVI on 1 June 1846 was followed by the election of Cardinal Mastai-Ferretti as Pius IX. His early measures, and in particular, a political amnesty, had given the impression that he wished to pursue a more liberal policy than his predecessor, although his first encyclical, *Qui pluribus*, of 9 November 1846 should have been sufficient warning that he had no intention of supporting nationalist movements anywhere in Europe.<sup>39)</sup> It was against this background that a Bill for the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Court of Rome was first introduced in Parliament on 14 December 1847 by the Marquis of Lansdowne. Unlike Fox Strangways, Catholics, both in England and Ireland, strenuously opposed the Bill on the grounds that it would "serve as a base handle for Her Majesty's Ministers in dealing with the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland".<sup>40)</sup> Neither Palmerston nor the Government had the Poles in mind when advocating the Bill, which was put forward because of the alleged injury caused to commercial interests by the absence of diplomatic

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35) "The Reports on the Insurrections of May and June", *ibid.*, 553, 1.

36) Biblioteka Kórnicka P.A.N. [hereafter cited as B.K.] 2409/2, 898 (Karol Szulcowski to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 8 January 1850); B.Cz. 5518 I, 179-184 and 191 (Dudley Coutts Stuart to Adam Czartoryski, 30 March and 11 April 1847); *Report* (1849), 30.

37) H. MSS. XXVI, 336-337 (William Fox Strangways to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 17 July 1847).

38) B.Cz. 3201 XVII, 179-184 (William Fox Strangways to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 24 February 1848).

39) H. DANIEL-ROPS, *op. cit.*, 242.

40) "Diplomatic Relations with the Court of Rome Bill", *Hansard*, CI (17 August 1848), 207.

relations.<sup>41)</sup> The real case for the Bill, however, was the necessity for giving official recognition to persons sent to Rome on various missions — in William Gladstone's words: "the pretence ought to be made conformable to the reality, and the profession to what was the practice".<sup>42)</sup> Royal Assent was finally given to the Bill on 4 September 1848.<sup>43)</sup>

On 17 May 1847 Fox Strangways wrote of his meeting with one hundred Poles and their sympathizers in Rome and asked Dudley Coutts Stuart "whether the English Catholics are well-disposed to the Poles — in particular the Shrewsburys and Dorias and it might be an interest worth their cultivating, if as reported we are to have an Embassy to the Poles".<sup>44)</sup> Fox Strangways, who was to become the President of the Literary Association in 1864 as Lord Ilchester, was clearly uninformed with regard to the deep internal divisions of the Roman Catholics as a body in Great Britain. Few Catholics were influential in a political sense and the maximum support expected from such quarters by the Literary Association was in the form of charitable donations. The Council of the Association, with some bitterness, emphasized, on the occasion of the death of the 14th Duke of Norfolk in 1861, that the latter had virtually occupied a solitary position among his more important co-religionists in advocating the claims of Poland. As the Earl of Arundel and Surrey he had joined the Association between 1846 and 1847, had served for a total of four years on the Council, and from 1858 until his death had been a Vice-President. The Report of the Twenty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the Literary Association claimed that the Council

always considered themselves fortunate in obtaining the co-operation of the Duke of Norfolk as the head of the Roman Catholics in England; a body connected with the great bulk of the Polish nation by community of religion, and particularly distinguished for the munificence of their charity; a body, therefore, to whom the unfortunate Poles, who have been driven to England through their attachment to their country and religion, might not unreasonably look for sympathy and relief. The Duke of Norfolk personally felt the strength of their claims, and on many occasions afforded refugees who addressed themselves to him most ready and generous assistance.<sup>45)</sup>

The Polish insurrection of 1863 crystallized the political views of *The Tablet* and forced the editor to take a definite stand on questions of national independence and revolution. Catholics had an obligation to agitate in order to keep the Polish issue in the public mind and, if necessary, to force it on the attention of European governments:

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41) Ibid., 204.

42) Ibid., 230-231.

43) Ibid. (4 September 1848), 768.

44) H. MSS. XXVI, 334-335 (William Fox Strangways to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 17 May 1847). Fox Strangways's source of information was wrong. There was only a consular post in Warsaw until after the First World War. Stanisław Koźmian also commented on the large number of Poles in Rome in January 1847. See H. MSS. XXV, 378-379 (Stanisław Koźmian to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 28 January 1847).

45) *Report* (1861), 9-10.

Catholics can't help feeling they have a special duty towards Poland because they know how much the very fact that the Polish cause is both national and religious has deadened the sympathies and alienated the feelings of thousands whose enthusiasm for Poland would have known no bounds if the Polish nation had been as false to their Faith as they have been true to their country.<sup>46)</sup>

*The Tablet* was vaguely and suspiciously aware of the social implications of the insurrection. It favoured the success of the uprising and Polish independence but considered it unfortunate that "the revolutionary and democratic party among the Poles were in league with the Revolutionists and Mazzinist faction in Europe". The paper piously hoped that, once Poland had regained her liberty, the left-wing group would be powerless to direct the course of internal events.<sup>47)</sup>

In July 1863 *The Tablet* demanded war with Russia "with no more delay than is absolutely necessary",<sup>48)</sup> but by 8 August doubts and reservations were being entertained. The Polish National Government's proclamation of 25 July had announced the appointment of 'Citizen' Władysław Czartoryski as diplomatic agent to London and Paris. Even more repulsive for *The Tablet* was the declaration of 31 July that the National Government would be guided by principles of equality and religious, political and social liberty. The leader commented that the use of a term "so odious" as "equality" was highly injudicious and the designation of Władysław Czartoryski as "citizen" suggested "unpleasant associations". Some comfort, however, was derived from the belief that Czartoryski's selection implied "the ascendancy of conservative elements over revolutionary elements".<sup>49)</sup>

The reactionary *Dublin Review* also adopted the policy of condemning any changes in the structure of society, but differed radically from *The Tablet* in its views on the settlement of the Polish question. The latter paper was clearly conscious of the grave risks a war directed by France against Russia on behalf of Poland would entail for any solution favourable to the Papacy of the Italian and Roman questions. To avoid the destruction of the Pope's temporal power, *The Tablet* urged the joint execution of a European war against Russia in the hope that French designs for territorial aggrandizement would thus be checked.<sup>50)</sup> In short, the problem was not only to defeat Russia and liberate the Congress Kingdom, but also to safeguard the grossly misgoverned Papal states from similar nationalist and revolutionary aspirations. On the other hand, the *Dublin Review*, which had a fairly extensive circulation in England, was willing to refuse national independence to the Poles in order to save Papal Italy from the consequences of revolutionary ferment. It was suggested that a recognition of the

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46) *The Tablet* (7 February 1863), 88, 2 and 3.

47) *Ibid.* (21 February 1863), 20, 2 and 3; 121, 1.

48) *Ibid.* (25 July 1863), 472, 2, 3 and 4.

49) *Ibid.*

50) *Ibid.*

rights of the Catholic Church in Poland would more easily defeat the insurgents than gunpowder:

such a signal act of justice alone would deprive the ambitious clique of discontented nobles of their power to do mischief, and take away for ever from the determined revolutionist the sympathy of Europe. ... What we have to contend for, then, is not the vicious project of a reconstituted Poland as it was before 1772, but the full recognition by Russia of the rights and liberties of the Catholic Church, a settled and constitutional system of government for Poland, and respect for her distinctive nationality as complete and liberal as that now shown by Austria to the hereditary usages and traditional rights of her various subject races.<sup>51)</sup>

Justice for Poland was thought to be quite compatible with respect for the existing rights of Russia.<sup>52)</sup> The *Dublin Review* put forward the view that Polish loyalty could only be gained if Pius IX's Allocution of 22 April 1863, calling on Russia to uphold the liberty of the Church in Poland, were to be accepted and implemented by the Tsar.<sup>53)</sup>

In 1859 and 1860 the problem of the Pope's temporal power had divided the Polish emigration into two hostile groups. The left wing, much less influential in British political circles than the Hôtel Lambert but closer to the anti-Papal stand taken by British public opinion during the 1860's, warned that support for the Papacy was synonymous with a denial of nationalist hopes and thus a condemnation of the basic principle underlying the nineteenth century Polish insurrectionary movement.<sup>54)</sup> On the other hand, Władysław Zamoyski's opinion was that the question of the Papal states involved the Italians alone, but that there should be no hostility on the part of the Poles towards the Papacy.<sup>55)</sup> This appreciation of the situation inevitably created difficulties for the Polish cause in Great Britain where public sympathy was rabidly anti-Papal and decidedly in favour of Italian unification and the secularization of the Pope's territorial dominions. Zamoyski was acutely conscious of the dilemma and on 5 April 1864 asked

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51) "Foreign Events of Catholic Interest", *Dublin Review*, I, 1 (1863), 590-592.

52) Even this grudging admission that the Poles also had certain rights, however limited, was a marked advance from the policy of silence adopted by the English Catholic press five years earlier, when the persecution of the Catholic and Uniate Churches in the Congress Kingdom was not mentioned for fear that indignation would be correctly construed as criticism of the Russian régime. In short, tacit Catholic consent was given to Russian Poland's humiliating position as the weak victim of an alien and militantly proselytizing religion. See *Wiadomości Polskie* (29 May 1858), 102.

53) *Dublin Review*, *ibid.* The Papacy had given ample evidence in 1863 and 1864 that it was determined to support the rights of the Roman Catholic Church in the Congress Kingdom against Russian Orthodoxy. On the other hand, Pius IX was careful to distinguish between political and religious rights because he did not wish to appear as an advocate of revolution. See *Głos Wolny* (20 May 1864), 166, and A. LEWAK, "Polska działalność dyplomatyczna w Watykanie" in *Polska działalność dyplomatyczna 1863-1864*, II (Warszawa 1963), 141-177.

54) "Papież i narodowość", *Demokrata Polski* (31 October 1860), 19-20; "Legion polsko-papieski", *Głos Wolny* (25 October 1864), 215; *Głos Wolny* (10 February 1868), 670.

55) For the view that the interests of Poland and the Papacy were indissolubly linked, see *Wiadomości Polskie* (18 February 1860), 9-12.



whether Edmond Beales<sup>56)</sup> would advise the Poles in England to participate in meetings to be held in honour of Garibaldi. Any popular demonstrations in Protestant England, even if their genuine purpose was to acclaim the bravery of the Italian patriot, would turn against Pius IX. The Hôtel Lambert clearly could not afford to alienate British public opinion at a time when the January Insurrection was rapidly losing its initial momentum. The Polish right wing, however, did not wish to be identified with anti-Papal manifestations, especially since Zamoyski claimed that Pius IX was the only European leader of stature who had dared to make statements to the effect that both "right and reason" were on the Polish and not the Russian side.<sup>57)</sup> It was also known that Cardinal Wiseman had declared his opposition to the enthusiasm aroused by Garibaldi's visit. The sympathy of the Anglican hierarchy "thus gave the impression that militant atheism was a small price to pay for anti-Papalism".<sup>58)</sup> Beales, who had joined the Literary Association upon its foundation on 25 February 1832 and was a member of the Council from 1837 until his death, was, as the President of the National League for the Independence of Poland in 1863, affected by Polish right-wing policy with regard to Italy. He was not concerned with religious scruples, but rejected as fallacious the thesis that the cause of Polish independence could be advanced by the governments of France and Britain. No less naïve, however, was his own theory that the rebirth of Poland might conceivably be accelerated by a "conjoint movement of Italians, Poles and Hungarians" under the leadership of Garibaldi. Władysław Czarotorski was warned that "opposition to this movement on the part of any body of the Poles would, I fear, be greatly damaging to them".<sup>59)</sup> After a month's delay Czarotorski replied that the Poles in the homeland would never accept a foreigner as the leader of the national movement against Russian despotism.<sup>60)</sup> It was already clear that the emigration could not decisively influence events in Poland.

In the columns of the *Dublin Review* the interests of the Catholic Church in Poland were clearly given precedence to the general welfare of the nation. Revolutionary thought was denounced as "stirring up in the hearts of the people revenge and ambition, and invoking on behalf of its lawless projects the intervention of France". According to the *Review*, Polonophile Catholic sentiment in both Great Britain and Europe had been led astray and its political judgement had been formed "not by studying the principles of the Catholic Church but by looking to the immediate interests of the Catholic population".

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56) Edmond Beales (1803-1881) was called to the bar in 1830; active and life-long Polonophile but interest in foreign causes was widely dispersed: chairman of the Circassian Committee, member of the Emancipation Society during the American Civil War, the Jamaica Committee under John Stuart Mill and the Garibaldi Committee in 1864; 1865-1869 President of the Reform League advocating manhood suffrage and secret ballot; contested Tower Hamlets in November 1868.

57) J. ZAMOYSKA, op. cit., VI, 469 (Władysław Zamoyski to Edmond Beales, 5 April 1864).

58) B. FOTHERGILL, *Nicholas Wiseman* (London, 1963), 273-274.

59) B.Cz. 5698 III, 727-730 (Edmond Beales to Władysław Czarotorski, 11 March 1864).

60) Ibid., 731-732 (Władysław Czarotorski to Edmond Beales, 11 April 1864).

It was for this very reason that so many of the Polish clergy were "wrongly" opposed to the civil power of Russia. Catholics were warned against the chicanery of Polish revolutionary tactics which traded on the Catholic sentiment of Europe by temporarily withdrawing more prominent leaders in order to conciliate the "clericals".<sup>61)</sup>

Although the English Catholic *Weekly Register* and the Irish *Catholic Nation* had for a long time depreciated the work of the Irish opportunist, James Pope Hennessy, the more liberal *Tablet* in March 1863 offered its congratulations to Hennessy for having earned for the Catholic body the credit of leading the pro-Polish movement both in Parliament and in the country at large.<sup>62)</sup>

Many insinuations were made, both by Poles and prominent Polonophiles in Great Britain, that the Catholic Church failed to respond to appeals for political, religious or charitable support for the Polish emigration. These accusations were far from being a complete distortion of the facts. In 1849 Karol Szulczewski<sup>63)</sup> wrote to Leonard Niedźwiecki<sup>64)</sup> that one source of potential employment and help in finding work was denied to the Poles, because they had no access to the Roman Catholic group in England.<sup>65)</sup> When the ex-Capuchin monk, Mikołaj Romanowski, was looking for a post among Catholics in 1836, the Polish secretary of the Literary Association, Leon Sawaszkiewicz,<sup>66)</sup> asked the Protestant Dudley Coutts Stuart to find him employment in Ireland.<sup>67)</sup>

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61) *Dublin Review*, I, 1 (1863), 591.

62) *The Tablet* (7 March 1863), 152, 2, 3 and 4. For Hennessy see my forthcoming article in *Irish Historical Studies*.

63) Karol Szulczewski (18 May 1813-18 October 1884), born Kutno, served as lieutenant of artillery 1830-1831. Emigrated to France and then England in 1836 as a member of the *Konfederacja*. Taught foreign languages at Mr. Knightley's Academy in Greenwich until 1842 when accepted post of secretary to the Literary Association, a position he held for 42 years. October 1855 appointed Agent to the Division of the Cossacks of the Sultan in London at a salary of £ 150 p.a.; November 1855 promoted to rank of captain and in 1856 to major. Employed by the War Office in London from April 1855 to 1882. Chief Agent of the English Agency during the January Insurrection.

64) Wiktor Leonard Niedźwiecki (1810-1892). See J. ŁUCZAKOWA, *Katalog "Papierów po Leonardzie Niedźwieckim" i archiwum Dywizji Kozaków Sudańskich w Bibliotece Kórnickiej* (Kórnik, 1959), 241-246.

65) B.K. 2409/2, 775-776 (Karol Szulczewski to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 2 February 1849). In 1852 Szulczewski was unsuccessful in trying to raise money for the Hungarian refugees by offering Polish drawings for sale to the English Catholics because the latter were too enamoured of Austria to support its insurgents. See *ibid.*, 1117-1118 (Karol Szulczewski to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 14 April 1852).

66) Leon Leopold Sawaszkiewicz (1806-1870) was in charge of Polish petitions to the Literary Association 1836-1838 when dismissed for incompetence. Bitterly attacked the Association for alleged malversation of funds and his relations with Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart became icy. See H. MSS. XXV, 15 (Jan M. Bansemer to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 26 September 1836) and B.K. 2413, 904 (Leonard Niedźwiecki to Piotr Falkenhagen Zaleski, 22 September 1838) and 1582 (Leonard Niedźwiecki to Władysław Zamoyski, 28 August 1840). See also M. TYROWICZ, *Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie 1832-1863* (Warszawa, 1964), 603-604.

67) Romanowski took Holy Orders in 1813 and became a Capuchin in Podole. Then appointed as chaplain in Uszyca but recalled to monastery in 1829. On outbreak of insurrection organized insurgents in districts of Owruś and Radomyśl and then attempted to engineer the escape of prisoners in the Russian barracks in Żytomierz. Emigrated 1831, lived Bourges, Paris and then London where relieved by the government subsidy from July

Although the majority of English Roman Catholics were unwilling to associate themselves with the Poles there were isolated instances of sympathy and help. Lord Beaumont donated £ 150 for the education of the emigrants,<sup>68)</sup> and Philip Henry Howard of Corby Castle paid the fees of Polish youths at the Roman Catholic College of Sedgely Hall, Staffordshire.<sup>69)</sup> The Howards were an eminent Catholic and very pro-Polish family. Henry P. Howard, a Whig favouring parliamentary reform and repeal of the penal laws against Roman Catholics, was first introduced to Polish history at the end of the eighteenth century when he studied in Vienna. In December 1836 Leonard Niedźwiecki referred to Corby Castle as "an hospitable Polish castle" with Polish books and pictures.<sup>70)</sup> Philip Howard strongly urged the Government in July 1838 to approve of the renewal of the parliamentary grant for the relief of Poles resident in England,<sup>71)</sup> and also tried to help the Poles by lending his frank to facilitate their correspondence.<sup>72)</sup> The agitation caused by Philip Howard's support for the assumption of English titles by Roman Catholic bishops forced him to retire from politics in 1852.<sup>73)</sup> Catherine Mary Howard, a convert to Catholicism in 1814 and the second wife of Henry Howard, corresponded with Dudley Coutts Stuart on the subject of Poland, but always maintained that the Irish had a greater claim on English charity.<sup>74)</sup>

By 1850 the Literary Association was experiencing great difficulties in raising sufficient funds to support Polish refugees suffering from

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1838 to May 1842. Belonged to no *émigré* political party and was well-liked. In March 1840 earned 15/- per week for celebrating Mass and was willing to be appointed chaplain to the Polish emigration in London with a salary of £ 40 p.a. By 24 February 1843 already in Paris, where he died at home, 40 rue du Chevaleret, on 15 March 1863, aged 68 years. See H. MSS. XXVI, 267-268 (Leon Sawaszkiewicz to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 30 November 1836); B.Cz. 5355 III, 57 ("Emigracja polska, 1831"); Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu [hereafter cited as B.P.] 594/5 IX, 1265 (Mikołaj Romanowski to Marszałek Ogółu Emigracji Polskiej w Londynie, 17 November 1840); B.Cz. 5517 I, 305 (Dudley Coutts Stuart to Adam Czartoryski, 27 January 1840); B.K. 2432, 291-292 (Ignacy Szczepanowski to Władysław Zamoyski, 10 March 1840) and 2545, 388 ("Zbiór drukowanych nekrologów, głównie emigrantów polskich, zmarłych we Francji w latach 1841-1892, oraz zawiadomień o nabożeństwach żałobnych"). Not only the Protestant Jan Bartkowski but also the Catholics Major Józef Michalski and Leon Jabłoński sought Stuart's help in promoting their candidatures for professorships in German and French language and literature in 1846 at Belfast and the Cork and Galway colleges respectively. See H. MSS. XXV, 329-330 (Leon Jabłoński to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 5 August 1846).

68) *Report* (1843), 30. Miles Thomas Stapleton Beaumont (1805-1854), 8th Baron; colonel-commandant of 4th West York Militia May 1853 to death. Author of *Austria and Central Italy* (London, 1849) and *The Late Edict of court of Rome; Lord Beaumont's Letter to Lord Zetland* (London, 1850).

69) *Report* (1837), 14.

70) B.K. 2413/1, 333 (Leonard Niedźwiecki to Jan Marcin Bansemer, 17 December 1836) and 320-321 (Leonard Niedźwiecki to Henry P. Howard, 12 December 1836).

71) *Report* (1839), 11.

72) B.K. *ibid.*, 101-103 (Leonard Niedźwiecki to Miss H. Stocker, no date).

73) J. GILLow, *Biographical Dictionary of the English Catholics* (London, 1887), III, 441.

74) In the 1790's Catherine Howard had spent five years in Ireland with her husband who was a captain in the 1st West York Militia. See H. MSS. XXV, 325-326 (Catherine Mary Howard to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 5 January 1837); *Dictionary of National Biography*, X (London, 1908), 35 and J. GILLow, *op. cit.*, III, 418-419.

old age and sickness. William Lloyd Birkbeck,<sup>75)</sup> secretary of the Association, wrote that as the number of Poles in Great Britain diminished so did the circle of Polish sympathizers.<sup>76)</sup>

There is one class of the community from whom a priori we might have expected the greatest help, the English Roman Catholics — but I believe I am correct in saying that for the last ten years we have not received five pounds from the whole of them — and the cause of this cannot be ignorance of our wants for some fifteen years ago I wrote a letter fully detailing them to one of the newspapers (The Tablet I think) which circulate exclusively among Catholics. The reply was subscriptions to the amount of less than two pounds and these from friends of my own. ...As the English Catholics are eminently charitable to persons of their own faith and as they almost invariably act as a body, it is clear that there must be some sinister influence of a powerful nature which occasions this conduct. It cannot proceed from Berlin, Paris or Vienna — it must originate with St. Petersburg or Rome.<sup>77)</sup>

Birkbeck suggested in the same letter that Cardinal Mieczysław Ledóchowski might make representations in Rome to the effect that English Catholics should receive a timely reminder that their Polish co-religionists had some claims to their charity. This was essential at a time when even the Polish priest Stanisław Poncján Brzeziński had been compelled to apply to the Association for relief. The reports of the Literary Association show that less than thirty pounds was donated by eminent English Catholics between 1840 and 1850, and both before and after this period contributions were negligible. An appeal from the Council of the Literary Association was widely circulated in the Roman Catholic press in 1861, but the final result was a mere one pound ten shillings. Pains had been taken to stress the "destitute condition of these foreigners, the difficulty they experience in obtaining parochial assistance, the comparatively slight claim they possess on the Protestant clergy, and the fact that many have suffered in defence of their faith as well as of their country".<sup>78)</sup> When John Patrick Crichton-Stuart (1847-1900), 3rd Marquis of Bute, was received into the Catholic Church by Monsignor John Moore Capel in 1868, Karol

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75) William Lloyd Birkbeck (1807-1888) joined the Literary Association in or before 1840, was a member of its Council 1840-1842, Honorary Secretary 1843 until death and was made a life member 1880 at the latest. Barrister at Inner Temple 22 November 1833; president of London Mechanics' Institution September 1843; strenuous activities on behalf of Poland were somewhat diluted after 1860 when appointed Downing Professor of the Laws of England at the University of Cambridge; Master of Downing College, Cambridge, 1885 to death.

76) In fact, the largest recorded number of Poles in Great Britain at any one time between 1834 and 1850 was in July 1838 when there were an estimated 647 emigrants while the average annual number hovered around, but over, the 500 mark until the late 1840's and the dispersion of Poles abroad to fight in the European revolutionary movements. With the collapse of resistance to established authority, however, the influx of Poles into England assumed large proportions and in the eleven years from 1851 to 1861, the number fell below 700 only in May 1856 when many Poles had left England to fight in the Division of the Cossacks of the Sultan in the Crimea. For further details see my forthcoming work "Government Subsidy for Polish Refugees in Great Britain 1834-1899" in *Materiały do biografii, genealogii i heraldyki polskiej* (Buenos Aires-Paryż) [hereafter cited as *Materiały*].

77) Biblioteka P.A.N. w Krakowie [hereafter cited as P.A.N.] 2210 I, 97-98 (William Lloyd Birkbeck to Stanisław Koźmian, September 1850).

78) *Report* (1861), 5.

Szulczewski naively hoped that the coffers of the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland would be liberally filled. Countess Jadwiga Zamoyska knew Capel personally and could appeal to Bute on the basis of the strong friendship, lasting from 1832 to 1854, between the General and Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart, son of the 1st Marquis of Bute. In July 1869 Bute accepted the vice-presidency of the financially ailing Literary Association and promised an annual donation of £ 25, which Szulczewski considered to be a paltry insult in view of Bute's vast fortune and the large sums of money he lavished on a variety of Catholic projects. Indeed, in this respect, Bute was popularly considered to be a weak-minded man, cleverly manipulated by Capel.<sup>79)</sup>

English Catholics did not enjoy any political standing in the House of Commons. The Emancipation Act of 1829 failed to result in an appreciable number of Roman Catholics being returned to Parliament; by 1841 there were only six Catholic M.P.'s representing English seats.<sup>80)</sup> According to *The Tablet* most of them preferred to be known as "gentlemen of property" rather than Catholics and for this reason they did not constitute a united group pursuing specifically Catholic interests.<sup>81)</sup> In this situation it was impossible either for the Poles or the Literary Association to exert pressure on them to forward the Polish cause in Parliament by appealing to religious feeling.

Politically conscious Catholics in nineteenth-century England were an heterogeneous group. From the middle of the century onwards a large and influential section of the Catholic population repudiated the policy of procuring places and favours from the Whigs. By 1864 *The Tablet* could write that the Liberals were "the allies and supporters of a pernicious liberalism both at home and abroad" and that among Catholics there was "a moderate, temperate and relative preference for the Conservative party". A large number of Catholics had taken for their political rule "not the petty interests of a few place hunters, but the political principles on the triumph or defeat of which the Church and civil society, seem under God at this moment to depend".<sup>82)</sup> It was obvious even before the 1860's that many Poles would not be satisfied with independence without also obtaining a large measure of social reform. Since the very heart of the Catholic Church was exposed to attack and established society everywhere in Europe was being warned to reform of its own volition or be reformed by revolution, it is hardly surprising that conservative Catholic groups in England could only view Polish attempts to regain independence by force of arms with a great deal of reserve.

Several conservative Catholics like Lord Beaumont, who was a member of the Literary Association's Council from 1845 to 1854, were

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79) B.K. 2409, 2086, 2116-2117, 2118-2119, 2120, 2121, 2125-2126, 2129, 2135-2136, 2157-2158, 2191-2192 and 2224-2225 (Karol Szulczewski to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 19 February, 7, 11, 22 and 24 June, 1, 7 and 24 July and 5 October 1869, 9 April and 14 June 1870).

80) Five of these seats were in the north of England: Earl of Surrey (Henry Charles Howard), M.P. for Sussex; Lord Fitzalan (Henry Granville Howard), M.P. for Arundel; Philip Henry Howard, M.P. for Carlisle; Hon. Charles Langdale, M.P. for Knaresborough; Charles Standish, M.P. for Wigan and William Massey Stanley, M.P. for Pontefract.

81) *The Tablet* (22 May 1841), 330-331, 1-3.

82) *Ibid.* (9 January 1864), 24, 4; 25, 1 and 2.

able to justify their support for the independence of Poland on the grounds that she would counter Russia's threat to the safety and peace of Europe. Social and especially agrarian reforms so urgently needed to complete the destruction of serfdom in Poland were, however, anathema to such Catholics. Beaumont claimed that those Polish patriots advocating democratic principles who wished to terminate the influence of the landowning classes would create only social chaos, because Poland had no native middle class to "break the fall between the government and the people".<sup>83)</sup>

Stanisław Koźmian<sup>84)</sup> mistakenly believed in 1849 that the *ultra*-Tory, Charles de la Barre Bodenham,<sup>85)</sup> would be of great value to the Polish cause because of his connections with leading English Catholic families and his projected marriage to Irena Maria, daughter of Count Józef Dzierżykraj-Morawski.<sup>86)</sup> From November 1858 the proprietor of *The Tablet* was Bodenham's cousin, the Rev. Herbert Vaughan, whose policy was to favour the Liberals in return for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. Bodenham, however, was so rabidly anti-Liberal that he refused to support Gladstone with the hope of getting rid of "a local evil like the Irish Church" because, in his opinion, Gladstone was more guilty of fomenting revolution in Italy than Garibaldi.<sup>87)</sup> Despite exaggerated professions of Polonophilism immediately after his marriage in Poznań in April 1850, it is extremely doubtful whether Bodenham, who joined the Literary Association on his return to England in 1850 and was a member until his death in 1883, did anything more substantial for the Poles other than serve as courier for the Literary Association between London and Poznań.<sup>88)</sup> His wife, however, appears to have

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83) *Report* (1846), 37. Beaumont abhorred the "monstrous conduct" of Austria during the Galician massacres in 1846 but did much damage to the Polish cause in May 1848 by publicly declaring, before concrete information was available, that the Poznań Poles had repelled European feeling by their anti-German sentiments and lack of realism in ungratefully rejecting the Prussian offer of a modicum of autonomy. The Literary Association was infuriated by Beaumont's strong condemnation of alleged 'social warfare' in the Grand Duchy and a later retraction of the most emphatic statements both privately and publicly in a letter of 18 May to Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart could not minimize the extensive use made of his description of the events in Poznań by British politicians, eager to confirm their own belief that the Poles were enemies of law and order. See *Report* (1846), 45 and 47; (1847), 20, 27, 37 and 39; (1848), 30-32 and 37-41; and (1849), 1 and 23. Of the newspapers which published Beaumont's letter see, for example, "Posen", *The Globe* (20 May 1848).

84) Stanisław Egbert Koźmian (1811-1885). For biographical details see *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, s.v.

85) Charles de la Barre Bodenham (1813-1883), of Rotherwas Park, Hereford; J.P., D.L. and Knight of the Order of St. John; son of Charles Thomas Bodenham (1783-1865), a leader of English Catholics and member of the Catholic Board. Through his mother, Elizabeth Mary Weld, related to Cardinal Thomas Weld. See J. GILLow, op. cit., I, 254-255.

86) H. MSS. XXV, 380-381 (Stanisław Koźmian to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 27 December 1849).

87) P.A.N. 2210 I, 116 and 117-120 (Charles de la Barre Bodenham to Stanisław Koźmian, 25 June and 8 December 1858).

88) The friendship formed with Koźmian in Poznań in 1849-1850 and the former's long exile in England and close relationship as secretary to Dudley Coutts Stuart, probably induced Bodenham to initially wax "enthusiastic about matters Polish". He attended the annual general meetings of the Literary Association in 1855 and 1860 but by 1870 Karol Szulcowski was complaining bitterly about the meanness of the Bodenham family. See P.A.N. *ibid.*, 128-129 (Charles de la Barre Bodenham to Stanisław Koźmian [April 1850]; B.K. 2409, 2193-2194 (Karol Szulcowski to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 16 April 1870) and *Report* (1850), 18; (1855), no page number; and (1860), 4.

been instrumental in removing the children of Seweryn Bolesław Dziewicki, who was drowned in 1862, from a Quaker school in England to a Jesuit school and an Ursuline convent in France.<sup>89)</sup>

There were Catholics, however, like the convert Thomas Chisholme Anstey, who condemned the anti-Polish stand taken by the majority of his co-religionists. In 1844 he realized that British Catholics would be no less cordial than Protestants in welcoming the Tsar in England. The *Catholic Magazine* had published an appeal for Catholic support of Russia as the principal bulwark of Christianity in the East. Anstey suspected that Catholics would prefer the destruction of the non-Christian Ottoman Empire to the liberation of the Catholic Polish nation. He considered such a policy to be a "perversion of faith, morality and law" and the violation of treaties. The Catholic Lord Clifford<sup>90)</sup> had refused to meet the Russian Grand Duke Michael, in Rome in 1837 because of Russia's persecution of the Catholic Church in Poland, but Anstey correctly feared that few of the British peerage would emulate Clifford's example in 1844.<sup>91)</sup>

Anstey was the only Catholic to claim he had joined the Literary Association not because of political convictions or a desire to help people in distress but because he was an advocate of religious liberty:

We should rally round all friends of religious freedom throu'out the world and especially the Liberals of Catholic persuasion. ...I am convinced that we should use the means of this Association to circulate not only in this country and Ireland, but also on the Continent, the fullest information as to the persecution, the hopes and the present condition of the Catholic Church of Poland. By these means, more than by any other, we shall engage on our side those who are not to be influenced by religious considerations.

It was left to the Protestant Gilbert Ainslie Young<sup>92)</sup> to remind Anstey that, although the rights of conscience were inviolable, religion alone

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89) M. WAJSBLUM, "Note" (to "The Catholic Boys at Ackworth"), *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, XLIV, 2 (1952), 76-77. The Mayor of Hereford, F.L. Bodenham, witnessed the signatures of four men who sponsored Dziewicki's petition for naturalization in 1858. See H.O.-I-88-2873 (Home Office, London).

90) Hugh Charles Clifford (1790-1858), 8th baron of Chudleigh; joined the Literary Association in 1843-1844; 1818 married only daughter of Thomas Weld and thus related to Charles de la Barre Bodenham; Count of the Holy Roman Empire; in later years lived in Italy and died in Rome. See J. GILLOW, op. cit., I, 509-510.

91) *Report* (1844), 41-49.

92) Gilbert Ainslie Young joined the Literary Association in 1834 and was a member of its Council 1834-1839 and 1844-1845. Writer and editor of the *British and Foreign Review*; lectured on Polish themes. Active in the so-called literary sub-committee of the Literary Association but his influential position was somewhat undermined because he was responsible for presenting the petition from the Committee of the Polish Emigration in London calling upon Marylebone constituents to elect the radical Independent, Thomas Perronet Thompson as M.P. in February 1838 — an act of reprehensible interference in English domestic politics. Withdrew from pro-Polish activities after his bankruptcy in 1845. See *Report* (1836), 19 and 30; and (1839), 23; B.Cz. 5541 II, 169-171 (Krystyn Lach Szyrma to Władysław Zamoyski, 10 August 1838) and H. MSS. 453 (Correspondence between Dudley Coutts Stuart and Lord Wharnccliffe and Dudley Coutts Stuart and Gilbert Ainslie Young, August 1845-September 1847).

was not of supreme importance in the Polish question which, above all, concerned the problem of civil rights and political liberty.<sup>93)</sup>

The religious climate prevailing in nineteenth-century England was unfavourable for the execution of Anstey's project. This was amply demonstrated in 1863. Napoleon Feliks Żaba<sup>94)</sup> had arranged in Margate a pro-Polish meeting at which three Protestant vicars spoke but "Moscow agents were active in their policy of trying to paralyse English cordiality for Poland by proclaiming that the Polish insurrectionary movement is purely a Catholic movement". These attempts to arouse religious dissension and hatred were directed by the fanatically anti-Jesuit M.P. for Warwickshire, Charles N. Newdegate.<sup>95)</sup> The seed of suspicion had been sown and Żaba considered it a great victory to get the signatures of the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Protestant clergy.<sup>96)</sup>

The anonymous author of an anti-Polish pamphlet entitled *The Polish Question from an English Point of View*, published in 1863, put forward the thesis that the Polish insurgents were not the "people", but an exclusive aristocratic and Catholic *élite*. He could hardly believe that it was in the interests of England to further the establishment of a great Catholic power in Northern Europe but added: "No doubt there are precedents in the ministerial pigeon-holes for fostering Papal interests; but yet the time has scarcely arrived when such sentiments will be avowed". British participation in a war against Russia on behalf of Poland would be tantamount both to an abolition of the liberties conferred on Russian Poles and the re-establishment of "the sway of a hostile and domineering Church".<sup>97)</sup> Birkenhead Protestants were so incensed by the demands of the British, Austrian and French governments that Russia should allow unrestricted licence to the Church of Rome in Poland that on 21 July 1863 Newdegate presented a public petition to the House of Commons on their behalf. The petitioners claimed that such a measure would be "inconsistent with civil and religious liberty" and begged the Government not to "advance the

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93) *Report* (1842), 55 and 66. The reason for Anstey's decision to join the Literary Association was probably not as exclusively religious as he maintained. Apart from the fact that he belonged to the rabidly anti-Russian group within the Association, he may well have shared the hopes of others to advance his career.

94) Napoleon Feliks Żaba (1805-1885), born in Augustów voivodship, died at family home in Góra Zbylitowska near Tarnów. According to L. Zieliński, a deserter from the Russian army, but able to prove by June 1835 that fought as a lieutenant in the infantry of the Polish army during the November Insurrection, prior to which had been in military service for seven years and at school for cadet officers. Member of *Ogół Emigracji Polskiej w Londynie* at least during the years 1836-1838; member of London branch of the Paris Historical and Literary Association; earned living by literary pursuits and giving lectures on Polish subjects both throughout the British Isles and in the Cadogan Literary and Scientific Institution which he founded in 1840 at 104 Sloane Street, London. Still in England in November 1867 but in a critical financial position. See L. ZIELIŃSKI, *Emigracja polska w Anglii w latach 1831-1846* (Gdańsk, 1964), 24 and 26; T. 1 (Treasury) 4099 I, No. 19513 (Napoleon Feliks Żaba to Lords Commissioners of H.M. Treasury, 27 August 1840); B.K. 2413, 262 (Leonard Niedźwiecki to Eustachy Januszkiewicz, 17 October 1836) and 2409, 1998 (Karol Szulczewski to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 27 November 1867); B.Cz. 5681, 239 (no title). See also M. TYROWICZ, op. cit., 823.

95) Charles N. Newdegate (1816-1887), Conservative M.P. for North Warwickshire 1843-1885; Privy Councillor 1886; published letters on trade between 1849 and 1851.

96) B.Cz. 5698 III, 61-64 (Napoleon Feliks Żaba to Adam Czartoryski, 16 November 1863).

97) *The Polish Question from an English Point of View* (London, 1863), 10-11 and 16.



pretensions of Rome in Poland or any other country by diplomacy or armed intervention".<sup>98)</sup> There were only two petitions of this kind in 1863 but they undoubtedly reflected popular feeling against Rome.<sup>99)</sup> Not until 1873 could William Arthur White write to Stanisław Koźmian from Danzig that England was comparatively free from religious animosity and that the attempts of some to stir up bad feeling against the Catholics in the Established Church had failed.<sup>100)</sup>

The Roman Catholic hierarchy in Great Britain was not persuaded to make any official pronouncements on the Polish question. In February 1862 Stanisław Korczak Szumlański<sup>101)</sup> wrote that the chairman of a meeting held in Preston to express moral support for Poland was a well-known vicar, the Rev. Canon Parr, whose speech on the sufferings of the Catholic Church in Poland "... put to shame English Cardinals and clergy who cannot be moved to show any sign of sympathy for the martyrs of the Church in Poland".<sup>102)</sup> The only recorded instance of a Roman Catholic priest outside Ireland overtly demonstrating solidarity with the political cause of Polish independence is to be found in the Annual Report of the Literary Association for 1847. Polonophile sentiments earned the Rev. J. Cunningham the title of "the Dudley Coutts Stuart of Jersey". On 29 November each year he preached a suitable sermon and said Mass to commemorate and keep alive the ideas of the 1830 Insurrection.<sup>103)</sup> The position of the Catholic hierarchy

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98) *Reports of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Public Petitions* (1863), 938, 419 and Appendix 870.

99) For the view that Protestantism was of little importance in any evaluation of the Polish question in the nineteenth century see D.B. HORN, *British Public Opinion and the First Partition of Poland* (London, 1945), 85.

100) P.A.N. 2210 XVI, 33 (William Arthur White to Stanisław Koźmian, 12 November 1873.)

101) Stanisław Korczak Szumlański, born 1818 in Miłowań, Stanisławów district, Halicz voivodship. Student at Polytechnic School in Vienna 1833; 1837 sub-lieutenant and 1840 lieutenant in 2nd Regiment of Dragoons in Austrian army; 1849 lieutenant in 3rd battalion of Polish legion in Hungary and same year promoted to Captain in entourage of General Henryk Dembiński. Joined Division of the Cossacks of the Sultan 18 September 1855 as Captain 3rd regiment of infantry and left England for the Crimea 8 December 1855. Nominated 20 March 1856 as deputy chief to Division Staff. Returned to England from Scutari between September and October 1856 and was promoted to the rank of Major by Władysław Zamoyski December 1856-January 1857. Lived in London in great poverty 1857-1860 as result of unprofitable business partnership with Stanisław Julian Ostroróg. Naturalized British citizen April 1864. Received subsidy from British Government as participant in January Insurrection. Went to Paris in August 1865 where died leaving widow and son. See B.Cz. 5681, 209 [no title]; B.K. 2552, 449-450 and 538 (Stanisław Szumlański to Władysław Zamoyski, 27 August 1856 and 4 January 1857); 2548. 29 ("Diary commencing 14 September 1855"); 2547, No. 240, 5 ("Rozkaz dzienny do Dywizji, Scutari, 13 kwietnia 1856"); 2565, 3 ("Dywizja Polska K.S. Kontrola Dymissy wydanych w dniu 31 lipca 1856") and 57 (no title); 2409, 1928-1929 and 1940-1941 (Karol Szulczewski to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 14 September 1865 and 22 June 1866); M. PASZKIEWICZ, "Polacy naturalizowani w Wielkiej Brytanii w XIX wieku", *Materiały*, III, 111-112. See also M. TYROWICZ, op. cit., 673.

102) B.K. 2410, 120-121 (Stanisław Szumlański to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 19 February 1862). Also cf. J. ZAMOYSKA, op. cit., VI, 387 (Jadwiga Zamoyska to Anna Czarotryska, 17 February 1862). The Council of the Catholic Union of Great Britain did, however, direct the Duke of Norfolk to offer their congratulations to Mieczysław Cardinal Ledóchowski on his release from prison. See P.A.N. 2217, 90 (Earl Marshal Norfolk [sic] to Mieczysław Cardinal Ledóchowski, 28 January 1876).

103) *Report* (1847), 12.

was very tenuous and the Papal Allocution of 1850 announcing the restoration of Catholic titles in England was met by fierce popular opposition and indignation. In a letter to Adam Czartoryski, Dudley Coutts Stuart commented that the Bull was an ill-advised and unfortunate measure and contended that Cardinal Wiseman had little understanding of general opinion in England when he advised the Pope to adopt such a policy.<sup>104)</sup> Anti-Catholic prejudice in England was so strong that Dudley Coutts Stuart feared the Polish cause would suffer as a result. In November 1852 Stuart hoped that England would not refuse to support the claims of Catholic France against Russia over the question of the Holy Places. Several members of the Literary Association like Thomas Milner Gibson, M.P., William Scholefield, M.P.<sup>105)</sup> and Thomas Slingsby Duncombe, M.P.,<sup>106)</sup> advocated religious toleration and the removal of all religious disabilities and Dudley Coutts Stuart's middle-class radical constituency of Marylebone supported his vote recorded against the introduction of the Government's Ecclesiastical Assumption Bill: "The Bill is a piece of petty persecution and only the stepping stone to other measures equally unworthy of the British legislature. ...We want civil and religious liberty".<sup>107)</sup>

The problem of the Polish Lazarite settlement near Constantinople had provided an earlier example of anti-Catholic feeling in England. This powerful Catholic order protected Polish interests against the Orthodox Russians and was supported both by Adam Czartoryski and the French and Turkish governments.<sup>108)</sup> The whole purpose of the small settlement at Adampol was to expand Polish activities to all Slav areas within the Ottoman Empire in order to undermine the Panslav movement directed by Russia.<sup>109)</sup> Despite the political implications of the project, Dudley Coutts Stuart was forced to tell Adam Czartoryski in September 1843 that, although personally willing to co-operate, he was "afraid the decided Roman Catholic aspect under which the plan presents itself may form an obstacle to its acceptance with many in this country".<sup>110)</sup> These fears were largely proved correct but both

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104) B.Cz. 5519, 341-347 (Dudley Coutts Stuart to Adam Czartoryski, 22 December 1850).

105) William Scholefield (1809-1867), elected to the Literary Association 1846 and a member of its Council from 1858 to at least 1861. Merchant and manufacturer in Birmingham and director of the Birmingham and Midland Bank; elected 1st Mayor of Birmingham 1838; Magistrate and Deputy-Lieutenant for Warwickshire; supported land and building societies and mechanics' institute; radical reformer; voted for the People's Charter, advocated wide extension of the franchise and the ballot.

106) Thomas Slingsby Duncombe (1796-1861) joined the Literary Association 1842-1843 and donated £ 35.16.0 to its funds between 1840 and 1851. M.P. for Hertford 1826-1832 and Finsbury 1834-1861. Radical in politics; presented a petition to the Commons for the People's Charter 2 May 1842; belonged to the Society for the Regeneration of Poland.

107) H. MSS. (Raynham Collection) CCCCLIII, 191 (Inhabitants of Marylebone to Dudley Coutts Stuart, no date).

108) B.Cz. 5372 IV, No. 6, 195 (Minute of reply to Michał Czaikowski's dispatch of 6 February 1843).

109) B.K. 2413/1 (Dodatek), 51-54 (Leonard Niedźwiecki to unknown, 9 March 1843).

110) B.Cz. 5517 I, 2, 561-564 (Dudley Coutts Stuart to Adam Czartoryski, 8 September 1843).

Piotr Alfons Falkenhagen-Zaleski<sup>111)</sup> and Dudley Coutts Stuart were successful in collecting funds for the Catholic colony near the Bosphorus. Adam Czartoryski's view was that Catholics should be anxious to support the project and he was pleased to report that among the English donors had been the Father Superior of a monastery.<sup>112)</sup> There is no evidence that Colonel Jordan's appeal to Walerian Kalinka in June 1861 to send more details relating to the Bulgarians for circulation among British Catholics had any practical effect.<sup>113)</sup>

As a co-founder in May 1836 of the *Dublin Review*, Nicholas Wiseman did not approve of the Polonophile movement advocating Polish independence,<sup>114)</sup> but both he and his successor at Westminster, Henry E. Manning, were obliged to concern themselves with the spiritual welfare of the Polish emigration. This task was complicated by the bitter animosities and acrimonious debates within the ranks of the Polish clergy. The disputes of the four Polish priests in London were a source of chagrin for Dudley Coutts Stuart who realized that, until the matter had been settled by the Catholic hierarchy, the prestige of the Literary Association would be greatly diminished.<sup>115)</sup> The Committee of the Polish Emigrants resident in Great Britain and Ireland complained to Dr. Thomas Griffiths,<sup>116)</sup> the Catholic Bishop in London, that the Rev. Wincenty Otton Zienkiewicz,<sup>117)</sup> had disgraced his sacred vocation by deliberately sowing discord and ill feeling among the exiles. In the interests of the Roman Catholic Church, Bishop Griffiths was asked

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111) Piotr Alfons Falkenhagen-Zaleski (1809-1883); honorary member of the Parthenon Club in London 4 May 1837; voluntarily resigned his government subsidy same year; 1838 accused of being a spy by Konstanty Kumpikiewicz but cleared of charges; member of *Ogół Emigracji Polskiej w Londynie*; 1841 set up in business at 147 Leadenhall Street as a commission agent and then went into partnership with Messrs. Hall and Co., Shipbrokers; December 1842 received British citizenship and as a result of mercantile contacts found employment for other Polish emigrants; together with wife superintended the Polish Educational Society for many years. See Biblioteka Jagiellońska [hereafter cited as B.J.] 3774, 11 (J.B. Jones to Piotr Falkenhagen-Zaleski, 4 May 1837, and E.S. Blundell to Piotr Falkenhagen-Zaleski, 5 June 1837); B.P. 593/4, VIII, 592 (no title, between 26 September 1844 and 19 August 1845) and 592/2, VII, No. 84, 60 (Piotr Falkenhagen-Zaleski to Komitet Ogółu, 31 March 1838); *Report* (1842), 25; (1843), 32; (1844), 26; (1845), 19; (1857), 22; and (1858), 15; M. PASZKIEWICZ, "Lista emigrantów polskich w Wielkiej Brytanii otrzymujących zasiłki od rządu brytyjskiego w latach 1834-1899", [hereafter cited as "Lista emigrantów polskich"], *Materiały*, II, 108. Also see *Polski słownik biograficzny*, s.v.

112) B.J. 3774, 5 (Adam Czartoryski to Piotr Falkenhagen-Zaleski, 15 January 1844).

113) B.Cz. 5695 III, 90 (Władysław Jordan to Walerian Kalinka, 7 June 1861).

114) *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXI, 714-716. Wiseman had stipulated "that no extreme political views should be introduced into the Review". This was clearly intended to keep Daniel O'Connell's articles as innocuous as possible. Cf. B. FOTHERGILL, op. cit., 78.

115) B.Cz. 5519, 383-386 (Dudley Coutts Stuart to Adam Czartoryski, no date).

116) Thomas Griffiths (1791-1847), born a Protestant, was President of St. Edmund's College 1818-1833; Bishop of Olena *in partibus* 1833; Vicar-Apostolic of the London District 1836 to death; conservative in religious ideas.

117) In Edinburgh June-August 1834, Portsmouth August 1834-beginning of 1837 and then in London most of the time until murdered 24 January 1854. Heartily disliked by majority of Poles and always bitterly opposed to the Literary Association against which he published several slanderous articles in the press. Relieved by the Government subsidy from 1834 to death. See B.P. 596/3, XI, No. 123, 379 (Wincenty Zienkiewicz to Komitet Ogółu, 8 July 1837) and 593/3, VIII, No. 1, 427-429 ("Posiedzenie zwyczajne Ogółu Emigracji Polskiej w Londynie", 29 May 1837); B.K. 2413, 1343 (Leonard Niedźwiecki to Karol Sienkiewicz 29 October 1839) and 2409/1, 572 (Karol Szulczewski to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 23 March 1847; B.Cz. 5351/2, 619 ("Zbiór Potrykowskiego").

to restrain Zienkiewicz from pursuing his political career because he had only succeeded in drawing "the attention and reflections of a Protestant country on the whole body of Polish priests in Great Britain" and exposing the Roman Catholic religion to the reproof and scorn of Protestants eager to find scandal among the Roman Catholic clergy.<sup>118)</sup>

The division of the Polish clergy in England was along political lines. Wincenty Czesław Kraiński<sup>119)</sup> and Zienkiewicz favoured the more left-wing Poles while Stanisław Poncján Brzeziński<sup>120)</sup> and Grzegorz Stasiewicz<sup>121)</sup> were willing to co-operate with the right-wing Literary

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118) Westminster Cathedral Archives, Box 26, Copy D of packet entitled "Polish Priests" (Committee of the Polish Emigrants resident in Great Britain and Ireland to His Worship, 29 March 1847).

119) For detailed biography of Kraiński see *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, s.v. When he arrived in England from Paris in December 1846 (according to Krystyn Lach Szyrma, from Poznań), he had a letter of introduction to Dudley Coutts Stuart from Adam Czartoryski and was to succeed Brzeziński as chaplain to the Polish refugees in London and in that capacity was accorded Government relief. Left England after 28 March 1848. Biblioteka Narodowa [hereafter cited as B.N.] (microfilm) 11134, 1345-1348 (Wincenty Kraiński to Adam Czartoryski, 14 July 1847); H. MSS. XXVII, 136-137 (Krystyn Lach Szyrma to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 7 December 1846) and B.Cz. 5517 I, 723-742 (Dudley Coutts Stuart to Adam Czartoryski, 25 November 1846).

120) For biographical details of Brzeziński see *Polski słownik biograficzny*, s.v. and J. ZAMOYSKA, op. cit., IV, 118-119. Received the Government grant shortly after his arrival in England in 1836 to 4 January 1847. By March 1840 still unable to get his credentials from Bishop Skórkowski in Kraków and was only in possession of a private letter from Władysław Zamoyski confirming his right to administer as a priest in England. With this letter he was able to accept chaplaincy in Chelmsford in January 1840. Administered to the Poles in the German and Belgian Chapels in London and appointed chaplain to the Polish refugees in London 15 May 1842 by the Catholic Bishop in London. Unsuccessfully attempted to raise funds for a Polish chapel. In April 1839 drew up a document entitled "Alfabetyczna lista polskich księży znanych mi z patriotycznych poświęceń i światła, którzy być mogą do narodowej sprawy użyci". Member of *Ogół*, London branch of the Paris Historical and Literary Association (at the latest from October 1839), president of the Polish Economical and Clothing Society from its foundation in March 1843 to at least May 1845. Last collected his Government allowance 8 December 1846 and intended to go to France for health reasons (had also been abroad to recover his health in the autumn of 1844 and the winter of 1845-1846). See B.K. 2402, 525, 528, 532, 533 and 535 (Stanisław Brzeziński to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 14 May 1839, 19 March and 7 July 1840, (no date) and 2 March 1842; 2432, 291-292 (Ignacy Szczepanowski to Władysław Zamoyski, 10 March 1840); 2410, 185 (Krystyn Lach Szyrma to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 21 October 1839); and 2413, 1343 (Leonard Niedźwiecki to Karol Sienkiewicz, 29 October 1839); B.Cz. 5439 IV, 105-106 (Ignacy Szczepanowski to Adam Czartoryski, 14 March 1842); 5526 IV, 265 (William Arthur White to Adam Czartoryski, 25 May 1842); and 5313 IV, 95-96 (no title, signed P. Brzeziński, 19 April 1839); B.K. 2431, 40-41 (Stanisław Brzeziński to Władysław Zamoyski, 1 December 1845); B.P. 592 VII (2), No. 77, 59 (Stanisław Brzeziński to Komitet Ogółu, 20 March 1838) and (3), No. 68, 6 (Stanisław Brzeziński to Piotr Markowski, 15 December 1844); *Report* (1843), 25; and *Raport Komitetu Ogółu Emigracji Polskiej w Londynie w rzeczy uwolnienia jedenastu Polaków z okrętu rosyjskiego "Irtys" w Portsmouth i ich utrzymania* (London, 20 September 1844), 19. Also see M. Tyrowicz, op. cit., 69 and L. Zieliński, op. cit., 100.

121) Grzegorz Stasiewicz drew his Government subsidy regularly from June 1835 to February 1862 with the exception of the 12 payments between March and November 1845 and between February and April 1846. From March 1860 at the latest until February 1862 lived in Dublin and was still alive in July 1886 when he applied for British citizenship. Served the English missions in both the Chelsea and German chapels in London and then because of ill-health went to Gravesend and built a chapel with the sanction of Bishop Griffiths. Early in 1845 he resigned from the Gravesend mission with the intention of retiring to a Franciscan monastery. In London most of the time between 1845 and 1856. See "Gravesend Mission — Address to the Rev. Gregory Stasiewicz", *The Tablet* (15 February 1845) and M. PASZKIEWICZ, "Polacy naturalizowani w Wielkiej Brytanii w XIX wieku", *Materiały*, III, 109.

Association as "the only board recognized by the English public as the medium for all Polish affairs".<sup>122)</sup> Controversy raged over the question of the Polish school to be organized in London. Underlying all the polemics was the question of who should exercise ultimate control over the school and how the necessary funds should be raised. Brzeziński was content that Polish children should attend English Roman Catholic schools but would agree to support the establishment of a school on the condition that Bishop Griffiths would give his approval. This would automatically attract financial help from the Literary Association. On the other hand, Kraiński and Zienkiewicz were insistent that funds should be collected directly from the British public, without the sanction of conservative British ecclesiastical authorities. According to Brzeziński, however, Zienkiewicz had forfeited the confidence of the Polish emigration and, if he were to take over the appeal for funds, the resulting Polish recriminations and protests would be detrimental not only to the school but also to the Polish cause in Great Britain in general.<sup>123)</sup>

It is quite clear that the question of the school did not constitute the major point at issue between the Polish clergy. Kraiński and Zienkiewicz were campaigning to defame Brzeziński's character in order to oust him from his second tenure of the chaplaincy to the London emigration because they considered this position to be "a lucrative and comfortable sinecure". Kraiński went to the length of covering the cost of having a libellous manuscript translated into English, with the intention of distributing it privately until the desired effect of discrediting not only Brzeziński but also the Literary Association had been obtained.<sup>124)</sup>

Brzeziński had originally voluntarily surrendered the chaplaincy in December 1846 in Kraiński's favour but the latter's sermons had proved to be so slanderous in character that he was forced by Polish antipathy to suspend his preaching and even to vacate his lodgings. Under the circumstances, Brzeziński felt unable to leave England as he had intended until a more temperate chaplain, acceptable to the majority of emigrants, had been found. As a result of complaints lodged with the Bishop by the Lithuanian lawyer, Ignacy Jackowski,<sup>125)</sup>

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122) Westminster Cathedral Archives, Box 26, No. 10 (Stanisław Brzeziński to the Bishop, 22 May 1847).

123) Ibid.

124) Westminster Cathedral Archives, Box 26, Annexe A ("Fair Play to Rev. Brzeziński", 2 August 1847).

125) Ignacy Jackowski (1800-1873), assistant paymaster to the Polish refugees 1838-1855; resigned position with the Treasury when appointed Chief Paymaster to the Division of the Cossacks of the Sultan by the War Office in December 1855; in this capacity in the Crimea January-September 1856 and nominated to rank of major 30 July 1856; returned to London 8 October 1856 and applied for Russian amnesty in December partly because of thwarted hopes of being offered a British Consulate or job at the War Office and because of ill-health. Went to Nowogródek in June 1857 and practised as a lawyer but later regretted his decision to leave England. See *Report* (1858), 15-16; B.Cz. 5681, 115 (no title); B.K. 2556, 34-35, 36-37, 50-51, 52-53, and 62 (Ignacy Jackowski to Władysław Zamoyski, 12 and 31 January, 8 September and 16 October 1856 and 4 June 1857); 2 ("Dywizja Polska Kozaków Sultanskich"); 37 (no title); 2552, 56-57 (Ignacy Jackowski to Władysław Zamoyski, 31 October 1856); 2562, 179 (Karol Szulczewski to Władysław Zamoyski, 26 December 1856); and 2409, 1930-1931 (Karol Szulczewski to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 18 October 1865). See also *Polski słownik biograficzny*, s.v.

Brzeziński and the Committee of the Polish Emigration, Kraiński was soon relieved of his chaplaincy. He was also forbidden to perform any spiritual service to the Poles and was left with the duties of an apostolic missionary at the German chapel. Brzeziński was reinstated as chaplain to the Poles on the grounds of his predecessor's incompetence and ineptitude. In order to avenge his dismissal, Kraiński drew up a memorandum with statistics to prove that Brzeziński had neglected his pastoral duties and deprived the emigration of spiritual comfort.<sup>126)</sup> There might well have been more than a grain of truth in Kraiński's belief that the emigration was losing its specifically Catholic character because even Brzeziński was horrified by the laxity of religious observance among the Poles, who were both disinclined to go to confession or attend Mass on Sundays. Indeed, Brzeziński had tried to remedy a situation over which he had little control, largely because of the dispersion of the refugees all over London, by enlisting the help of the Polish Committee in drawing up a list of the children of Roman Catholic refugees in May-June 1845. Far from lacking zeal in the discharge of his obligations, Brzeziński was sorely overworked and was even required to administer baptism and give religious instructions to the Poles in Portsmouth in June 1845. Kraiński alleged that Brzeziński tacitly condoned immorality and a variety of other sins, including the neglect of religion by the emigrants themselves. This was nothing short of a lie since Brzeziński had been known in November 1845 to refuse burial services to a Pole who had died in London without yielding to the former's exhortations to make a last confession.<sup>127)</sup>

In an attempt to discover the origin of the "intrigues" against him, Kraiński maintained that he had canvassed the most zealous English Catholics and was confidentially informed that the English Catholic Association intended to publish a manuscript purporting that the main aim of the Literary Association had always been to Protestantize the Catholic Poles, including the Portsmouth soldiers. In addition, the Literary Association had tried to mask its designs by establishing friendly relations with Brzeziński, "a fornicator, tool of Russia and Protestants and a drunkard". Kraiński alleged that Brzeziński, the Committee of the Polish Emigration and the Literary Association were all conniving with Moscow to extirpate the Catholic religion and prevent him from rescuing the Poles from Protestantism.<sup>128)</sup> These allegations placed the Literary Association in an extremely awkward position and rendered its negotiations on behalf of the Poles, with the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England, more difficult especially since Kraiński

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126) This document claimed that Brzeziński only preached once a month to a total of five Poles. 295 Poles neither attended Mass nor received the Sacraments, 123 children had been converted to Protestantism and 160 marriages had been performed according to the rites of the Protestant Church.

127) B.Cz. 5439 IV, 105-106 (Ignacy Szczepanowski to Adam Czartoryski, 14 March 1842); B.P. 591/3 VI, No. 12, 173-174 and No. 14, 175-176 (Jan Terlecki to Stanisław Brzeziński, 13 June 1845 and Leon Jabłoński and Jan Terlecki to the Council of the Literary Association, 16 June 1845); B.K. 2431, 40-41 (Stanisław Brzeziński to Władysław Zamoyski, 1 December 1845).

128) Westminster Cathedral Archives, Box 26, Annexe B, 1-9 (Wincenty Kraiński to Ludwik Bystrzonowski, 15 July 1847).

had written to Paris to demand that Adam Czartoryski should investigate the matter.<sup>129)</sup>

It was patently untrue that the Literary Association had deliberately confined its membership to Protestants who were rabidly anti-Catholic.<sup>130)</sup> Nor was it true that only Polish Protestants such as the Socinian Krystyn Lach Szyrma<sup>131)</sup> and the Calvinists Walerian Krasieński<sup>132)</sup> and Wincenty Franciszek Kuczyński<sup>133)</sup> were given administrative duties in the Association.<sup>134)</sup> Brzeziński was also able to disprove Kraiński's claim that he was suffering from venereal disease by sending a medical certificate to the Bishop at Westminster.<sup>135)</sup> By 1848 Wiseman had refused to recognize either Kraiński or Brzeziński as chaplain to the refugees and concurred with Dudley Coutts Stuart in thinking that the only solution was to remove both from England. During an interview with Wiseman on 12 January 1848 Dudley Coutts Stuart counteracted

in some measure the effects which from the Bishop's conversation I perceive have been made by Kraiński and Zienkiewicz to represent the Literary Association as encouraging infidelity. I mentioned to him that it had been founded by you, Prince [Adam Czartoryski], and counted among its members such zealous Catholics as Lord Beaumont and Lord Arundel and that Zamoyski for whom the Bishop professes the greatest admiration, has great weight in its councils. I obviously made a great impression on him.<sup>136)</sup>

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129) B.N. (microfilm) 11134, 1345-1348 (Wincenty Kraiński to Adam Czartoryski, 14 July 1847).

130) Kraiński gave as examples the President, Thomas Wentworth Beaumont and Vice-President, Dudley Coutts Stuart.

131) Although Kraiński always referred to Szyrma as a Socinian, he was a member of the Evangelical Church. See B.N. (microfilm) 11134, 1346 (Wincenty Kraiński to Adam Czartoryski, 14 July 1847) and B.K. 2431, 485 (Wincenty Kraiński to Władysław Zamoyski, 15 July 1847).

Krystyn Lach Szyrma (1790-1866), born Wojnasy, Ducal Prussia. Doctor and professor of philosophy at Warsaw University; nominated Colonel of National Guard 30 November 1830; resident secretary of the Literary Association 1832-1839; president of the London branch of the Historical and Literary Association established in 1836; wrote articles for both English and Polish press and journals; joined *Ogół* 24 October 1844 and elected vice-president February 1847 and president March 1848; died of apoplectic fit at home in Devonport 21 April 1866. See B.Cz. 5681, 481 (no title); B.K. 2413, 1320 (Leonard Niedźwiecki to Karol Sienkiewicz, 18 October 1839) and 2410, 180, 290-291 and 299-300 (Krystyn Lach Szyrma to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 22 April 1839, 1 March 1847 and 19 July 1849); *Report* (1837), 37; (1839), 21 and 26; (1840), 11; (1841), 25; (1842), 22-23 and 33; (1848), 125; (1852), 13; (1853), 12; (1854), 8-9; (1855), 25 and 27; (1856), 10 and 81; and (1858), 14. B.K. 2545, 454 ("Zbiór drukowanych nekrologów, głównie emigrantów polskich, zmarłych we Francji w latach 1841-1892, oraz zawiadomień o nabożeństwach żałobnych") and also see P.S.B., s.v.

132) For biographical details of Walerian Krasieński (1795-1855) see *Polski słownik biograficzny*, s.v.

133) Wincenty Franciszek Kuczyński (1807-1851), in 1838 gave guitar lessons in the provinces; clerk at State Paper Office 1841 to death; member of *Ogół* from July 1840 at the latest, until at least March 1848. See B.K. 2413/1, 907-910 (Leonard Niedźwiecki to Jan Mieszkowski, 1838); *Report* (1842), 24 and (1852), 14; B.P. 593/4 VIII, 590 and 685-686 (no title and "Komitet Ogółu Emigrantów Polskich w Wielkiej Brytanii i Irlandii do wychodźców w tych krajach zamieszkałych", 9 March 1848); see also M. PASZKIEWICZ, "Lista emigrantów polskich", *Materiały*, II, 82-83.

134) B.K. 2431, 485-486 (Wincenty Kraiński to Władysław Zamoyski, 15 July 1847).

135) In fact, he had been ill for seven months with chronic inflammation of the bronchial tube and an inflamed right eye. See Westminster Cathedral Archives, Box 26, No. 87 (Certificate signed by Dr. Thomas Young, 25 August 1847).

136) B.Cz. 5518, 365-370 (Dudley Coutts Stuart to Adam Czartoryski, 13 January 1848).

Primitive and crude invective continued to flow from the pen of Father Zienkiewicz until 1853. A letter of 11 August 1853 addressed to the 'Priests', shows clear signs of mental derangement and would have had little significance had it not contained such a bitter denunciation of Dudley Coutts Stuart and the Literary Association at a time when British sympathy for the Poles was definitely waning. Zienkiewicz claimed to have proof that Stuart required the Poles to renounce Roman Catholicism as a condition of obtaining profitable employment. Immoral Poles, and especially those who had their children educated in heretical Protestant schools, were nothing but the paid agents and tools of Stuart. The latter was accused of conniving with Lord Palmerston and "lecherous revolutionaries", such as Mazzini, Kossuth, Ruge and Louis Blanc to destroy Catholicism. These activities together with the education received by Polish youths, were responsible for the corruption and degradation of that section of the Polish emigration which had arrived in England after the collapse of the Hungarian Revolution in 1849. The Poles in England were distinguished by amorality and blasphemy, especially among the communists, democrats, aristocrats and socialists. Adam Czartoryski and Dudley Coutts Stuart had both "created and supported this gangrene" which poisoned Catholicism.<sup>137)</sup>

It was, in fact, Władysław Zamoyski who had first started to actively petition in 1839 for a Polish priest to administer the sacraments to the refugees and he advanced a sum of fifty pounds towards a Polish chapel. The motion of several members of the Literary Association to allow Mass to be celebrated in the council room at Duke Street was only carried with great difficulty. Dudley Coutts Stuart wrote to Adam Czartoryski in January 1840: "I am of the opinion that the Association should endeavour to accomodate all parties and on the apprehension that the celebration of Mass might shock the prejudices of some bigotted Protestant members who might think it necessary to secede from what they would then be apt to call a 'Papistical Association' ". It was suggested that Father Mikołaj Romanowski should apply for permission to use the German chapel at Bow Lane but others thought that Zamoyski's money should be used for saying Mass at Portsea, among the soldiers who had arrived on board the *Marianne* from Gdańsk in 1834, until sufficient money had been collected in London.<sup>138)</sup> It was finally decided to adopt Zamoyski's suggestion of economy by holding services in an established church during hours when not in use and for this purpose an agreement was reached with the German chapel in London in March 1840.<sup>139)</sup>

Thomas Wyse, who had been one of the first Vice-Presidents of the Literary Association, was favourably inclined towards Zamoyski's plan and Dudley Coutts Stuart thought his zeal might be stimulated

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137) B.K. 2476, 20-26 (Wincenty Zienkiewicz to 'Priests', 11 August 1853).

138) £ 50 per annum was insufficient to cover the cost of leasing a building. B.Cz. 5517 I, 304-305 (Dudley Coutts Stuart to Adam Czartoryski, 27 January 1840) and J. ZAMOYSKA, op. cit., IV, 117.

139) Brzeziński wrote to Leonard Niedźwiecki that the Poles were sharing the German chapel and he feared that the Germans would collect money during the services in the name of the Poles and keep it for themselves. B.K. 2402, 528-531 (Stanisław Brzeziński to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 19 March 1840).



"as a splendid subscription is in process for a Protestant chapel opposite his residence".<sup>140)</sup> Both Wyse and Frederick Lucas, a barrister and convert editor of *The Tablet*, agreed to supervise the collection of funds for a chapel. Stuart himself was obviously concerned with the necessity of providing religious teaching for the Poles and regarded the project as praiseworthy.<sup>141)</sup>

Lack of financial resources forced the Poles to delay the acquisition of a Polish chapel for many years and to adopt a more modest solution of the problem.<sup>142)</sup> Through the good offices of Lord Clifford, who entertained ideas of Adam Czartoryski as the future King of Poland,<sup>143)</sup> Zamoyski was able to negotiate with the Catholic Bishop in London for the use of the Belgian chapel at St. George's Fields and it was decided to appoint Brzeziński as the chaplain in May 1842.<sup>144)</sup> The London emigration, however, was unable to provide its chaplain with the money necessary to cover his expenses, which greatly exceeded Zamoyski's annual contribution, and frequent recourse was made both to the generosity of wealthy Poles abroad and the Literary Association.<sup>145)</sup> Despite the unhealthy financial climate, Brzeziński went to great trouble in appealing to the Poles in 1845 to subscribe to a chapel and school for the Poles in London but declined to accept money himself for that purpose in the fear that he would later be open to charges of embezzlement. The English Catholic architect, Augustus Pugin, had estimated the cost to be £ 1,000.<sup>146)</sup> The scheme, not surprisingly, remained on paper.

It was noted in 1846 that after the Poles had acquired the use of the Belgian chapel "the principles of infidelity", which had been fashionable among the Poles, had largely disappeared.<sup>147)</sup> The chapel in Southwark, however, was criticized by Brzeziński as being too far from the centre of the Polish emigration in Whitechapel and Somers Town and for Poles living in Soho and Lincoln's Inn Fields. It seems clear that because of the travelling expenses and distances involved in attending Mass, many Poles were forced to remain at home.<sup>148)</sup> Dudley Coutts Stuart also ceased to be impressed by the advantages gained as

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140) B.Cz. 5517 I, 351 (Dudley Coutts Stuart to Adam Czartoryski, 6 April 1840).

141) *Report* (1842), 34-35; J. ZAMOYSKA, op. cit., IV, 119.

142) B.K. 2432, 291-292 (Ignacy Szczepanowski to Władysław Zamoyski, 10 March 1842).

143) B.K. 2410, 243-245 (Krystyn Lach Szyrma to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 2 October 1842).

144) B.K. 2402, 532 (Stanisław Brzeziński to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 7 July 1840); *Report* (1843), 25.

145) B.K. 2431, 40-41 (Stanisław Brzeziński to Władysław Zamoyski, 1 December 1845) and B.P. 591/3 VI, No. 14, 175-176 (Leon Jabłoński and Jan Terlecki to the Council of the Literary Association, 16 June 1845).

146) As early as 1840 Brzeziński had wanted the English to receive Polish contributions for a chapel and in 1845 he asked for money to be sent to Dudley Coutts Stuart. B.K. 2431, 36-37 (Stanisław Brzeziński, "Odezwa do Polaków", Londyn 1845; kopia) and 37 (Stanisław Brzeziński to Leon Rzewuski, 3 May 1845; kopia); 2402, 528 (Stanisław Brzeziński to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 19 March 1840).

147) *Report* (1846), 91.

148) B.K. 2402, 533 (Stanisław Brzeziński to Leonard Niedźwiecki, no date).

a result of the Belgian connection. The chapel was only available when not needed by the Belgian congregation and very little was being done to promote religion among the Polish refugees. In a letter to Adam Czartoryski, Stuart expressed his conviction that there were sufficient Roman Catholics in Great Britain, favourable to Poland, to collect the money necessary to build a new Polish chapel. Bishop Griffiths, however, had consistently refused to allow any applications to be made to the Roman Catholic population for this purpose. Stuart suggested that Adam Czartoryski might broach the subject with Wiseman, appointed Bishop of London in 1847.<sup>149)</sup> In 1841 Władysław Zamoyski had renewed his acquaintance with Dr. Wiseman, President of Oscott College, and tried to enlist his aid to secure a Polish chapel for the emigration. It was clear that the "fearful and decrepit Bishop of London", Dr. Griffiths, entertained suspicions that he would be obliged to provide funds for the chapel. English Catholics themselves were seeking foreign money to build a church in London to replace the existing chapel.<sup>150)</sup> These plans, including Wiseman's later project of building a large church in central London with separate chapels for each nationality, failed to materialize although the Pope was in favour of the latter scheme.<sup>151)</sup>

Relations were maintained between Władysław Zamoyski and Cardinal Wiseman until the latter's death in February 1865.<sup>152)</sup> It was probably at Zamoyski's request that Wiseman asked the Primate of Poland to send Marcin Chwaliszewski<sup>153)</sup> to act as chaplain to the Poles in London in November 1862. In his capacity as vicar attached to Westminster Cathedral and with the aid of Polish donations, Chwaliszewski opened a chapel consecrated to Our Lady of Częstochowa in the Italian church of St. Peter's in Hatton Gardens and the first Polish service was held on 24 December 1862.<sup>154)</sup> Unlike the Catholic hierarchy in England, the Hôtel Lambert was as much concerned with the political as the religious aspects of having a Polish mission in London at a time of crisis in the homeland. Not only were Chwaliszewski and his successor, Ludwik Józef Walenty Jażdżewski,<sup>155)</sup> financially bound to the good graces of Władysław Zamoyski through dependence upon his contribution of £ 50 per annum towards the maintenance of the

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149) B.Cz. 5519, 383-386 (Dudley Coutts Stuart to Adam Czartoryski, no date).

150) J. ZAMOYSKA, op. cit., IV, 204 (Władysław Zamoyski to Adam Czartoryski, 28 November 1841).

151) B.Cz. 5518, 365-370 (Dudley Coutts Stuart to Adam Czartoryski, 13 January 1848).

152) Nicholas Wiseman received the Cardinal's biretta in 1850. B.K. 2432, 384 (Nicholas Wiseman to Władysław Zamoyski, 12 March 1862).

153) Marcin Chwaliszewski (1831-1901) studied in Rome with Resurrectionists; 1860 priest in Gniezno, 1863-1864 served Catholic mission in London and 1864-1866 was professor of philosophy at a seminary in Poznań. See W. CZARTORYSKI, *Pamiętnik 1860-1864* (Warszawa, 1960), 313.

154) B.K. 2409, 1826-1827 (Karol Szulczewski to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 12 November 1862) and 2431, 88 (Marcin Chwaliszewski to Władysław Zamoyski, 23 December 1862). The same church was also used by the Poles in 1878. See M. DANILEWICZ, "X. Adolf Bakanowski". *Wiadomości* (3 May 1964), 4.

155) *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, s.v.

chaplaincy, but there was even a motion to supplement the meagre resources at Chwaliszewski's disposal out of the political fund of the Polish National Government in Paris. This idea was finally discarded on the grounds that the mission could not conceivably be considered as purely political and the additional money, without which the chaplaincy would have foundered, was eventually supplied by the London emigration itself.<sup>156)</sup> There is no evidence of any English money being used to finance the Roman Catholic Polish mission but diocesan funds from Poznań were supposed to be forthcoming although Jażdżewski complained that no money had materialized from Polish territories.<sup>157)</sup>

It would be a mistake, however, to believe that the two Polish chaplains were nothing more than the Hôtel Lambert's creatures. Chwaliszewski refused to make explicit that which was clearly implicit and insisted that the chaplaincy should at least appear to be, in theory if not in fact, supported and maintained by the Catholic Church in England. This fiction was sustained by the simple device of sending money from Paris directly to Cardinal Wiseman and from 1865 to Cardinal Manning.<sup>158)</sup> The reason for this manoeuvre was clarified by Jażdżewski who took over Chwaliszewski's duties on the orders of Leon Michał Przyłuski, Archbishop of Gniezno and Poznań, in February 1864.<sup>159)</sup> A hard core of Polish democrats advocating revolution kept their distance from the chaplaincy in London and, indeed, only tolerated Jażdżewski because they found him convenient as a source of bread for their starving followers. Although he had openly condemned the Insurrection of 1863 while in Warsaw, Jażdżewski was determined not to expose himself to charges of political bias in London and was careful to maintain silence on the subject of his own political convictions, which he admitted also differed somewhat from those of Zamoyski.<sup>160)</sup> In short, he considered his function to be solely religious and did not wish to compromise the mission in any way by engaging in polemics outside the realm of matters theological. When Zamoyski requested a brief description of the mission's activities in 1865, he was referred to his own letter to the late Leon Przyłuski summarizing the work done by Chwaliszewski and which Jażdżewski was required to emulate. The mission was basically concerned with religious guidance and charitable work among the large number of destitute Poles who had arrived in England too late to qualify for the Government subsidy. Jażdżewski's tenure of the chaplaincy, unlike that of Chwaliszewski, was regarded as less than satisfactory by the Archbishop of Poznań who denied both moral and financial support and

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156) W. CZARTORYSKI, *op. cit.*, 313 and 316.

157) B.K. 2431, 286 (Ludwik Jażdżewski to Władysław Zamoyski, 27 April 1864).

158) *Ibid.*, 93 (Marcin Chwaliszewski to Władysław Zamoyski, 17 February 1864).

159) *Ibid.* and B.K. 2431, 294-295 (Ludwik Jażdżewski to Władysław Zamoyski, 6 December 1867).

160) *Ibid.*, 290-291 (Ludwik Jażdżewski to Władysław Zamoyski, 9 June 1865). The distrust of the democratic faction was undoubtedly deepened by such incidents as the holding of a requiem Mass for Princess Anna Czartoryska on 5 January 1865. See *ibid.*, 287-288 (Ludwik Jażdżewski to Władysław Zamoyski, 3 January 1865).

completely neglected the London mission.<sup>161)</sup> Jażdżewski was inclined to believe that his inability to produce tangible results was responsible for the rupture of relations with the Poznań diocese, but it is not unlikely that more practical reasons of expediency influenced the break. The uprising in the Congress Kingdom of 1863-1864 and the subsequent severe policy of Russian pacification and confiscation of lands, from which ecclesiastical institutions were not immune, probably played a major role in the decision of the Polish Church in Prussia to withdraw its approval from a mission to the emigration whose very existence implied opposition to the political *status quo* in the homeland.<sup>162)</sup>

Both Chwaliszewski and Jażdżewski were extremely anxious to relinquish their pastoral duties in London after brief periods of service and it is obvious that the mission was ill-equipped to meet the demands placed upon it. As early as 1863 Chwaliszewski was compelled to advise Zamoyski that he could no longer relieve the Poles who came to him on the latter's recommendation and strongly objected to being forced to use the offerings given for poor artisans and the church money itself to help refugees in distress.<sup>163)</sup> Lack of money, the connection with the Hôtel Lambert and its taint of Ultramontaniam were only minor reasons for the failure of the Polish mission to establish a viable parish in London between 1862 and 1865. The root of the problem was the irreconcilable differences and attitudes of missionaries temporarily abroad for a specific purpose and *émigré* parishioners, intensely proud of their sacrifices in defence of political convictions which would admit no compromise with the partitioning powers. The London emigration despised the two chaplains sent from Poznań because they had no conception of the customs, needs and aspirations of Poles divorced from their homeland as a result of foreign conquest. Emigrants of varying political hues were united in the conviction that religion and patriotism could not be mutually exclusive. Religious guidance which failed to take into account the ultimate objective of the Polish political diaspora, only succeeded in alienating the refugees who defiantly asserted their claims to a pastor imbued with the desire for the restoration of a united and independent Poland.<sup>164)</sup>

The problem of finding a replacement for Jażdżewski exercised the mind of Władysław Zamoyski who appears to have favoured sending a Lazarite mission of several priests from Paris. In June 1865 Jażdżewski advised Zamoyski to see Cardinal Henry Edward Manning in Paris to discuss the details of the Lazarite project,<sup>165)</sup> which finally proved abortive. The London emigration itself demanded that the chaplaincy be given to Father Emeryk Podolski who had shared the pains of exile

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161) Ibid., 290-291 (Ludwik Jażdżewski to Władysław Zamoyski, 9 June 1865). Jażdżewski returned to the Grand Duchy of Poznań only to find that the Archbishop and the Prussian Government treated him with utmost reserve and caution in the belief that his former position in London had rendered him politically suspect. See *ibid.*, 294-295 (Ludwik Jażdżewski to Władysław Zamoyski, 6 December 1867).

162) For details of Russian measures designed to undermine the influence of the Catholic Church in Poland, see J. ZDRADA, *Zmierzch Czartoryskich* (Warszawa, 1969), 30.

163) B.K. 2431, 89-90 (Marcin Chwaliszewski to Władysław Zamoyski, 25 February 1863).

164) "Kaplica polska w Londynie", *Głos Wolny* (31 August 1867), 598.

165) B.K. 2431, 290-291 (Ludwik Jażdżewski to Władysław Zamoyski, 9 June 1865).

in England from 1853. Podolski's popularity among the left-wing emigrants had not been impaired by his appointment on 7 August 1855, at the age of 39, as chaplain to the 2nd Brigade of Infantry in the Cossacks of the Sultan, commanded by General Władysław Zamoyski until its disbandment in July 1856.<sup>166)</sup> Since his arrival in London, Podolski had given ample proof of his willingness to combine vocational duties with the self-imposed obligations of exile and volunteered his services in celebrating the annual Polish Mass to commemorate the November Insurrection.<sup>167)</sup> In May 1860 he was already prison chaplain to the Pentonville and New City gaols,<sup>168)</sup> and was the logical successor to Jazdzewski, having been long committed to the idea of opening a chapel, school and home for veteran Poles in London. After his appointment by Manning to the care of the Polish Catholics of the archdiocese of Westminster, Mass was said at the Church of St. John the Evangelist in Islington until he was able to consecrate the rented Polish chapel at 110 Gower Street on 25 August 1867.<sup>169)</sup>

Despite the obvious advantages he enjoyed over his two predecessors, Podolski was no more able to organize a thriving Polish parish. Almost from the very beginning he was obliged to resort to the stratagem of saying nothing more than the Mass, in order to attract the English to the church and thus swell the Sunday collection.<sup>170)</sup> While specifically Polish occasions, such as the anniversary of the Polish-Lithuanian Union, attracted large numbers of refugees, the weekly congregation at Sunday Mass was preponderantly English, largely because the Poles found it more convenient to make use of their own neighbourhood churches.<sup>171)</sup> This was not, however, the main reason for the closing down of the chapel after ten years on 30 September 1877.<sup>172)</sup> There were no delusions or expectations in the late 1860's of the London emigration being able to finance any purely Polish institution and it was recognized that both

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166) Podolski had also signed in London on 14 July 1854 a vote of confidence in Adam Czartoryski. In the 1860's he contributed to the funds of *Głos Wolny* but disclaimed all intentions of getting involved in the polemics of *émigré* public affairs. See B.Cz. 5313 ('Lista imienna emigrantów polskich służących w wojsku francuskim' [1854?], 103); B.K. 2565, 5 and 52 ('Dywizja Polska K.S.', July 1856, Scutari); *Wiadomości Polskie*, 1 (1854/1855), 86-87 and *Głos Wolny* (30 June 1868), 726.

167) B.K. 2410, 460 (Jan Terlecki to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 29 November 1853); *Wiadomości Polskie* (5 December 1857 and 10 December 1859), 228 and 215.

168) M. PASZKIEWICZ, "Polacy naturalizowani w Wielkiej Brytanii w XIX wieku", *Materiały*, III, 103.

169) B.K. 2409, 1982-1983 (Karol Szulczewski to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 21 September 1867) and *Głos Wolny* (10 and 31 August 1867), 590 and 598.

170) B.K. 2409, 2201-2202 (Karol Szulczewski to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 16 August 1870). *Głos Wolny*, however, claimed that Podolski succeeded in strengthening social contacts among the London emigration. See *Głos Wolny* (20 April and 31 May 1869), 698 and 826.

171) In 1870 Karol Szulczewski estimated that no more than ten Poles heard Mass in the Polish chapel each Sunday. See B.K. 2409, 2175-2176, 2183 and 2201-2202 (Karol Szulczewski to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 1 January, 1 February and 16 August 1870).

172) *Ibid.*, 2568-2569 (Karol Szulczewski to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 22 October 1877). Ten years later Prince Władysław Czartoryski, with Manning's support, tried to re-establish the Polish chaplaincy in London. See *Report* (1887), 7.

the survival of the chapel and the establishment of auxiliary educational<sup>173)</sup> and charitable organizations were, to a large extent, dependent upon the generosity of individual donations from the homeland. Although Zamoyski faithfully, if somewhat irregularly, continued to give £ 50 per annum until his death on 11 January 1868 and his widow undertook responsibility for the payments up to the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war in 1870,<sup>174)</sup> he was to blame in March 1867 for a small portion of the French diocesan funds of *L'oeuvre du Catholicisme en Pologne*<sup>175)</sup> being diverted from the London mission to the Resurrectionists in Rome.<sup>176)</sup> On the other hand, Zamoyski was also instrumental in collecting funds from the Polish nobility for the chapel and sending the money directly to Cardinal Manning.<sup>177)</sup>

With Manning's permission, Podolski went to Poznań in October 1869 for the express purpose of soliciting funds for the London chapel. Despite the fact that the Archbishop of Poznań repeatedly refused to grant him an audience, Podolski was warmly received by the gentry and returned to England in February 1870 with promises of future financial support.<sup>178)</sup> Karol Szulczewski was highly suspicious of Podolski's claim that the Poznań Poles had not been immediately forthcoming with their money because, upon his return, he was able to pay off all his debts which were not inconsiderable.<sup>179)</sup> In June 1871 1,258 francs were sent for the chapel from Poznań but according to

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173) In the mid-1860's the Poles were very sensitive on the question of education partly because Father Jażdżewski had sought to alleviate the problem by sending approximately 70 Polish children, running wild on the London streets, to be educated at French expense in French schools of charity. This solution was bitterly denounced in the columns of *Głos Wolny* on the basis that the offspring of emigrants were being brought up without the benefit of being instilled with patriotic notions. *Głos Wolny's* allegation that the Literary Association had totally neglected to think of providing educational facilities was false. From its very foundation the Association had, within its limited budget, financed the education of several children at Batignolles and the Convent of St. Kazimierz but after the 1850's found it difficult even to pay the fares of children going from England to school in Paris. The Association had also vainly hoped to be able to use Dudley Coutts Stuart's legacy for the purpose of setting up a Polish school in London but the cost was too great. See *Głos Wolny* (31 August 1867), 598 and B.K. 2432, 324 (Karol Szulczewski to Władysław Zamoyski, 1 February 1861).

174) It is not impossible that the Hôtel Lambert partially financed the chaplaincy until its liquidation because in February 1872 Podolski asked Countess Zamoyska for help in repairing the chapel. See B.K. 2409, 2237-2238 and 2253-2254 (Karol Szulczewski to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 14 October 1870 and 16 February 1872).

175) Founded in Paris in 1864 to finance charitable, educational and missionary work. See *Głos Wolny* (20 January 1869), 801.

176) B.K. 2432, 131-132 (Adolphe Perraud to Władysław Zamoyski, 29 March 1867).

177) Ibid., 51-52 (Henry E. Manning to Władysław Zamoyski, 21 March 1867). Among other contributors were Prince Władysław Czartoryski and Count and Countess Jan Kanty Działyński.

178) B.K. 2409, 2161-2162, 2169-2170, 2177-2178, 2181-2182 and 2183 (Karol Szulczewski to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 12 October and 11 December 1869, 4 and 24 January and 1 February 1870).

179) Ibid., 2201-2202 (Karol Szulczewski to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 16 August 1870). In 1868 the rent for Podolski's house alone was £ 120 per annum. See *ibid.*, 2018-2019 (Karol Szulczewski to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 27 January 1868). During Podolski's absence, his replacement was forced to contemplate the necessity of selling the chapel's furniture and altar to satisfy the demands of creditors. See *ibid.*, 2181-2182 (Karol Szulczewski to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 24 January 1870).

Szulczewski, the money was donated in answer to a request by Countess Zamoyska.<sup>180)</sup> The persistent financial insecurity of the chaplaincy induced Podolski to exploit his contacts among the British in order to avert the premature end of religious ministrations for the London Poles. Endowed with efficient organizational abilities, Podolski succeeded in eliciting a response from English and Irish emigrant Catholics so favourable, that it greatly surpassed any previous expressions of religious solidarity. The fund-raising activities of the chaplain's annual public meeting held at Crystal Palace not only substantially augmented purely Polish contributions, but also were extensively reported in the English Catholic press which appealed for additional money from its readers.<sup>181)</sup> Catholic generosity was also extended to subscribing to Podolski's fund for the relief of the new wave of penniless Polish emigrants pouring into Britain in the late 1860's from the region of Augustów.<sup>182)</sup>

While Cardinal Wiseman was unjustly accused by *Głos Wolny* of being inimicable to the Poles, Manning was more readily acceptable as the person who had ended the reign of "Ultramontanist" Polish priests in London. A renowned philanthropist and humanitarian sympathetic towards the oppressed and persecuted, Cardinal Manning devoted much of his energy to ameliorating the conditions of poor Irish immigrants.<sup>183)</sup> There are no extant records, however, to suggest that, apart from his spiritual obligations, Manning was actively concerned with, or had any appreciation of, the difficulties under which the Polish emigration laboured in Great Britain. This is rather curious because Manning was related to the pro-Polish Harrowby family through his sister's marriage to Henry Ryder. It would be generally true to say that in the period 1832 to 1870, the Roman Catholic Church in Great Britain was deeply engrossed in its own internal disputes between the "Old Catholics" like Dr. Errington and converts such as Newman, Manning and their supporters who wished to introduce Italian customs and the 'Roman spirit' into religious observances and organization. In addition, the heavy influx of immigrant Irish labour strained the resources and capacity of a clergy which hitherto had only been concerned to keep the Faith alive. The apathy of the wealthy Catholic laity towards their needy co-religionists, whether Irish or Polish, has been attributed to isolation imposed by their former civil disabilities. A Catholic wrote in 1863 that "the social exile in which they have lived and their exclusion, if not by statute, yet by traditional prejudice, from public and even private employment, have seriously diminished their capacities of usefulness".<sup>184)</sup>

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180) Ibid., 2222-2223 (Karol Szulczewski to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 6 June 1871).

181) In June 1868, for example, over 1,000 francs were collected at the Crystal Palace meeting. See *Głos Wolny* (30 June 1868 and 20 June 1869), 726 and 858; B.K. 2409, 2116-2117 (Karol Szulczewski to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 7 June 1869).

182) The immigration of peasants from Zmudź was primarily economic in character. Many had made their way to England in the false hope that free passages would be available to America. Podolski's public appeals in the Catholic press also resulted in contributions from Protestants. See *Głos Wolny* (10 May 1869), 842.

183) V.A. McCLELLAND, *Cardinal Manning. His Public Life and Influence 1865-1892* (London, 1962), 209, 211 and 215.

184) Quoted in K.S. INGLIS, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (London, 1963), 133-134.

The Evangelicals, Methodists and Dissenters<sup>185)</sup> who had supported the abolition of the slave trade were slow to rally round the Polish cause. At a meeting of the Literary Association in May 1838, Edmond Beales asked "the benevolent and devoted sons of religion and philanthropy, whose holy phalanxes are marshalled in eager warfare against the slave-driving planter, to spare us a portion of their Christian zeal for the expatriated and much injured Poles".<sup>186)</sup> Piotr Falkenhagen-Zaleski had hoped that the Anti-Slavery Society would offer financial aid to Adam Czartoryski's political project of establishing a Christian Slav colony at Constantinople by buying slaves and then emancipating them.<sup>187)</sup> Joseph John Gurney<sup>188)</sup> was the only person who replied to the circular sent out to various people and he finally agreed to subscribe to the plan despite objections, repeated by advocates of the abolition of the slave trade, that Czartoryski's plan would only encourage and not end the traffic in slaves.<sup>189)</sup> At no time were the humanitarian principles of the abolitionists as an organized movement applied to the Polish refugees, although their concern for the welfare of humanity led some in the 1830's and 1840's to support agitations of a more political nature, such as the repeal of the Corn Laws and the extension of the franchise.

In the 1830's the support of the Society of Friends was enlisted both for the emancipation of the slaves and for the material relief of the Polish emigrants.<sup>190)</sup> Direct contacts between the British Quakers and the Poles had been established as early as 1661.<sup>191)</sup> Under the influence of the Evangelical movement, Quakerism became more humanitarian in outlook and more intent on social activities, but remained rigidly authoritarian in matters of faith and in obedience to the Bible.<sup>192)</sup> By the end of the eighteenth century the widespread movement of the post-1688 period was largely confined to a wealthy trading and financial *élite* which condemned all revolutionary activities directed against despotic governments. Vested interests in Russian markets had resulted in some British Quakers adopting a hostile attitude towards Kościuszko's

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185) A discussion of the vacillating stand adopted by the non-Catholic religious groups towards the Polish question upon the outbreak of insurrection in 1863 has been omitted from this study and readers are referred to J.F. Kutolowski, "Mid-Victorian Religious Attitudes and the Polish January Uprising", *The Polish Review*, XIV, 3 (1969), 39-56.

186) *Report* (1838), 33. D.O. Sypniewski, on the other hand, believed that English hatred of oppression, love of justice and humanitarianism displayed in the abolition of the slave trade and a deep sense of social responsibility seen in the proliferation of charities had attracted the whole nation towards the plight of the Polish emigration. See *Impressions of England, or, Observations of an Exile on the Principles and Prosperity of the British Nation and the Misfortunes of His Own Country* (London, 1843), 25 and 41.

187) B.Cz. 5517 I, 2, 561-564 (Dudley Coutts Stuart to Adam Czartoryski, 8 September 1843).

188) Joseph John Gurney (1788-1847), Quaker philanthropist and writer; interested in prison reform, Negro emancipation and abolition of capital punishment.

189) B.Cz. 5517 I, 2, 569-570 (Dudley Coutts Stuart to Adam Czartoryski, 20 October 1843).

190) W.H. MARWICK, "Friends in Nineteenth Century Scotland", *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, XLVI, 1 (1954), 10.

191) M. WAJSBLUM, "Quakers and Poland 1661-1919", 12.

192) R.C. SCOTT, "Authority or Experience — John Wilhelm Rowntree and the Dilemma of Nineteenth Century British Quakerism", *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, XLIX (1960), 75-76.



Insurrection. Pacifism was regarded as a virtue because peace was imperative for the continuation of trade.<sup>193)</sup> It might equally be said, however, that the Quakers produced sensible ideas on foreign policy in the nineteenth century and Polish denunciations of their lack of enthusiasm to advocate war on behalf of the re-establishment of Poland as a sovereign state were clearly dictated by self-interest.

Several British Quakers, especially in Scotland, were on friendly terms with Adam Czartoryski and Krystyn Lach Szyrma in the early nineteenth century.<sup>194)</sup> Quaker Polonophilism, however, survived the 1830 Insurrection by little more than a decade. This period was one of crisis for the Quaker movement which was sharply divided between the claims of material interests and political conservatism, and saving its reputation as an advocate of social and political morality. As a result, a small but vociferous section of the Quakers departed from the main stream of pro-Russian sympathizers and concentrated its activities on helping the Poles. The literary organ of this splinter group was the *Friends Quarterly Review*, edited by the novelist Amelia Opie, who was also interested in the Bible Society and the anti-slavery movement.<sup>195)</sup>

The most important feature of the temporary support given to the Poles by this liberal wing within the Society of Friends was its essential aversion to any form of political commitment. With the exception of Amelia Opie, who was a member of the Norwich Polish Association,<sup>196)</sup> and a few other Quakers who joined the Literary Association, such as the philanthropist and educationalist Dr. George Birkbeck<sup>197)</sup> and Sir Henry Ainslie Hoare,<sup>198)</sup> the descendant of a Quaker banking family, most other leading Quakers, including Elizabeth Fry<sup>199)</sup> and William Allen,<sup>200)</sup> refused to sanction the Literary Association's political aim of restoring Polish independence. In short, any Quaker sympathy for Poland was reduced to financial help and all military activities were denounced.

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193) This attitude was, according to the Poles, adopted by John Bright whose wealth and renown in the merchant world was owed to Russia. When he was struggling to establish himself as a merchant in Liverpool, Nicholas I had offered him credit and other facilities in the cotton trade. Cf. B.Cz. 5698 III, 875.

194) K. Lach SZYRMA, *Anglia i Szkocja* (Warszawa, 1829), III, 213-214.

195) Amelia Opie (1769-1853) met Kościuszko in Paris in August 1802 and officially joined the Society of Friends in 1825. This decision was influenced by her friendship with J.J. Gurney, brother of Elizabeth Fry. Cf. *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v.

196) B.P. 492 II, *Actes de la Société Littéraire Polonaise*, 1832; *Hull Polish Record*, 3 (December 1832), 56.

197) George Birkbeck (1776-1841) renounced all formal ties with the Quakers after his second marriage. Cf. T. KELLY, *George Birkbeck - Pioneer of Adult Education* (Liverpool, 1957), 147. Elected to the Literary Association in or before 1840.

198) Henry Ainslie Hoare (1824-1894), 5th Baronet, joined the Literary Association 1859-1860 and was elected member of its Council in 1861. M.P. for Windsor (1865-1866; election void on petition) and Chelsea (1868-1874). Father was a partner in Hoare's Bank, Fleet Street; favoured extension of the 1867 Reform Bill and education for all.

199) Elizabeth Fry (1780-1845), daughter of wealthy Quaker and banker, John Gurney; philanthropist and advocate of prison reform.

200) William Allen (1770-1843), scientist and philanthropist; opposed slavery and advocated prison and social reform.

The first system of relief for the Polish refugees arriving in Great Britain after 1830 was organized by the Quakers. Amelia Opie collected money in 1834 to provide the Portsmouth soldiers with clothing.<sup>201)</sup> William Allen, who had known Adam Czartoryski in 1814, educated the grandson of Antoni Trembicki, the Polish political reformer and friend of the Quakers, in his experimental agricultural school.<sup>202)</sup> A cousin of the Quaker Fry family and an ardent advocate of the anti-slavery movement, William L. Hanbury of both Hanbury's Bank and Brewery offered to canvass two English towns each week with the object of collecting money for the exiled Poles in Switzerland. Plymouth was favourably inclined towards the Poles in October 1833, and Hanbury believed that its good example would be sufficient to support operations of a similar nature in other towns.<sup>203)</sup>

The main centre of Quaker sympathy for the Poles was in Edinburgh. Material relief for the Polish colony in Edinburgh was based on the personal charity of Alexander Cruickshank, whose wife, Anna, was the treasurer of the Society of Ladies for the Promotion of Polish Education.<sup>204)</sup> Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz's tour of Scotland in 1833 to collect money for the education of Polish youths had been most successful in Edinburgh where Mrs. Anna Cruickshank had agreed to partly finance the Polish school at Nancy. Her own home was open to the Polish refugees and among others she took care of Rymkiewicz from Lithuania and Piotr Falkenhagen-Zaleski.<sup>205)</sup> The help given by the Quakers in Edinburgh was so extensive that secret instructions were sent from London to prevent any public actions which might have occasioned a Russian protest.<sup>206)</sup>

Despite the fact that the whole Cruickshank family was notoriously pro-Polish,<sup>207)</sup> neither they nor any other Quakers had any intention of actively helping or privately condoning the political activity of the Polish emigration. Major Józef Urbanowicz's<sup>208)</sup> chances of receiving

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201) B.K. 1572/1, "Dziennik Józefy Szyrmy", 27 October 1833 to 3 May 1838, entry for 8 June 1834; *Report* (1835), 49.

202) M. WAJSBLUM, *op. cit.*, 15 and 19.

203) H. MSS. XXV, 307-309 and 310-311 (William L. Hanbury to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 1 October 1833 and 13 June 1837).

204) *Report* (1835), 50.

205) J.U. NIEMCEWICZ, *Pamiętniki. Dziennik pobytu za granicą od dnia 21 lipca 1831 r. do 20 maja 1841 r.* (Poznań, 1876-1877), II, 103-244.

206) *Op. cit.*, 106.

207) B.Cz. 5541 II, 203 (Piotr Falkenhagen-Zaleski to unknown, no date); H. MSS. XXV, 113-114 (Thomas Campbell to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 20 September 1836). Part of the family farmed in Aberdeenshire, Anthony Cruickshank was a director of the North of Scotland Bank and Alexander had a drapery business in Edinburgh.

208) Józef Urbanowicz, b. 1798, son of Jan and Joanna Lukianska; born Sungajlszki in Żmudź, Rosień district; educated at home and when 14 joined Russian army; 1812 joined 24th Rifle Regiment in General Withenstein's corps; 29 March 1828 promoted to captain but left army January 1829 because of family affairs; during November Insurrection served as major 19th Regiment of Infantry; in Prussia until 1835 when sent by ship to Dundee and went to Edinburgh. Drew British Government grant from September 1838 to April 1839. Travelled secretly to Memel in 1839 and then to Żmudź but reported by spies and spent few months in a Prussian prison. In June 1854 living in Department of Oise

help from the Cruickshanks to book a passage on a ship travelling from Berwick to Memel were ruined when Falkenhagen-Zaleski told the family that the Major was going to Poland to organize an insurrection. When Urbanowicz did apply for assistance, thinking that the Cruickshanks had been told that he was going to visit his wife and child, he was given religious tracts on peace and received a sermon "on Christian meekness and submission to divine Providence, considering as against the Scripture, all revolts against Rulers". In order not to prejudice the success of his enterprise, Urbanowicz was forced to tell them that bad health had led him to change his plans and that he intended to reside in the South of France.<sup>209)</sup>

A similar example of the Quakers' dislike of revolutionary violence and war occurred at a meeting attended by Aleksander Napoleon Dybowski<sup>210)</sup> on 29 November 1838. Captain Acherly, both a radical and a Quaker, stated that in the name of thirty thousand English workers he opposed the call for war with Russia. The anonymous Polish writer describing this meeting concluded that "no advantage was to be derived from the Sectarians" because war was against Quaker principles.<sup>211)</sup>

On the other hand, Ignacy Szczepanowski<sup>212)</sup> wrote to Dudley Coutts Stuart in 1842 that the Quakers in Ipswich, although men of peace, were sympathetic towards the Poles and did not condemn in advance future conflicts against Russia.<sup>213)</sup> By this time, however, few Poles apart from Walerian Krasiński had contacts with the British Quakers.<sup>214)</sup> Seweryn Bolesław Dziewicki, a former Carbonarist and

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and drawing the French Government subsidy; 1858 received Russian permission to return to Kowno province. See B.Cz. 5348, 67-69 ("Zbiór Potrykowskiego. Kilka biografij tułaczy polskich we Francji") and 5313 IV, 277 ("Etat des Polonais...", 3 juin 1854); *Wiadomości Polskie* (2 October 1858), 180.

209) H. MSS. XXVII, 150-155 (Józef Urbanowicz to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 22 April 1839).

210) For biographical details of Dybowski, see M. Tyrowicz, op. cit., 149-150 but note that he went to Paris between 7 February and 6 March 1843 and not in 1842.

211) H. MSS. XXVIII, 309-315 (no date, title or signature).

212) Ignacy Szczepanowski, sub-lieutenant of artillery 1831; in receipt of British Government grant from 10 June 1834 until he left London in July-August 1844 to go to Austria via Paris; July 1838 succeeded Leon Sawaszkiewicz as secretary of petitions to the Literary Association and upon appointment resigned position as secretary to *Komitet Ogółu*; served Literary Association until May 1842 when ill health forced him to retire; went to Ipswich August 1842 and employed in teaching foreign languages to the children of Quaker families; 24 February 1856 appointed chief paymaster to the Head Agency of the Polish Division of the Cossacks of the Sultan in Paris; September 1857 lived 8, rue Vaugirard, Paris; 1 October 1859 to 14 January 1860 was editor of *Wiadomości Polskie* in Paris; June 1869 living with wife in Poznań, where died before 8 October 1869. See *Report* (1842), 97 and (1843) 22 and 31; B.P. 598/1a XIII, III (Piotr Markowski to Dudley Coutts Stuart, September 1842); 594 IX(3), 833 and 845 (Ignacy Szczepanowski to Komitet Ogółu, 11 August 1838 and 26 July 1838); 592 VII(2), 79 (Komitet Ogółu to Literary Association, 23 July 1838), 80 (Ignacy Szczepanowski to Komitet Ogółu, 27 July 1838) and 82 (Literary Association to Komitet Ogółu, 26 July and 11 August 1838); B.K. 2409, 235, 2116-2117 and 2159-2160 (Karol Szulczewski to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 30 June 1844, 7 June and 8 October 1869); B.Cz. 5526 IV, 266 (William Arthur White to Adam Czartoryski, 25 May 1842). For confused and wrong information see Tyrowicz, op. cit., 662 and S. Mikos, *Gromady Ludu Polskiego w Anglii 1835-1846* (Gdańsk, 1962), 317-318, n. 55.

213) H. MSS. XXVI, 357-358 (Ignacy Szczepanowski to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 23 August 1842).

214) M. Wajsbłum, op. cit., 19.

leader of *Lud Polski* until his expulsion from the group in 1837, married an English Quaker in 1849, but his wife was promptly disowned by the Society of Friends. After his death in 1862 his children received part of their education at the Quaker school at Ackworth.<sup>215)</sup> Another Pole, Juliusz de Ravier Przyjemski,<sup>216)</sup> who received British citizenship in 1855,<sup>217)</sup> became a Quaker after his disillusionment with the failure of the Peace of Paris in 1856 to advance the Polish cause. He introduced new methods of teaching foreign languages in Quaker schools and especially at Grove House School, Tottenham.<sup>218)</sup>

Once it was realized after the events of 1848 that the whole Continent of Europe was in social and political turmoil, the Quakers finally broke off all relations with the Polish right-wing emigration. After trying to prevent the outbreak of the Crimean War, the Society of Friends ceased to follow and understand the course of political events in Poland. The climate of Nonconformist opinion tended to favour Russia as the bulwark of Christianity against the Ottoman Empire and the Polish Insurrection of 1863 was scarcely mentioned in the Quaker press. Prince Władysław Czartoryski's final attempt to court Quaker support in 1867 was abortive.<sup>219)</sup>

British Unitarians professed to be liberal in politics and displayed some degree of sympathy for the Poles.<sup>220)</sup> The relief work organized by Niemcewicz in the early 1830's was based not only on Quaker support but also attracted the help of the Unitarians.<sup>221)</sup> In 1838 the

215) R. REYNOLDS, "The Catholic Boys at Ackworth - a Footnote to Quaker and Catholic History in the Nineteenth Century", *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, XX (1951), 57-71; M. WAJSBLUM, "Od Belwederu do Leominster", *Wiadomości* (13 January 1952, 1 and 4.

216) Juliusz de Ravier Przyjemski, born Tarnopol; joined 6th regiment of Austrian Hussars 1838 and promoted to lieutenant 1839; left Austrian army 1843; 1848 joined Hungarian service as captain in Prince Schwarzenburg's regiment of infantry; transferred as major to 3rd regiment of Hussars and advanced by revolutionary Hungarian government to colonel with command of 1st Brigade in 5th corps of this regiment. Record of distinguished service and decorated with Hungarian cross for valour. When discharged, joined Bem's corps and organized the cavalry. Arrived Southampton 23 October 1851 on board the *Madrid*; in 1853 was 33 years of age, married and living at 70 Lower Sloane Street, London; one of the founders of *Zakon Krzyżaków* in London 1853; attended celebrations in London of 29 November 1857; author and translator of *Sketches of the Polish Mind* (London, 1857); taught French and German at least from 1855 to June 1861 in Tottenham. See B.K. 2552, 8-9 (Bertold Wierciński and Juliusz Przyjemski to Władysław Zamoyski, 12 December 1853) and 133-134 (Saturnin Kleczyński to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 13 October 1858); *Demokrata Polski* (19 October 1851), 172 and Dodatek to XIII, 77; B.Cz. 5681, 341 (no title) and 451 ("Lista imienna emigrantów polskich w Anglii zamieszkałych, a kwalifikujących się do służby wojskowej w Turcji", 28 February 1854); *Report* (1857), no pagination; (1858), 14; (1959), 8; (1860), 14 and (1861), 14.

217) He applied under the name Juliusz Przyjemski de Ravier. See Home Office I-65/2078 and M. PASZKIEWICZ, op. cit., 103. De Ravier was probably a French adaptation of the Przyjemski family's coat of arms ("Rawicz"). See H. Stupnicki, *Herbarz polski i imionospis* (Lwów, 1855), I, 274-275; K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski* (Lipsk, 1841), VII, 554-557, and W. Dworzaczek (Ed.), *Genealogia. Tablice* (Warszawa, 1959), 145.

218) R. REYNOLDS, op. cit., 59; M. WAJSBLUM, "Quakers and Poland 1661-1919", 20,

219) M. WAJSBLUM, op. cit., 21.

220) Anti-Trinitarianism had been a powerful religious movement during the Polish Reformation and this may partly account for the pro-Polish sentiments of the British Unitarian Church. Also cf. E.J. HOBBSAWM, "Methodism and the Threat of Revolution in Britain", *History Today*, VII (1957), 115-124.

221) M. WAJSBLUM, *ibid.*

British and Foreign Unitarian Association, whose headquarters were at Lambeth, told Stanisław Milewski<sup>222)</sup> that they would be willing to offer assistance in the form of introducing Poles to a trade which would allow them to earn a living.<sup>223)</sup> The philanthropic sentiments of the Association were acknowledged by the Poles who wrote that "amidst the general indifference towards the horrible sufferings of our country, we have experienced one of those rare and happy moments of joy, which reanimate courage and afford fresh hope of success".<sup>224)</sup> In April 1838 the Committee of the Unitarians gave the Poles the use of a chapel in Stamford Street, Blackfriars, for the purpose of holding prayer meetings on Sunday evenings. Through the intermediary of Father Szczepan Mazoch, who was an ex-Catholic priest and an ex-Lutheran, the Unitarians stressed their sympathy for the Polish nation and emigration.<sup>225)</sup>

Unlike the Quakers, the inter-denominational British and Foreign Bible Society, founded in 1804 and supported by both Evangelicals and Dissenters, was characterized by missionary zeal. The Warsaw Bible Society with two auxiliary branches in Kraków and Poznań had been established as early as 1816.<sup>226)</sup> The Polish Bible Society's promotion of the Scriptures had been approved in Poland by Adam Czartoryski and Krystyn Lach Szyrma, both of whom were later to play an important role in the Literary Association. The German lawyer Adolf Bach, one of the founders of the Literary Association in 1832, was a member of the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society from 1852 to 1857.<sup>227)</sup> Henry Birkbeck, son of William Lloyd Birkbeck, annually

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222) Stanisław Milewski (1805-1843), born in Dzierzki, district of Puławy; a priest before the Insurrection; served as sub-lieutenant 17th line regiment of infantry 1830-1831; member of *Ogół Emigracji Polskiej w Londynie* 1836 to death; by October 1839 a follower of Hôtel Lambert although initially a democrat; left London for Paris between 15 November and 12 December 1842 because of ill health and died there 14 January 1843 on way to Toulouse, buried at Montparnasse. See B.Cz. 5351/3, 481 ("Zbiór Potrykowskiego"); B.K. 2413, 1320 (Leonard Niedźwiecki to Karol Sienkiewicz, 18 October 1839); B.P. 596/3, XI, 301 (13 January 1837) and 593/4, VIII, 590; *Demokrata Polski*, V, 160. See also M. Tyrowicz, op. cit., 443, but note that Milewski signed the Act condemning Adam Czartoryski on 19 August 1834 in London and not 1854.

223) In June 1837 Milewski was secretary of the Polish Committee in London. See B.P. 596, XI, 1, 61.

224) B.P. 596, XI, 2, No. 106, 207 (Stanisław Milewski to the Committee of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, 10 November 1838).

225) British Museum 9475 c. 32, *Polish Tracts 1836-1839* (Szczepan Mazoch to Polish emigrants, 11 April 1838). Stefan Moczak [sic] arrived England beginning of 1838 and had preached the gospel in the Austrian Empire for approximately 12 years. Claimed to know 12 languages, including fluent Polish, and intended to go to Poland with the specific aim of saving the country from the alleged destruction wrought by the Polish Roman Catholic clergy whom he believed to be guilty of superstition, prejudice, ignorance and idolatry. His own religious affiliations seem to have been continually in flux because by November 1838 he was an Evangelical missionary candidate and had applied to the Bishop of London to be accepted into the Church of England. See H. MSS. XXVI, 179-180 (Stefan Moczak to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 10 November 1838).

226) W. CANTON, *The History of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London, 1904), I, 491. From 1832 the Warsaw depot was directed by missionaries from the London Society for the Conversion of the Jews but all active contacts with Poland were suspended in 1854 because of the violent antipathy of the Polish Roman Catholic clergy (cf. W. CANTON, op. cit., III, 79).

227) Bach had ceased to be a member of the Literary Association for "some years" before his death in 1859. See W. CANTON, op. cit., II, 467 and *Report* (1859), 12.

subscribed £ 100 to the Bible distributing Society.<sup>228)</sup> and the 1st Earl of Harrowby also donated £ 100 to the Bible Society in 1837.<sup>229)</sup> Sir Harry Calvert Verney, an Evangelical and active in both the Bible Society and Church Missionary Society,<sup>230)</sup> belonged to the Literary Association as did the wealthy industrialist and philanthropist John Thurston who transmitted Polish requests for Bibles to the British and Foreign Bible Society in London.<sup>231)</sup> Thurston had also been instrumental in persuading the Wesleyan Missionary Society to render "Christian services" to the Polish refugees in Great Britain.<sup>232)</sup>

The period of greatest activity in the British and Foreign Bible Society's distribution of Bibles in the vernacular to Polish refugees was in the years immediately following the November Insurrection of 1830. Copies of the Bible were specially kept at Danzig for the use of Poles intending to emigrate by sea to Western Europe and America.<sup>233)</sup> At the request of Biller in St. Petersburg, two hundred New Testaments were sent from London to comfort Polish exiles in Russia.<sup>234)</sup> While some Polish refugees in London were more concerned with the political aspects of the Polish question and with obtaining the "relief of temporal necessities", others, like the Polish secretary at Harwich, applied to the British and Foreign Bible Society for copies of the Polish Scriptures. Twenty Polish Bibles, forty-three New Testaments and various homilies were supplied to the Poles on board the *Union* at Harwich.<sup>235)</sup> Agents of the Christian Instruction Society, reinforced by a grant from the Bible Society, distributed Bibles to the Portsmouth soldiers who had

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228) *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, XX, 57th Report (1866). Henry Birkbeck, like his father, was also a member of both the Polish National Lodge and Chapter in 1856. See W.N. COPCUTT, *The Polish National Chapter No. 534 (1848 to 1948)* (London, 1948), 58 and 60, and M. DANILEWICZ, "Anglo-Polish Masonica", *The Polish Review*, XV, 2 (1970), 19 and 27.

229) *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 33rd Report (1837), CXXIII.

230) See W. SMITH, *Florence Nightingale* (London, 1950), 305. Harry Calvert Verney (1801-1894) 2nd Baronet, elected to Literary Association in or before 1836 and again 1860-1861 and member of its Council in 1836, 1861, 1880-1883; M.P. for Buckingham 1832-1841, 1857-1874 and 1880-1885 and Bedford 1847-1852. Assumed name of Verney in 1827 when succeeded to Claydon House, Buckinghamshire; related to the family of Kinnaid by marriage; attaché at Stuttgart 1819; military secretary to Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, Governor-General of India 1827 but as result of illness travelled no further than South America where spent 2 years; a founder of Royal Agricultural Society 1838; major in Buckinghamshire militia 1844-1846; Privy Councillor 1885; moderate Whig in politics.

231) British and Foreign Bible Society, Foreign Correspondence, No. 3 (1834), Letter No. 25. Thurston also organized and was the treasurer of the *Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Wyrzniętów Polskich* (Society of the Friends of Polish Exiles). He was the Paymaster of the Literary Association in 1834 when weekly financial help was given to Polish soldiers. See B.K. 1572, 10 and "Dziennik Józefy Szyrmy". Attended the annual general meetings of the Association in 1837 and 1839. See also J. BARTKOWSKI, *Wspomnienia z powstania 1831 r. i pierwszych lat emigracji* (Kraków, 1966), 248-249.

232) British and Foreign Bible Society, Foreign Correspondence, No. 3 (1835), Letter No 106 (Krystyn Lach Szyrma to John Thurston, 2 May 1835).

233) *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, XI (1834-1836), 30th Report (1834), xl.

234) Op. cit., xlv.

235) Op. cit., cxii-cxiii. The Poles from the *Union* were transported to Oran in March 1834 to join the French Foreign Legion. See L. ZIELIŃSKI, op. cit., 37.

arrived from Prussian camps in 1834. One agent was assured by three Polish officers at Portsea that "his visit had produced among the soldiers a greater spirit of resignation than they had before seen".<sup>236)</sup>

The Polish Instruction Society urgently needed Bibles in July 1834 and was prepared to accept English versions. Mateusz Staniewicz<sup>237)</sup> applied to the Polonophile John Thurston for assistance in supplying twenty Bibles.<sup>238)</sup> Thurston immediately wrote to the Bible Society that he regarded "the call as Providential which I trust your Committee will be inclined to listen to".<sup>239)</sup> It would appear that twelve German and eighteen Polish New Testaments were later issued in response to this appeal.<sup>240)</sup>

Not only were Bibles distributed to the Polish refugees resident in Great Britain at the request of the Literary Association, but they were given also to those Poles in transit and waiting for a passage to America. Krystyn Lach Szyrma asked the London Committee of the Bible Society to remedy the situation which existed among the Polish emigrants in France where even the clergy did not possess Bibles. The need for Bibles was so great, both for the Polish emigration in Europe and for the Polish exiles in Siberia, that Szyrma suggested the printing of a new edition of the Polish Bible if available stocks were exhausted.<sup>241)</sup> Some measure of Protestant resentment, however, was harboured against the British and Foreign Bible Society because of its refusal to send a "pure and faithful" version of the Bible to Polish territories in Russia, Austria and Prussia. The Society had pleaded in its defence that the "Roman Catholic version would do better for Popish Poland". A report, issued in 1867 and entitled *An Effort to Spread the Gospel in Poland*, clearly stated that Jan Sobieski's protection of Christendom in the seventeenth century against further Islamic invasion had earned for Poland a claim to the sympathy of Christians. In 1878 Count Julian Karol Węgiński wrote a pamphlet in which he denounced "Protestant and Missionary England" for its obvious reluctance to help Poland while sending Protestant Bibles and missionaries to distant pagan

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236) Op. cit., 31st Report (1835), cix.

237) Mateusz (also Maciej) Staniewicz, born Lithuania, teacher in secondary school in Wilno; sub-lieutenant 4th regiment of rifle infantry 1831; signed Act condemning Adam Czartoryski 19 August 1834 in London; in Besançon December 1832; relieved by British Government subsidy in London June 1834-May 1843 and went to France on or after 21 April 1843; died in Paris 3 October 1853 of inflammation of the bowels. See B.Cz. 5351/2 ("Zbiór Potrykowskiego"), 489; *Demokrata Polski* (1852/1855), 156; B.Cz. 5313 IV, 304 ("Zakład w Besançon, Salins i Lons de Saulnier w dniu 6 grudnia 1832"); B.K. 2408, 400-405 (Maciej Staniewicz to Leonard Niedźwiecki 1840-1843); see also M. Tyrowicz, op. cit., 637.

238) British and Foreign Bible Society, Foreign Correspondence, No. 3 (1834), Letter No. 25 (Mateusz Staniewicz to John Thurston, 12 July 1834).

239) Ibid. (John Thurston to the Rev.?, 14 July 1834).

240) *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, XI, 32nd Report (1836), 98.

241) British and Foreign Bible Society, Foreign Correspondence, No. 2 (1835), Letter No. 106 (Krystyn Lach Szyrma to John Thurston, 2 May 1835). In 1852-1853 the Literary Association, in conjunction with the British and Foreign Bible Society, commissioned Aleksander Rypiński to print a Polish version of the Bible. See *Demokrata Polski* (30 May 1862), 133.

countries.<sup>242)</sup> Individuals associated with the Bible Society also gave contributions towards the relief of the Polish emigration. The incumbent of Campden, Canon C.E. Kennaway, for example, sent half a sovereign and expressed his apologies that he was unable to give more. Although he was willing to offer the Poles the services of the Bible Society, he made a point of referring to the Roman Catholic persecution of Protestants in Ireland: "You [Dudley Coutts Stuart] are the friend of the distressed of one class and I am sure you would be most unwilling to help the oppressors of another".<sup>243)</sup>

In order to supplement the dwindling resources of the Literary Association, the Council appealed to the provinces in 1836 to raise money for the Poles by means of sixpenny subscriptions.<sup>244)</sup> Mark Henry Mogridge of Sidmouth, a leading member of the Bible Society, advocated a plan of campaign based on the organization of the British and Foreign Bible Society. A large proportion of the Society's money was received from weekly penny subscriptions. Mogridge suggested that a printed circular containing the necessary information should be sent by the Literary Association to the secretary or treasurer of all the auxiliary branches of the Bible Society in Great Britain, requesting each to engage lady collectors to superintend the work in their capacity of 'Bible Christians'. Dudley Coutts Stuart was informed that "by the agents of the Bible Society you may get at the purses of all Christians of all denominations".<sup>245)</sup> Krystyn Lach Szyrma optimistically thought that if the Literary Association were to act under the authority of the Bible Society "a perpetual fund for the Poles would be almost ensured".<sup>246)</sup> In reality, the project appears to have petered out after the first flush of enthusiasm when Mogridge was able to send ten guineas in sixpenny subscriptions to the Literary Association.<sup>247)</sup>

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242) C.W. (a Pole), *A Voice of Warning from Poland to the Protestants of England* (London, 1878). In 1870 Węgierski was the Polish representative to a special committee of the Trinitarian Bible Society appointed to study the Polish translation of the New Testament in answer to accusations that the British and Foreign Bible Society was sending Catholic versions, disguised as Protestant, to Poland. See *Głos Wolny* (21 May 1870), 994. Węgierski arrived England 1842 and earned living as portrait painter in the provinces and London; age 31 when granted British citizenship in July 1846; by February 1861 already married to a fairly wealthy Englishwoman and living at Osborne House, West Malvern; 1869 was translating New Testament into Polish; wife died December 1877 and left him £ 7,000 in her will and he immediately went to Italy for the winter and in May 1878 living at 64, rue de Passy, Paris, where distributing Protestant religious tracts; in December 1879 in Monaco and still member of the Historical and Literary Society in Paris and donated to *Stowarzyszenie Czcł i Chleba* and the Literary Association in London. See M. Paszkiewicz, op. cit., 113; B.K. 2409, 1793-1794, 2036-2037, 2133, 2169-2170, 2290-2292, 2293-2294, 2603-2604 and 2667-2668 (Karol Szulczewski to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 8 February 1861, 15 April 1868, 17 July and 11 December 1869, 8 February 1872, 31 May 1878 and 30 December 1879); H. MSS. XXV, 270-271 (Horatia Fielding to Dudley Coutts Stuart, April 1843) and XXVI, 61-62 (Henryk Krasieński to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 26 July 1846); *Report* (1842), 24 and 30; (1878), 11; and (1879), no pagination. For conflicting information see M. Tyrowicz, op. cit., 732.

243) H. MSS. XXV, 358 (C.E. Kennaway to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 20 September 1836).

244) *Report* (1837), 9; H. MSS. XXVII, 122-123 (Krystyn Lach Szyrma to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 22 September 1836).

245) H. MSS. XXVI, 182-183 (Mark Henry Mogridge to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 2 November 1836).

246) *Ibid.*, XXVII, 127 (Krystyn Lach Szyrma to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 21 December 1836).

247) *Report* (1837), 57-67.



Both Dissenters and members of the Established Church had promised to undertake the work of supervising the sixpenny collections in 1836. The Rev. Dr. Payne of Pennsylvania, near Exeter, was prepared to collect money from Dissenters for the relief of the Poles and Dr. Bacon of Mount Radford, Exeter, from members of the Anglican Church.<sup>248)</sup> Dr. Bacon was a prominent Polonophile and generous benefactor of the Literary Association. In 1838 he had drawn up a statement of Polish sufferings in England for the purpose of circulation in Exeter and the proceeds of twenty pounds had been used by the Association to mitigate the plight of the poorest Poles.<sup>249)</sup> The Polish Association in Exeter had been founded by Dr. Bacon with the co-operation of Wilfred and R. Abraham.<sup>250)</sup>

Dudley Coutts Stuart had also organized collections in Scotland for the relief of the Poles and clergymen of different denominations had preached on behalf of the Polish exiles. The Rev. Archibald Bennie and Rev. W. Lindsay Alexander, both Presbyterians, collected £ 43.8.8 at St. Andrew's Church in Edinburgh and sent it to the Literary Association in 1837.<sup>251)</sup> Leon Jabłoński<sup>252)</sup> wrote to the Committee of the Polish Emigration in London that sermons, especially in a religious country like Scotland, were more beneficial to the Poles than political agitation.<sup>253)</sup> In contrast to the major Scottish towns, there were very few Polish refugees resident in Wales but £ 10 was collected in 1851 by the Methodist Calvinistic Association at Carnarvon.<sup>254)</sup>

The Council of the Literary Association was anxious "that every undertaking of a charitable nature should have the sanction of the heads of the Church and distinguished Ecclesiastical personages".<sup>255)</sup> Although the Polish cause was strongly identified with Roman Catholicism, the Literary Association had more financial success with the Established Church.<sup>256)</sup> Several Church of England clergymen were contributing

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248) H. MSS. XXVI, 182-183 (Mark Henry Mogridge to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 2 November 1836).

249) *Report* (1839), 29.

250) *Report* (1840), 17.

251) *Report* (1837), 11 and 57-67.

252) For biographical details of Leon Jabłoński see J. BARTKOWSKI, *Wspomnienia z Powstania 1831 roku i pierwszych lat emigracji* (Kraków, 1967), 474; M. TYROWICZ, op. cit., 237 and M. PASZKIEWICZ, "Lista emigrantów polskich w Wielkiej Brytanii", 76, but note that signed Act condemning Adam Czartoryski 19 August 1834 in London, died Dijon 4 October 1853; lived in Edinburgh from December 1834 to 1841 and then in Richmond and London; February 1847 re-elected President of *Komitet Ogółu*. See *Demokrata Polski* (1852/1855), 155; *Report* (1854), 7 and B.K. 2410, 290-291 (Krystyn Lach Szyrma to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 1 March 1847).

253) B.P. 593/1, VIII, No. 65 (Leon Jabłoński to *Komitet Ogółu*, 5 February 1837).

254) *Report* (1851), 64-65. Calvinistic Methodists in North and Central Wales were generally conservative in politics. Cf. E.J. HOBSBAWM, op. cit., 115-124.

255) *Report* (1841), 13.

256) According to Władysław Zamoyski's wife the Protestants had deliberately avoided involvement in the Polish cause because of their hatred for the Papacy. See J. ZAMOYSKA, op. cit., VI, 387.

members of the Association,<sup>257)</sup> and some, like the Rev. J.H. Fisk who donated at least £ 700 to the Association, were among the oldest and most generous supporters of the Poles. Between 1840 and 1841 the Literary Association received contributions totalling £ 30 from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London, Lincoln and Ripon.<sup>258)</sup>

While members of the Church of England were often unstinting in both their material help for the Poles and their condemnation of Russian territorial expansion they were apt, like the Roman Catholics, to view the progress of Polish internal politics with fear and disgust. The Rev. Dr. James William Worthington was one of the most active members of the Literary Association from 1844 to his death at the age of 80.<sup>259)</sup> On 31 July 1838 he preached a sermon on behalf of the starving Poles at St. Clement Danes,<sup>260)</sup> and in 1850 undertook to provide two Poles with food and clothing until they were able to support themselves.<sup>261)</sup> He was asked by Dudley Coutts Stuart to join the Association in 1844, but expressed doubts as to whether the Polish cause would not be "better served by indirect rather than direct advocacy". Dr. Worthington feared that if he showed a definite tendency "towards one thing he might find it difficult to accomodate others". If commanded by the Literary Association, however, he would be prepared to direct a "condensed grand attack against Russia".<sup>262)</sup> He was also the editor of the *Foreign Quarterly Review* and often published articles on Poland. Krystyn Lach Szyrna claimed that Dr. Worthington was a far more valuable asset to the Polish cause than John Mitchell Kemble who edited Thomas Wentworth Beaumont's *British and Foreign Review*.<sup>263)</sup> Despite his extreme Russophobia, Dr. Worthington as a Tory was critical of any signs indicating Polish desires to alter the structure of society.

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257) Revds. J.H. Fisk (was still giving at least £ 20 per annum to the Literary Association in 1881-1882), Henry Hart, Dr. MacDonnell, E. Mortlock, Henry Palmer, Philip Summerville, Dr. James William Worthington, etc.

258) *Report* (1841), 14.

259) The Rev. Dr. James William Worthington (1799-1800 - 29 March 1879), first vicar of Holy Trinity, Grays Inn Road, 1838 to death; president of Sion College, London, June 1859-1860; author of *Romish Usurpation: Supremacy of the Crown and Liberties of the British People Vindicated from Romish Usurpations in a Letter* (1850) and *Tractarian Tendencies, a Letter* (1850).

260) *Report* (1839), 23.

261) *Report* (1850), 49.

262) H. MSS. XXVII 195-196 (James William Worthington to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 2 May 1844).

263) B.K. 2410, 261-262 (Krystyn Lach Szyrna to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 24 March 1844). Thomas Wentworth Beaumont (1792-20 December 1848) was a member and Vice-President of the Literary Association in 1832 and President from 1833 to death and largely responsible for its solvency during that time; M.P. for Northumberland 1818-1826, Stafford 1826-1830, Northumberland 1830-1832 and South Northumberland 1832-1837. Visited Poland in youth; acquired large properties and wealth on death of mother; founded and financed the *British and Foreign Review*; notorious for change in political opinions from Tory to advanced Liberal in 1820. John Mitchell Kemble (1807-1857), philologist and historian, editor of the *British and Foreign Review* 1835-1844; member of the literary sub-committee of the Literary Association in 1838. See B.Cz. 5541 II, 169-171 (Krystyn Lach Szyrna to Władysław Zamoyski, 10 August 1838).

In a speech at the Annual Meeting of the Literary Association in May 1848 he expressed the hope that "the Poles will reject, at once, Republican principles; I see no necessity whatever for associating with France — no necessity for adopting a Communist system, which must make Poland the horror of the world".<sup>264)</sup>

There is some doubt whether Dr. Worthington's sympathy for the Polish cause was completely disinterested. He was suspected of being "a jealous, boasting, pushing, quarrelsome and self-interested adventurer" whose polemics with the Bishop of London in 1848 were the result of disappointment over his failure to obtain the bishopric of the Cape of Good Hope.<sup>265)</sup> It is possible that Worthington attempted to exploit the Polish question in order to gain recognition and thus advance his own career in the same way as James Pope Hennessy in the 1860's.

In June 1846 Walerian Krasieński wrote to Dudley Coutts Stuart that, unless pro-Polish sentiment in Great Britain were harnessed to a religion or a political party, it would die a natural death. Krasieński's aim in writing a history of religion in Poland "from a Protestant viewpoint is to reanimate the British imagination *vis-à-vis* the Polish cause by attracting it to the interests and passions of a strong and religious party".<sup>266)</sup> The book was largely dependent on subscriptions from the British public but Krasieński made great efforts to avoid placing too much reliance on *ultra* Protestants. He feared that they would put pressure on him to give his work less of a Polish tinge and more of a Protestant one: "Poland is my purpose — their purpose is Protestantism".<sup>267)</sup> There is little question that several Poles were continually trying to impress on the British nation that Protestant sentiments had been firmly established in Poland despite the overwhelming influence of Roman Catholicism. When Prince Adam Czartoryski was in London in June 1855 to persuade the Government of the necessity for a Polish legion in the Ottoman Empire, Napoleon Feliks Żaba felt that the only means of reviving sympathy for the Poles and of augmenting depleted funds was to stress Poland's Protestant past. This desperate need for support resulted in a ludicrous and humiliating appeal to Protestant emotionalism. Żaba wrote to Leonard Niedźwiecki in Paris that it was vital to inform the English public that "Luther dedicated the Bible to the Polish King Zygmunt August".<sup>268)</sup> There is

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264) *Report* (1848), 45.

265) H. MSS. XXVII, 192-194 (Joseph Wolff to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 10 February 1848).

266) *Ibid.*, XXVI, 87 (Walerian Krasieński to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 10 June 1846).

267) B.Cz. 5541 II, 120 (Walerian Krasieński to Władysław Zamoyski, no date). Although this letter indicates that Krasieński was concerned to stress his patriotism at the expense of diluting purely religious motives, it should not be forgotten that his writings were, not unjustly, criticized by Catholic emigrants as exaggerating the influence and importance of the Reformation in Poland. This was particularly true of his two books, *Historical Sketch of the rise, progress, and decline of The Reformation in Poland, and of the influence which the Scriptural doctrines have exercised on that country in literary, moral, and political respects* (London, 1838-1840), 2 vols., and *Lectures on the Religious History of the Slavonic Nations* (Edinburgh, 1849). Indeed, the help given by the Literary Association in financing Krasieński's work on the Reformation, was used by Father Wincenty Krański to illustrate his absurd thesis that the Association was intent on converting the Polish emigration to Protestantism. See B.N. (microfilm) 11134, 1346 (Wincenty Krański to Adam Czartoryski, 14 July 1847).

268) B.K. 2411, 652 (Napoleon Feliks Żaba to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 19 June 1855).

no evidence, however, that the Church of England as a body was ever interested in the problem of the restoration of Poland. On the contrary, individual Protestant support for the Polish refugees in England was encouraged rather by humanitarianism and charitable instincts, while the Church itself tended to adopt the policy of ignoring the question of Polish independence. The Poles themselves were quite convinced that the stability of the Church of England had been severely undermined in the 1840's by the influence of the Oxford Movement and Newman's conversion to the Roman Catholic Church. In October 1849 Krystyn Lach Szyrma wrote to Leonard Niedźwiecki that the Jesuits had begun to turn English heads and that the Archbishops of Canterbury and York had accused the whole Church of heresy.<sup>269)</sup> This situation, although exaggerated by the Poles, hardly constituted a favourable basis for any mass Protestant support for the restoration of a Polish state in which the religion of the majority would be Roman Catholicism.

In the nineteenth century approximately fifty-five per cent of Poles granted British citizenship were of Jewish origin.<sup>270)</sup> The majority were jewellers and watchmakers by profession or were engaged in modest trade enterprises and, to a large extent, shared the low material standard of living common to the whole Polish emigration. It is clear that the Polish Jews did not deliberately cultivate either British or Anglo-Jewish public opinion in favour of Polish independence.<sup>271)</sup>

No political leader of importance emerged from the Polish Jewish ghettos, largely situated in the poorer areas of London such as Whitechapel, Houndsditch and the Minories.<sup>272)</sup> Scholars like Benjamin Henry Asher, born in Poznań, contributed a great deal to the cultural life of Jewry in England but were isolated from the politically orientated core of the Polish emigration in Great Britain.<sup>273)</sup> A few Polish Jews with left-wing political opinions such as Robert Lubliński, concentrated their activities on establishing relations with the pro-Polish Committee of the *Bee-Hive*, delegates to the First International in London and with foreign revolutionaries including Garibaldi.<sup>274)</sup>

Poor and socially unassimilated, the position of the nineteenth-century Polish Ashkenazim refugees compared very unfavourably with that of their longer established and largely Sephardim co-religionists in Great Britain.<sup>275)</sup> The economic structure of the Anglo-Jewish

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269) B.K. 2410, 303-304 (Krystyn Lach Szyrma to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 25 October 1849).

270) M. PASZKIEWICZ, "Polacy naturalizowani w Wielkiej Brytanii w XIX wieku", *Materialy*, III, 66. It should be noted that many Jews were classified later in the century as "Russians" and they did not all speak Polish.

271) This was in direct contrast to the publicity given to Polish-Jewish problems by the emigration on the Continent. Cf., for example, M. TYROWICZ, op. cit., 113-115 and 381-383 under Jan Czyński and Ludwik Lubliner.

272) J. BADENI, *Polacy w Anglii* (Kraków, 1890), 5.

273) V.D. LIPMAN, "The Age of Emancipation 1815-1880" in *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History* (Cambridge, 1961), 90.

274) I. KOBERDOWA, *Pierwsza Międzynarodówka i lewica Wielkiej Emigracji* (Warszawa, 1964), 4; B.Cz. 5698 III, 707 ("Do Polaków przebywających w Londynie", Łódź 5 April 1864).

275) The Rothschild and Goldsmid families were important exceptions. By the middle of the century, Sir Anthony de Rothschild was a landowner. See F.M.L. THOMPSON, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1963), 36.

community underwent significant changes between the years 1800 and 1880 and became increasingly prosperous and middle class in character. Until 1858 politically conscious Jewish groups were deeply involved in the movement for political emancipation. As a result, little energy was devoted to foreign affairs except during periods of violent anti-Semitic persecutions abroad. Representations in favour of foreign Jewry would then be made to the British Government by the Anglo-Jewish Board of Deputies. Moses Montefiore travelled in Eastern Europe in 1846, in his capacity of President of the Board, in order to study the position of the Jews and on his return to England was able to put pressure on the British Government to raise the question of freedom for the persecuted Jews.<sup>276)</sup>

The most wealthy Anglo-Jews were the interrelated merchant banking families of the Rothschilds, Goldsmids, Montefiores and Salomons, all of whom were not only generous in their regular donations to the Literary Association, but were also the largest single religious group supporting Polish relief from 1836 to 1861. These four families alone gave a total of £ 400.<sup>277)</sup> Horatio Samuel and David Salomons were active members of the Literary Association and Sir Julian Goldsmid was elected a Vice-President for the year 1887-1888,<sup>278)</sup> but another twenty-eight Jews also contributed to its funds before the January Insurrection. Salomons was well known for his charity and benevolent activities in London. In 1832 he had founded the London and Westminster Bank, later he was Lord Mayor of London and from 1859 to 1873 was Liberal M.P. for Greenwich.<sup>279)</sup>

Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart's philanthropic works and support for Jewish admission to Parliament brought him into close contact with the Jewish community in England.<sup>280)</sup> In 1852 Stuart founded the North-West Nightly Refuge for the Houseless Poor with the help of Horatio J. Montefiore<sup>281)</sup> and in November 1848 Philip Salomons wrote to Stuart that he was anxious to do everything possible with regard to the Polish Ball because of sympathy for his co-religionists and other

276) Persecution on a large scale in Eastern Europe did not begin until the 1860's and 1870's but sporadic oppression was quite common before then especially in the Levant. See V.D. LIPMAN, op. cit., 92-93.

277) There are no extant Literary Association reports between 1862 and 1877 or between 1883 and 1886 but Jewish contributions were prominent for the years 1878-1882 and 1887 and it is almost certain that donations were regular from the 1860's onwards.

278) *Report* (1846), 4-5; (1855), 18; and (1887), 18. Horatio Samuel joined the Literary Association between 1854 and 1855 and was also a member of the Polish National Lodge and its Worshipful Master in 1857. See *The Freemasons Magazine and Masonic Mirror* (1856 and 1857), 514 and 553-554. David Salomons (1797-1873) was elected to the Association 1845-1846 and to its Council 1860 to at least 1862; created Baronet 1869. Sir Julian Goldsmid (1838-1896), 3rd Baronet; barrister; member of Senate 1875 and Vice-Chancellor of University of London 1895; M.P. for Honiton 1865-1868, Rochester 1870-1880 and South St. Pancras 1885 to death; President of the Anglo-Jewish Association 1885-1895; value of estate at death was £ 1,093,493.

279) *Dictionary of National Biography*, XVII, 700-701.

280) *Jewish Chronicle* (24 November 1854), 119 (Editorial Obituary by M. Bresslace).

281) H. MSS. CCCCLIII, 313. Montefiore was a member of the Polish National Lodge in 1857 and gave money to the Literary Association in the early 1850's. See *The Freemasons Magazine and Masonic Mirror* (1857), 468 and *Report* (1853), 51-52; and (1854), 58.

charitable causes.<sup>282)</sup> Stuart's prestige was so great in Jewish circles that the testimonial drawn up in March 1855 after his death was signed by David Salomons, Horatio J. Samuel, Sir Francis Henry Goldsmid, Moses Chaim Montefiore, Horatio J. Montefiore and Ephraim Moseley.<sup>283)</sup>

The inability of the Polish Jews to organize themselves into a strong and united group meant that the Literary Association, many of whose members supported Jewish political emancipation,<sup>284)</sup> was given a free hand to attract the financial support of rich Anglo-Jewish families for the Polish emigration as a whole rather than for the Polish Jews as a distinct body. Sir Francis Goldsmid<sup>285)</sup> privately gave material assistance to Jews arriving from Poland. He paid Bayer's expenses to visit his son in Paris,<sup>286)</sup> and also offered financial help to Stanisław Hoga after 1845 when the latter renounced his conversion to Christianity.<sup>287)</sup> The Literary Association was willing to help individual Polish Jews in distress as long as they could prove that they had fought against the Russians in 1830 and 1831.<sup>288)</sup> Despite the fact that Polish Jews were recruited from England to serve in the Sultan's Cossacks during the Crimean War,<sup>289)</sup> many Jews like Stanisław Hoga were politically uncommitted and had gone into voluntary exile. In April 1848 the Literary Association provided Hoga's expenses to return to Poland in an attempt to influence the Jewish population to embrace "patriotic principles".<sup>290)</sup>

There was a large exodus of Jews from the Congress Kingdom in the 1840's, including both deserters from the Russian army and those fleeing in order to avoid conscription. Many arriving destitute in England petitioned to be placed on the Benevolent List of the Literary

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282) B.Cz. XVII, 3201, 265-266 (Philip Salomons to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 8 November 1848).

283) H. MSS. CCCCLIII, 309.

284) The Council of the Literary Association in January 1833 had shown less tolerance towards Jews. Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz had given Adolf Bach much of the credit for the foundation of the Association and had praised his efforts to advance the Polish cause but it appears that the Council so disliked Bach's authoritarian control that it not only arranged his removal but also did not fail to point out slightly that Bach was a Hamburg Jew. See J.U. NIEMCEWICZ, *op. cit.*, II, 21.

285) Sir Francis Goldsmid (1808-1878); first Jewish barrister and Q.C. in England and M.P. for Reading 1860-1878; actively supported the National League for the Independence of Poland and munificent contributor to the Literary Association until his death. See *Report* (1878), 7 and 11, and W. CZARTORYSKI, *op. cit.*, 179.

286) B.K. 2409/3, 1861 (Karol Szulczewski to Leonard Niedźwiecki, 14 August 1863).

287) BETH-ZION LASK IBRAHAMS, "Stanislaus Hoga — Apostate and Penitent", *Jewish Historical Society of England. Transactions*, XV (1946), 144.

288) For example, Benjamin Marcus, a contractor in the Polish army 1830-1831 arrived in England from France about 1841 and received assistance to go to America but then refused to travel. He supported himself by giving religious lectures having been converted first to Protestantism and then to Roman Catholicism. He received aid from the Literary Association and Dudley Coutts Stuart on several occasions. See H. MSS. XXVII, 107 (Karol Szulczewski to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 2 September 1853).

289) B.Cz. 5681, 463-470; 5662, 109-116; 5681, 621-625. See also A.G. DUKER, "Jewish Volunteers in the Ottoman-Polish Cossack Units during the Crimean War", *Jewish Social Studies*, XVI (1954), 369-375.

290) B.Cz. 5518, 563-566 (Dudley Coutts Stuart to Adam Czartoryski, 17 April 1848).

Association. Before their applications were accepted, however, they were forced to appear before the Committee of the Polish Emigration in London to establish their claim to relief. This procedure applied to all refugees without exception and the right to a subsidy from the Government or the Association was generally determined on the basis of providing both proof of birth in Poland and of military service against Russia during the Insurrection of 1830-1831. Very few Jewish supplicants met these requirements or succeeded in convincing this basically anti-Semitic Polish 'court' that they had left the homeland for political reasons. Indeed, it seemed to be the deliberate policy of the Committee to instil into the minds of the Literary Association Council that Polish Jews were rarely patriots. The majority of Jews were neither on the Government list nor given financial support from the Association and were cared for by Jewish charities in London.<sup>291)</sup> from the Association and were cared for by Jewish charities in London.<sup>291)</sup>

The militant methods of the Evangelical London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews progressively disrupted the religious solidarity of the Polish-Jewish emigration in England. When Henryk Dukak applied for British citizenship in 1866 he stated that his occupation since 1861 had been a missionary for the London Society.<sup>292)</sup> In order to exploit Christian generosity, some Jews, like Kestenberga who had fled from Kraków after the Galician massacre of 1846 to avoid conscription into the Austrian army, deluded their individual benefactors in England with empty promises of embracing Christianity.<sup>293)</sup> The celebrated Hebraist, Hoga, had been officially employed before 1845 as a translator for the London Society at an enormous salary of £ 600 per annum until he was repelled by the Society's vilification of Judaism for the purpose of conversion. Hoga accused the Society of taking advantage of the low standard of living of exiled Jews who were often unemployed and unable to speak English.<sup>294)</sup>

Walerian Krasinśki maintained that systematic Russian persecution would force Polish Jewry into a position of extreme Polish patriotism. He suggested that the strong ties of sympathy connecting the Polish Jews with their co-religionists, especially in Great Britain, should be exploited and that Dudley Coutts Stuart should establish a non-

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291) For example, see B.P. 591/1, VI, No. 186, 166; 591/3, XII, No. 1, 163 and No. 19, 182 (Committee of the Polish Emigration in London to the Council of the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland, 30 May 1842, 14 January 1845 and 22 July 1845). See also V.D. LIPMAN, *A Century of Social Service 1859-1959* (London, 1959), 17. Out of a total of 868 Poles who were in receipt of Government relief between 1834 and 1899 only 14 are clearly identifiable as Jews: Abramson Jakub, Beniowski Bartłomiej, Berkowicz Józef and son Leon (the former's wife, Adelajda, and daughter, Melania, were also paid the Government subsidy), Bresler Aleksander (also Leiser), Drożdżewicz Marks, Mass Godfryd (wife, Wirginia, also relieved), Michalski Józef, Michelowicz Izaak, Neyman Wilhelm, Pilichowski Jakub, Poznański Baruch, Silberberg Salomon Wolf and Szmujłowicz Mojżesz. Other names, such as Blumensfeld Jan Krystyn, Poznański Leonard and Salomoński Hieronim, might also be Jewish. For further details, see my forthcoming study in *Materiały*.

292) M. PASZKIEWICZ, "Polacy naturalizowani w Wielkiej Brytanii w XIX wieku", 79-80.

293) H. MSS. XXVII, 67-68 (Karol Szulczewski to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 26 January 1850). Szulczewski recommended that Kestenberga be placed in a Jewish mercantile house as soon as a vacancy appeared.

294) B.-Z.L. IBRAHAMS, op. cit., 122.

proselytizing Jewish society consisting of both Christians and Jews. According to Krasieński, eminent German Jewish scholars resident in England and men of Jewish descent like Benjamin Disraeli could prove to be of use to the Polish cause.<sup>295)</sup> English Christians were not averse to using Tsarist oppression of Polish Jews as a lever to excite a Russophobic climate of opinion in Great Britain.<sup>296)</sup> In a speech of 3 May 1845 the Rev. Dr. James William Worthington disagreed with the decision taken by the Literary Association to maintain an attitude of passivity during the Tsar's visit to England.<sup>297)</sup> Worthington argued that Nicholas I's policy in Poland should have been widely publicized in order that "a spirit of hostility to Russia might have been evoked in this country which was now, he feared, dormant".<sup>298)</sup> Exaggerated German rumours of Polish pogroms against the Jews in Poznań during the revolutionary ferment of 1848 in Germany, resulted in strong anti-Polish prejudice in certain Anglo-Jewish circles. The perpetual exhaustion of the Literary Association's funds compelled its members, and especially Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart, to become Polish apologists and minimize the reported anti-Semitic incidents which had some substance in fact. In June 1848 Karol Szulczewski feared that the Protestant Miss Hall's translation of Jan Czyński's *Le roi des paysans*, describing the persecution of Jews by the Polish nobility and Roman Catholic clergy during the reign of Kazimierz the Great, would be readily published by British Jews influenced by the 'calumnious' reports of Polish anti-Semitism.<sup>299)</sup> Several Jews, including Baroness Lionel de Rothschild,<sup>300)</sup> refused to support the Polish Ball on the grounds that the Poles had committed atrocities against the Jews. Stuart realized that arguments trying to absolve the Poles from such allegations by accusing the Jews of having behaved badly towards the Polish patriots, would make little impression on English Jewry. He was therefore obliged to resort to pleading the innocence of Polish emigrants

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295) H. MSS. XXVI, 92-93 (Walerian Krasieński to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 4 October 1844). Disraeli in fact was only lukewarm towards the Poles.

296) It should be remembered that the Poles as a nation were also guilty of anti-Semitism. Cf. A.G. DUKER, "Prince Czartoryski, the Émigré, on the Jewish Problem" in the *Joshua Bloch Memorial Volume* (New York, 1960), 165-179, and "Polish Émigré Christian Socialists on the Jewish Problem", *Jewish Social Studies*, XIV (1952), 317-342.

297) The Literary Association did not wish to incur any reproaches of being disrespectful to Queen Victoria.

298) *Report* (1845), 38.

299) H. MSS. XXVII, 38-39 (Karol Szulczewski to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 9 June 1848). By July 1863, however, the London Agency of the National Government wanted the Hôtel Lambert to make its peace with the Fourierist and radical Jan Czyński. Friendly approaches were deemed necessary not only because Czyński was extremely able and influential as a prolific writer on Polish-Jewish themes and the founder in 1863 of the Alliance Israelites in Paris, but also because a deputation of Jews from Paris was expected in London to confer with their co-religionists on the attitude to be adopted towards the Polish Insurrection. See B.Cz. 5696 III, 461-464 (Napoleon Feliks Żaba to Władysław Czartoryski, 9 July 1863).

300) On her death in 1884 she was remembered by Karol Szulczewski as a great friend, benefactor and protector of the Polish cause. See P.A.N. 2210, XIII, 244 (Karol Szulczewski to Stanisław Koźmian, 14 June 1884). For record of her generosity to the Poles towards the end of her life see *Report* (1878), 7 and 11; (1879), no pagination; (1880), 9; (1881), 9; and (1882), 5 and 10.



in Great Britain by stressing that they had not participated in the Poznań events. The Baroness was begged to reconsider her decision in the light of Stuart's willingness to donate to Jewish charities in 1846 when one of the "chief contrivers of the horrible massacres in Galicia" had been a Jew.<sup>301)</sup> The Anglo-Jewish press, on the other hand, showed little editorial interest in the Polish-Jewish problem in 1848 although reports of repression of the Jews in Polish territories received adequate coverage from April onwards. The *Jewish Chronicle* of 3 November 1848 even published an appeal calling on its readers to support the Polish Ball and Concert and did not blame the Polish emigration for the anti-Jewish riots in Poznań. On 28 November the *Chronicle* observed that great numbers of Jews had attended the Ball and went so far as to request more Jewish help for the Polish refugees.

It is quite clear that in 1848 the attention of Anglo-Jewry was directed to domestic rather than foreign affairs. The Rev. Dr. Joseph Wolff suggested that he might help the Poles by giving three lectures, either in German or English, on the subject of eminent foreign Jews in Great Britain. The topic was calculated to attract Jewish notice at a time of crisis "when the British legislature intends to throw overboard a barbarous and unjust law consisting in excluding those who contribute towards the burden of the state from enjoying the privileges of the state".<sup>302)</sup> The removal of Jewish disabilities was the focal point of Anglo-Jewish activities and this struggle for political rights to a large extent overshadowed other problems concerning their co-religionists.

Pro-Polish M.P.'s were a loosely organized and ineffective body. No election campaigns were specifically conducted with the intention of securing the return of as many M.P.'s as possible who would openly and publicly oppose Tsarist policy in Poland, and, generally speaking, Polonophiles lacked parliamentary ability. In a letter to Dudley Coutts Stuart of 17 July 1847 William Fox Strangways was the first to suggest that Lionel Nathan Rothschild, who was then standing for Parliament, should be questioned and made to give a pledge to support Poland both inside and outside the House of Commons, in England and abroad. The Jewish community

at a pinch, might be friends worth having. You know I am for making *des flèches de tout bois*. Be sure you make him declare against Russia and the Holy Alliance by name and on the hustings — he will wish himself at Jericho — no bad seat for a Hebrew representative but he ought to be put to the test and I know it would tell abroad.<sup>303)</sup>

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301) H. MSS. XXVIII, 76-81 (Dudley Coutts Stuart to Baroness de Rothschild, 23 May 1848).

302) H. MSS. XXVII, 192-194 (Joseph Wolff to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 10 February 1848). Joseph Wolff (1795-1862), son of a German Rabbi, was baptized as a Catholic in 1812 and joined the Church of England after his expulsion from Rome in 1818. Widely travelled as a missionary, Vicar of Ile Brewers in Somerset from 1845 to death. He was very pro-Polish and donated considerable sums of money accruing both from his lectures on behalf of the Poles and his publications. Cf. H. MSS. XXVII, 190-194. See also his book (G. WINT, Ed.), *A Mission to Bokhara* (London, 1969).

303) H. MSS. XXVI, 336-337 (William Fox Strangways to Dudley Coutts Stuart, 17 July 1847).

Rothschild in fact did not take his seat for the City of London in the House of Commons until 26 July 1858. No effective 'Polish party' ever emerged and pledges to support Polish independence were never administered. Wealthy Jewish financiers like the Rothschilds could only express their disapproval of Russia's attitude towards Poland by refusing to take up the Russian loan in 1861,<sup>304)</sup> and by helping to finance the Polish Agency in London in 1862.<sup>305)</sup>

The London Agency of the National Government was not unaware that bigotry and suspicion of Polish Catholic persecution of minority religious groups were capable not only of weakening both potential Protestant and Jewish public support for the Polish cause, but also of undermining the efforts of the National League for the Independence of Poland. With the intention of proving the absence of Ultramontanist and the commitment of the National Government to the principles of religious toleration, Protestants and Jews in the homeland were urged to send an address to the London Evangelical and Israelite Alliances stressing the harmony and unity of Poles of different religious persuasions in opposition to rule from Moscow. In addition, it was thought expedient to combat notions that the January Insurrection was a religious war waged by Papists against all dissidents by calling upon the National Government in September 1863 to send to London a detailed list of Polish non-Catholics who had been prominent in resistance to, or had suffered at the hands of, the Russians from 1861 onwards.<sup>306)</sup> Indeed, the Poles themselves had earlier attempted to resolve internal religious differences, not for foreign consumption but to consolidate purely Polish opposition to alien domination, by establishing in Paris the *Zbratnienie Polskie Wszelkich Wyznań* in August 1862.<sup>307)</sup> As one of the founders of this organization and in his capacity as director of publicity for the London Agency, Napoleon Feliks Żaba was anxious to impress upon influential English Jews in July 1863 their obligation to co-operate with the Israelite Alliance and the Polish Alliance of All Religious Creeds on behalf of the insurgents: "As the Jewish population in Poland is involved together with their Christian countrymen in the same current of dire misfortune, indifference on the part of English co-religionists would be a moral crime". Despite the fact, however, that

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304) Several years later, however, the situation had changed. In a letter of 19 February 1870 Karl Marx wrote to David Urquhart:

As you will be aware, the Russian gvt. had successively, but vainly tried to raise money, first by Thompson and Bonar, then by Baring. Being hardly pressed for money, it succeeded at last to get from Rothschild acting through his agent Blüchroder at Berlin, a loan of something like two million f. st.

With a view to get further securities for the repayment of this loan, Rothschild undertook to bring out the last railway loan.

[Reproduced by C. ABRAMSKY in *Society for the Study of Labour History*, Bulletin no. 14 (Spring 1967), 16-17].

305) B.Cz. 5695 III, 341 ("Rachunek Agencji Polskiej w Londynie za miesiąc luty 1862").

306) H. WERESZYCKI, "Polska działalność dyplomatyczna w Londynie" in A. LEWAK (Ed.), *Polska działalność dyplomatyczna 1863-1864*, II (Warszawa 1963), 362 and 378-380. In March 1862 Stanisław Szumlański suggested that the Warsaw Jewish paper, *Jutrzenka*, known for its patriotic stand against Russia, should be sent regularly to London. See B.Cz. 5695 III, 299-302 (Stanisław Szumlański to Władysław Czaratoryski, 2 March 1862).

307) *Głos Wolny* (10 December 1864), 225-226 and J.W. BOREJSZA, *Emigracja polska po Powstaniu Styczniowym* (Warszawa, 1966), 83.

a committee of eighteen prominent Jews was formed with Sir Francis H. Goldsmid as chairman, that money was provided by the London Agency to print circulars announcing Jewish meetings, that an appeal for support was placed in the *Jewish Chronicle* and that the Agency opened a subscription to the *Chronicle*, the Jewish community's response was decidedly cool.<sup>308)</sup>

The only attempt in the nineteenth century to reconcile all the discordant religious groups in favour of the restoration of Poland was made by Peter André Fox in October 1864. As a free-thinker holding extremely left-wing political opinions,<sup>309)</sup> Fox was not concerned with religious tenets but with the possibility of exploiting potential religious support for a political end. He suggested to Władysław Zamoyski that the field of popular agitation should be cultivated in Great Britain:

There are lying scattered everywhere throughout Britain the heterogeneous elements of a strong Polish party but it needs a skilful hand to group these elements together. In every large city in England, there are in addition to the general Protestant element two sections that stand aloof viz. the Catholics (3/4 Irish) and freethinkers. The Catholics will do anything for Poland; I, leader of the freethinkers pledge you the co-operation of my party. ...The case of Poland admits of being treated from such an elevated historical and moral standpoint that all religious parties may be conciliated and all political parties also, that are not Russian in their sympathies, as many, if not most of our Tories and some of our Manchester school are.<sup>310)</sup>

This idealistic project failed to take into consideration the fundamental conflict existing between the general conservatism of organized religion in Great Britain, with the exception of Ireland, and the social revolutionary concepts inherent in any solution of the Polish question. The most radical and revolutionary elements in Britain were largely concentrated in the metropolis and industrial areas where, according to the census of 1851, religious apathy was the most prevalent.<sup>311)</sup>

Poland was never more than of peripheral or transient interest, even during periods of political and military crisis, for any religious group in nineteenth century Britain. Support was more sporadic than consistent, sympathy more isolated than general and the net result was negative rather than tangible. Polonophilism was never popularly espoused or broadly based in British society and at no time was the pressure brought to bear by public opinion strong enough to force the government, against its will, to do more than issue sharp notes of protest to the partitioning powers and especially Russia. It is scarcely surprising, therefore, that the essentially mild pro-Polish agitation, so often interspersed with harsh and abusive anti-Polish sentiments, conducted by an internally divided and sectional interest yielded little of value. Idealism in foreign policy, humanitarian instincts engendered

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308) B.Cz. 5696 III, 461-464 (Napoleon Feliks Zaba to Władysław Czartoryski, 9 July 1863) and 5697 III, 727 (signed "Napoleon F. Zaba, Dyrektor Wydziału Agitacji", July 1863).

309) Fox was a journalist, publicist and a member of the General Council of the First International. He supported Marx in emphasizing the importance of the Polish question for the working class movement. Cf. J.W. BOREJSZA, op. cit., 352.

310) B.K. 2416, I, 1-4 (Peter André Fox to Władysław Zamoyski, 10 October 1864).

311) K.S. INGLIS, op. cit., 1.

by the presence of exiled foreigners in distress and vague, romantic concepts of international morality were not sufficiently compelling to allow any one creed to unreservedly favour the sole objective the Poles themselves were united in demanding — national independence. Propaganda on behalf of Poland was largely and most effectively conducted in England by the right-wing emigration and its British sympathizers, but public ignorance of the elementary features of the Polish question was often gross and this led to apathy. The basic error of Polonophiles was their assumption that the various Churches and religious bodies could be induced to advocate Polish nationalism by appealing to them separately and emphasizing the one element each supposedly had in common with a specified section of the Polish population. This approach did not take into account the obstacle upon which all hope of support, if only moral and verbal, foundered. In the final analysis, when expressions of solidarity were most urgently needed, the sharp distinction between right and wrong, justice and injustice was blurred by a general fear that the form of government and policy of a free Poland would be inimicable and alien to the vested interests of different religions in Great Britain.

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DIMENSIONS OF REALITY IN THE LYRICS OF  
CYPRIAN NORWID

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Chapter I: INTRODUCTION

One of the reasons for the unsatisfactory state of scholarship on Cyprian Norwid, on which point there is, as we shall see, general agreement, has certainly been the long unavailability of adequate texts, a situation still being remedied at the given moment. The vicissitudes of publication of Norwid's writings are a familiar story, even if the writings themselves can be said to be only presently acquiring such familiarity. By leaving Poland in 1842 to study sculpturing in Italy, a move that began a life-long exile primarily in that country and in Paris, but also briefly in various German cities and in New York, London, and Brussels, Norwid sacrificed critical acclaim and his reading public, if limited, in Poland. Norwid's attempts abroad to regain this acclaim and readership failed at least in part through unfortunate coincidence with disrupting political events in Western Europe. For example, the Paris revolution of 1848 halted publication of the mystery *Wanda* with the resulting loss of that manuscript. Military preparations in the beginning of 1866 for the war between Prussia and Austria prevented the proposed publication in Leipzig of, among other things, the *Vade-mecum*, regarded by many as Norwid's highest achievement. Norwid had placed particularly high hopes upon this undertaking, and the cancellation by the publisher Brockhaus, after having previously published in 1863 a collection of his verses, was a bitter disappointment to him. Even this small edition of 1863 shared the untimeliness of Norwid's other literary endeavors since it appeared just before the outbreak of the January uprising in Warsaw, and thus went unnoticed in the Polish press, both at home and in exile. From this point on, Norwid lived in sickness and near starvation, barely keeping alive through the charity of friends, primarily, and through occasional fees for individually published pieces

and several drawings and illustrations which he sold.<sup>1)</sup> The story of the ill-fated publication of Norwid's works brightens somewhat with the two posthumous editions by Zenon Przesmycki, Norwid's "discoverer", but it is certainly consistent with the fate of publication during Norwid's lifetime. The first edition, the *Pisma zebrane*, begun in 1911 was discontinued with the outbreak of World War I; the second, *Wszystkie pisma*, begun in 1933, was likewise interrupted by World War II. As yet the situation is not entirely remedied, but at least the first two volumes of Juliusz Gomulicki's critical edition *Dzieła zebrane* (Warsaw, 1966) have appeared recently with the remainder of the complete edition to follow subsequently. Volumes I and II of this edition form the canon for the present study of Norwid's lyrics.<sup>2)</sup>

Long unavailability of adequate texts then is unquestionably an important factor in lagging scholarship. [Tadeusz Pini's edition, *Dzieła Cypriana Norwida* (Warsaw, 1934) has been unanimously recognized as inadequate, although some, especially outside of Poland, have been forced to use it]. Nor would any student of Norwid discount the intrinsic difficulty of his work as an additional factor. Yet there are other more important reasons for this state of affairs. It has long been recognized as one of the many ironies surrounding Norwid's work that, while the main corpus is largely unknown, Norwid is still the most frequently quoted of Polish poets. At present Norwid seems to be fast acquiring another "first", that of being the Polish poet most widely compared to other writers. A far from complete list of these "comparisons" and, in some cases, "influences" includes the following diverse figures of Western intellectual and artistic traditions: Aquinas, Augustine, Baudelaire, Béranger, Bergson, Blake, Boileau, Byron, Carlyle, Dante, Fichte, Flaubert, Fourier, Gautier, Hegel, Herwegh, Horace, Kierkegaard, Mallarmé, Morris, Nietzsche, Novalis, St. Paul, Plato, Plotinus, Poe, Proudhon, Pushkin, Rimbaud, Saint-Simon, Scheffer, Schelling, Schlegel, Socrates, Tolstoy, Verlaine, Vico. To this list should be added the names of some of Poland's major poets, like Kochanowski, Mickiewicz, Słowacki, and Krasiński, not to mention lesser writers. Finally, the philosophers from the Polish National School like Cieszkowski, Hoene-Wroński, Trentowski, et al., have been mentioned in connection with Norwid. But the question is not whether these are justified comparisons and/or influences. A writer of Norwid's stature and complexity may indeed warrant more of these associations than one might expect at first glance. The difficulty, as we shall see, lies in the absence in scholarship on Norwid of a work of synthesis which would provide a coherent framework to integrate these associations. These innumerable associations are bound to conflict with the notion that Norwid is one of Poland's most original poets, especially in the absence of such a framework. However much light

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1) See Cyprian NORWID, *Dzieła zebrane* I, ed. Juliusz W. Gomulicki (Warsaw, 1966), 11-125. Since completion of this study a five-volume popular edition, *Pisma wybrane* (Warsaw, 1968), has appeared and an eleven-volume edition with critical apparatus, *Pisma wszystkie*, (Warsaw, 1971) is currently appearing. Both editions are edited by Gomulicki.

2) For convenience I am following Zygmunt DOKURNO's terminology in *Kompozycja utworów lirycznych C.K. Norwida* (Toruń, 1965). See "Wstęp", 5-11, for his justification of the term.

these associations may shed on Norwid's creativity, the approach has failed to provide the required synthesis. The shortcomings of a "comparative" approach to Norwid seem obvious, again, because of the very stature and complexity of the poet. The present study will offer tradition as an approach to Norwid's writings.

A second of the more important reasons for the unsatisfactory state of Norwid scholarship can be charged to Przesmycki, despite his inestimable contribution in rescuing Norwid from oblivion, or, more justly, to his successors for allowing what is here regarded as a mistaken approach to Norwid to persist. The point in question is the dualism betrayed in Przesmycki's commentary to certain of Norwid's poems, a matter considered in greater detail in Chapter VII. Przesmycki certainly recognizes Norwid's Catholicity, although, like many critics to be discussed in the following chapter, he views Norwid's religiosity as a biographical fact by emphasizing, for example, Norwid's actions during the threatened mob attack upon Pius IX in 1843.<sup>3)</sup> He was, it is only fair to say, among the first to point to the importance of the cross in Norwid's works.<sup>4)</sup> Yet for all this, Przesmycki interprets Norwid, not only as a "contemporary", an interpretation still valid, but also as a precursor of French Symbolism. Przesmycki is among the first to compare Norwid to Baudelaire and the other French symbolists, as well as to the Pre-Raphaelites. Ewa Korzeniewska in her article "Miriam a Norwid" describes Przesmycki's view of the type of artist to which Norwid is precursor as a subjective idealist who experiences an unknowable world.<sup>5)</sup> As will be described in greater detail in Chapter VII, Przesmycki in his comments on certain of Norwid's poems makes explicit the dualism implied above by referring to two realities found in such verses as "Rzeczywistość" (Reality), "Toast", "Sława" (Fame), and "Człowiek" (Man).<sup>6)</sup> It is this dualism, uncritical acceptance of which is reflected in numerous commentators on Norwid, which the present study will re-examine and for which a different ontological framework will be proposed.

Finally, a third factor contributing to the present state of scholarship on Norwid is the apparent reluctance, with certain recent notable exceptions discussed in the following chapter, to come to terms with the unavoidably obvious religiosity in Norwid's works. As is indicated there this aspect of Norwid's creativity has been recognized by nearly every critic since Przesmycki and only in the last few years in Poland has it been suggested as an approach to understanding Norwid. There have, of course, been earlier attempts to demonstrate Norwid's orthodox Catholicism, all of which are in the final analysis irrelevant, except in the most superficial way, for a literary study. Clearly, avoidance of the problem can only perpetuate the current inadequacy of critical estimates

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3) Zenon PRZESMYCKI, ed., *Pisma zebrane Cypriana Norwida*, Vol. A., Part II (Cracow, 1912), 859-864.

4) *Ibid.*, 988, 989.

5) Ewa KORZENIEWSKA, "Miriam a Norwid", *Pamiętnik Literacki*, LVI, 2 (1965), 422.

6) *Pisma zebrane* I, 997-999.

of Norwid. Gomulicki's reaction to the following insignificant poem of Norwid's entitled "Epitaphe" seems to typify such avoidance:

Ci git l'artiste religieux  
Qui s'était bien crotté  
À la recherche de l'atelier  
Dans un lieu-athée...<sup>7)</sup>

Gomulicki correctly asserts that this example of Norwid's bitter irony cannot be elevated to the status of an artistic credo, but can the statement be so assuredly restricted to the one painting Norwid was working on at the time, as Gomulicki does.<sup>8)</sup> The poet who can call himself "a writer whose content is anointed with the sign of the Cross",<sup>9)</sup> may at the very least require consideration of a broader applicability, as painter, of the term "l'artiste religieux".<sup>10)</sup>

The approach proposed by this study to begin a resolution of the problems outlined above is to turn to the tradition within which Norwid appears to have been operating. The tradition suggested and to be examined here is that of Augustinianism. It is clear from an unpublished manuscript, No. 6298 in the National Library in Warsaw, which Elżbieta Feliksiak has included in her article "Norwid i Vico", that Norwid knew Augustine, a fact one perhaps would have assumed, given Augustine's stature within the Roman Catholic Church, and given Norwid's ardent life-long adherence to that church, as the following chapter will make clear. Among the names mentioned in the manuscript, such as Bossuet, Vico, Bruno and others, the first is that of Augustine, as this cryptic opening paragraph indicates:

Christ[us] podnosi i stawia Historię przez Jedyność Boga i jedyność rodu ludzkiego. Św. Augustyn-Euzeb.-Sulpice-Sever i niektórzy pod koniec P[ra]ństwa Rzym[skiego] tak się dają słyszeć.<sup>11)</sup>

(Christ raises up and erects history through the Unity of God and the unity of the human race. St. Augustine-Eusebius-Sulpicius-Severus and others toward the end of the Roman Empire can thus be heard to say).

Mention of these three figures, Augustine and his near contemporaries Eusebius (d. 338 A.D.) and Sulpicius-Severus (c. 400 A.D.), the latter two being authors of sacred and ecclesiastical histories, demonstrate Norwid's interest in the early church and not only in the problem of history itself, but also more importantly, the direction his solution to this problem will take.

By approaching Norwid through the Augustinian tradition of Christianity, one can come to terms with his evident religiosity without insisting upon any set of dogmas over which interminable controversy

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7) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 692.

8) *Dzieła zebrane* II, p. 875.

9) See page 127 below for a fuller quotation of this excerpt from "Epimenides" IV.

10) In this connection and on the sign of the cross in Norwid's writings, see Irena ŚLAWIŃSKA'S "Ci git l'artiste religieux", *Znak*, 73/74, 12 (1960), 911-920.

11) Elżbieta FELIKSIĄK, "Miriam i Vico", *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, XII, 3 (1968), 34.



could develop and lead us, as has sometimes been the case, away from a study of his works as literature. This approach can establish a vantage point from which to review the asserted influences, some of which appear negative, and a framework for integrating those influences which appear positive, although this task, as such, lies beyond the scope of the present study. The force of shared tradition can help account for the similarities between Norwid and writers from whom any direct influence is unlikely or impossible, as in the case of Blake, Kierkegaard, or T.S. Eliot, for example. In short, some order can be attempted in the welter of associations linked with Norwid's name over the years. Finally, the Augustinian tradition offers an alternative to the dualistic world-view found in Norwid by some critics, and which is regarded here as one of the chief hindrances to a work of synthesis on Norwid called for by Krzyżanowski, as we shall see presently.

The Augustinian tradition presents a tripartite reality, a reality with three levels of being. The highest level of being is God, immutable in time and space, the lowest level is that of the corporeal world, mutable in both time and space. Man's soul occupies the middle rank between these orders, mutable in time but immutable in space, thus sharing characteristics with the highest and lowest orders. This arrangement of the dimensions of reality is commonly called Augustine's "geography of being" and will be so designated in the present study. This triality is the framework within which the opposing historical processes of the City of God and the earthly city develop. Man's mid-rank in the geography of being is the plane on which the highest and lowest orders meet. Thus, man himself is the ground of contention in the ethical dualism of the Celestial and terrestrial cities. This study will attempt to demonstrate this geography of being in the works of Norwid and will interpret the dualism of theme and structure in Norwid's lyrics within this context. Finally this tripartite reality provides a coherent framework for Norwid's highly original treatment of the imagery of Christ and the Crucifixion, one of his most important contributions to the tradition within which he appears to be operating.

Before proceeding, a certain disclaimer must be made. Of necessity, a study of the present sort tends to present a static picture of an author. This may be especially the case with Norwid for even in the "Juvenilia" he seems to have incorporated, probably through his Catholic upbringing, some of the essential points of Augustinianism. Clearly Norwid was not fully mature as a writer at the age of twenty-one when he left Poland, although he does display surprising poetic and intellectual maturity in the pre-exile poetry. Yet Norwid's religious tradition seems to have provided him with a world-view mature beyond his years, upon which he based his judgement of certain current movements, such as romantic idealism and positivism. It provided a standard for evaluating the political events in which he was so interested, particularly as they concerned Poland. There is certainly much more development in Norwid, as a writer, in terms of poetic technique than in the sphere of his philosophical views. What Norwid responded to and the manner in which he expressed this response poetically obviously changed much more than the philosophical framework within which he viewed the world. Tradition would seem to have provided this stability of world-view in Norwid.

## Chapter II: THE CRITICS ON NORWID'S RELIGIOSITY

Despite the rapidly accumulating critical literature on Cyprian Norwid representing many different points of view and approaches to literary study, common agreement is evident on the inadequate state of scholarship concerning Norwid. Mieczysław Jastrun has characterized this situation in the following terms:

In saying that Norwid is a poet still undetermined, I had in mind not only the fact that his writings are still continuously surfacing from the abyss of oblivion but also the fact that a reading of the content of his work is not completed; one might even risk the assertion that it has barely begun.<sup>12)</sup>

In describing "the unusually interesting process of resurrecting the forgotten poet, a process not completed to the present day",<sup>13)</sup> Julian Krzyżanowski offers the following emphatic statement:

Yes! The situation here is very paradoxical, but unmistakable. The fact is that the fiftieth anniversary of the renaissance of Norwid and also of his cult has hitherto not received its full scientific expression. Thus we have hundreds of studies and articles about him, but we have neither an appropriate biography of him nor a book of synthesis which would cast light upon his creativity and determine his proper place in the history of Polish and world literature.<sup>14)</sup>

Hence Jastrun and Krzyżanowski in recent statements are in obvious agreement as to the lagging state of scholarship on Norwid.

A second point of general agreement concerning Norwid is reflected, one can say without exaggeration, in nearly all of the critical literature on Norwid. This point is the importance of religiosity, Christianity, or Catholicism in Norwid's works. For example, Stanisław Brzozowski, the first literary historian to devote some attention to Norwid in his *Legenda Młodej Polski* of 1910, discusses briefly Norwid's view of the problems of history, freedom, the nation, and man himself, and emphasizes the crucial historical significance of Christ in these views of Norwid.<sup>15)</sup> The second literary historian to include a section on Norwid in an extended historical survey, Wilhelm Feldman, before his death in 1919, in Chapter II, "Cyprjan Norwid", of *Współczesna literatura polska* discusses the "religious character of Norwid's creativity"<sup>16)</sup> (this history

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12) Mieczysław JASTRUN, "Poeta całości słowa i litery", *Poezja i rzeczywistość* (Warsaw, 1965), 161.

13) Julian KRZYŻANOWSKI, "O Cyprianie Norwidzie", *W świecie romantycznym* (Cracow, 1961), 284.

14) KRZYŻANOWSKI, "O Cyprianie Norwidzie", 285. Concerning a biography of the poet, the "Mała kronika", *Dzieła zebrane I* (Warsaw, 1966), pp. 1-128, appearing under separate cover as *Wprowadzenie do biografii Norwida* (Warsaw, 1965) is not intended by its compiler J.W. GOMULICKI to be "an appropriate biography".

15) Stanisław BRZOWSKI, *Legenda Młodej Polski* (Lwow, 1910), 179-195.

16) Wilhelm FELDMAN, *Współczesna literatura polska* (Warsaw, 1923), 16ff. The histories by Brzozowski and Feldman, each containing selections on Cyprian Norwid, stand in sharp contrast to a recent history, *Romantyzm i modernizm* (Katowice, 1959), by Stanisław KOLBUSZEWSKI, which contains, in all, four fleeting references to Norwid. This history treats a problem to which Norwid's work is generally regarded as central.

was completed by Stanisław Lam in 1923). Among the literary histories of the first third of this century, Julian Krzyżanowski's *Polish Romantic Literature* places the greatest emphasis on the religious aspect of Norwid's work in pointing out the importance of the cross +, formed by the intersection of the horizontal and the vertical. Krzyżanowski refers to the "most profound meaning of Christianity" in Norwid's creativity.<sup>17)</sup>

Among critics who adopt a point of view or literary approach which might be expected to exclude any treatment of Norwid's religiosity or Christianity, there can be found the same recognition of the importance of this aspect of his creativity. For example, the critic, Marian Piechal, whose approach to literature Wacław Borowy labels "sociological",<sup>18)</sup> makes the following remarks in his monograph *O Norwidzie* concerning Norwid's catholicism:

1. Norwid was too consistent a Catholic to admit that the conditions of life, the means of production and such exigencies of human existence determine the soul.<sup>19)</sup>
2. Meanwhile it is necessary to note that already in his Brussels speech, as Professor Ujejski correctly noted, Norwid declares himself an orthodox Catholic. Both in word and deed he was first and foremost a Catholic, and only then a Pole, whereas, for example, with Mickiewicz it was the reverse.<sup>20)</sup>

Likewise the contemporary critic Alicja Lisiecka in two studies, "Z problemów historyzmu Cypriana Norwida"<sup>21)</sup> and "Romantyczna 'filozofia przyszłości' Cypriana Norwida",<sup>22)</sup> proposes Hegelianism as the main philosophical position reflected in Norwid's works. Accepting this view for the sake of argument, we still find in these studies recognition of the importance of Catholicism for Norwid, as in the following statement from the first of them:

The traditions of Catholic thought are clear both in the 'system' of the author of 'Ojciec nasz' as in that of the author of Cleopatra. In the latter they are however subordinated to Hegelianism. The Hegelian elements form in Norwid a coherent system; the Catholic elements are modifying characteristics of great importance..<sup>23)</sup>

Lisiecka by and large repeats this position in the second of her articles, despite the criticism to which these views were subjected in 1959 at a discussion meeting of the Instytut Badań Literackich of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Zbigniew Zabicki has reported on a paper presented at this meeting by Lisiecka entitled "Historiozofia Cypriana Norwida" in

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17) Julian KRZYŻANOWSKI, *Polish Romantic Literature* (New York, 1931), 283.

18) Wacław BOROWY, *O Norwidzie* (Warsaw, 1960), 216.

19) Marian PIECHAL, *O Norwidzie* (Warsaw, 1937), 12.

20) PIECHAL, 25.

21) Alicja LISIECKA, "Z problemów historyzmu Cypriana Norwida", *Pamiętnik Literacki*, L, 2 (1959), 331-421.

22) Alicja LISIECKA, "Romantyczna 'filozofia przyszłości' Cypriana Norwida", *Nowe studia o Norwidzie*, ed. J.W. Gomułicki and J.Z. Jakubowski (Warsaw, 1961), 191-240.

23) LISIECKA, "Z problemów...", 369.

a review article under this same title.<sup>24)</sup> Commenting on Lisiecka's article, Wanda Achremowiczowa objected that, in her opinion, Lisiecka has underestimated the influences exerted on Norwid's world view by the tradition of Catholic thought, above all, of St. Paul, as well as by the Platonic tradition. Along with other weaknesses indicated in Lisiecka's position, Jastrun and others demanded fuller treatment of the Catholic elements in Norwid's world view.

Turning back to some of the earlier critics of Norwid, we find considerable interest in, or at least common awareness of, the religious aspect of his creativity. One of the first of the attempts at a work of synthesis on Norwid, Cezary Jellenta's *Cyprian Norwid. Szkic syntezy* of 1909,<sup>25)</sup> contains an emphatic statement of the importance of this aspect:

This Divine element is an inseparable companion of Norwid. His soul is through and through religious; firmly attached to the faith from distant ancestors, he is continuously in communion with the Holy Spirit. He is not at all ashamed of repeating the immemorial, almost school motto: 'fear of God is the beginning of wisdom'. There is no poem in which he would not incline toward the Gospel or toward Christ.<sup>26)</sup>

Jellenta, along with Przesmycki, was one of the first to point out the importance of the crossing lines forming the sign + in Norwid's work. Adam Krechowiecki, in a lengthy study entitled *O Cyprianie Norwidzie* which appeared in the same year, has the following remarks concerning Norwid's religiosity:

I noted at the outset that Norwid's profound religiosity, orthodox through and through, protected and preserved him from the error of Towianism.<sup>27)</sup>

According to the "Bibliografia Norwida", two other studies devote particular attention to Norwid's religiosity: Krechowiecki's earlier monograph *O C.N. Próba charakterystyki* (Warsaw, 1908), and K. Bereżyński's article, "Filozofia C.N." (*Sfinks*, nr. 38).<sup>28)</sup>

Of works appearing in the 1920's and 30's, Stanisław Cywiński in his introduction to *Cyprian Norwid, Wybór poezji*, in stressing this same aspect in Norwid's work, perhaps overstates the case:

Christian theocentrism is the point of departure for him; Norwid starts from Catholicism and ends on it. Catholicism defines him completely. None of the great Polish writers is as much as Norwid a Catholic. His writings are full of sentences and turns of speech drawn from the

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24) Zbigniew ŻABICKI, "Historiozofia Cypriana Norwida", *Pamiętnik Literacki*, L, 2 (1959), 728, 729.

25) "Bibliografia Norwida", *Pamięci Cypriana Norwida* (Warsaw, 1946), 122.

26) Cezary JELLENTA, *Cyprian Norwid. Szkic syntezy* (Warsaw, n.d.), 16, 17.

27) Adam KRECHOWIECKI, *O Cyprianie Norwidzie* (Lwów, 1909), I, p. 201.

28) "Bibliografia Norwida", 123, 125. This annotated bibliography plus Wacław Borowy's survey of the critical literature from 1921-1935, in his *O Norwidzie* (Warsaw, 1960), 85-250, are particularly helpful guides.

Gospels, although exact quotations from them occur relatively rarely. On the other hand, just as Mickiewicz emphasized in Skarga, Norwid's whole creativity is simply permeated with the spirit and form of the Scriptures.<sup>29)</sup>

Cywiński is also the author of a study dating from this same period on religiosity in the early works of Norwid: "Religijność Norwida w utworach młodzieńczych" (*Tęcza*, nr. 3).<sup>30)</sup> Stefan Kołaczkowski, in his study "Ironia Norwida" of 1934, has the following summation of the role of religiosity in Norwid: "Catholicism, Christian humility, as well as his wholly individual aristocratic stoicism, to an equal degree characterize Norwid".<sup>31)</sup>

In a study of the reasons for Norwid's tragic rejection by his contemporaries, Władysław Arcimowicz's *Cyprian Kamil Norwid na tle swego konfliktu z krytyką* finds part of the reason to lie in Norwid's religiosity: first, because his was a theocentric view of life in an anthropocentric age, second, that his faith was too intuitive to be amenable to the neo-scholasticism of the Resurrectionist Fathers, and third, his devotion to the Church and the Pope set him apart from the mystics, Mickiewicz, Towiański, or Cieszkowski.<sup>32)</sup> Arcimowicz stresses that Norwid's faith did not come from without through erudition,<sup>33)</sup> perhaps suggesting tradition as the source. On this last point Édouard Krakowski, in *La Société parisienne cosmopolite au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle et C.K. Norwid*, suggests Norwid's faith to have been modified under the influence of the painter Ary Scheffer, a friend of Krasiński's, through whom Norwid made his acquaintance. The German poet Herwegh and his wife Emma are also mentioned as possible influences.<sup>34)</sup> What these influences are purported to be is clear in the following quotation, which also serves to place Krakowski in agreement with all of the above critics in emphasizing Norwid's religiosity:

Par elle, par sa foi ardente, directe, médiévale, s'expliquent la plupart de ses choix intellectuels. Avec Ary Scheffer il communia dans le néoplatonisme chrétien, car la doctrine augustinienne est peut-être celle qui rend le mieux compte de la présence continue de Dieu et enseigne le plus sûrement à s'y retrouver, à s'y installer, c'est-à-dire à se situer dans l'éternel.<sup>35)</sup>

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29) Stanisław Cywiński, *Cyprian Norwid. Wybór Poezycji* (Cracow, 1924), pp. XXV, XXVI.

30) "Bibliografia Norwida", 139.

31) Stefan Kołaczkowski, "Ironia Norwida", *Dwa Studia. Fredro-Norwid* (Warsaw, 1934), 47.

32) Władysław Arcimowicz, *Cyprian Kamil Norwid na tle swego konfliktu z krytyką* (Wilno, 1935), 108, 138. In connection with Norwid's relations with the Resurrectionist Fathers, see O. Józef Jarzębowski, *Norwid i Zmartwychwstańcy* (London, 1960).

33) Arcimowicz, 118.

34) Édouard Krakowski, *La Société parisienne cosmopolite au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle et C.K. Norwid* (Paris, 1939), 99-103.

35) Krakowski, 177. In this connection, J.T. Dybowski's dissertation for the University of Freiburg, *Cyprian Kamil Norwid, als Christlicher Kulturphilosoph der polnischen Romantik*, *Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Arbeiten der in der Schweiz internierten Polen*, Vol. I. (Geneva, 1943), would make an interesting comparison with Krakowski's study. Dybowski's dissertation unfortunately was unavailable to me at the time of this study.

Before turning to current studies which discuss Norwid's religiosity, two further statements on this point should be included. The first is a very strong statement taken from Tadeusz Makowiecki's article "Promethidion" in the collection *O Norwidzie pięć studiów* of 1949:

Norwid was a Catholic, not a nominal Catholic; if not the most ardent Catholic, then certainly the most consistent in Polish literature of the XIX century. Even in comparison with Krasiński, who for a long time had the reputation of being an arch-Catholic writer, Norwid seems to be a much more legitimate and conscientious Catholic.

This survey of earlier comments on Norwid's religiosity may be concluded with Wacław Borowy's statement from his wellknown article, "Główne motywy poezji Norwida". Although Borowy does not consider Catholicism one of Norwid's "main themes", he does make the following statement as to its importance: "Its [his lyric's] deep substructure is rigorous stoicism, the Catholic faith and hope drawing strength from that faith".<sup>37)</sup> Describing the main area of interest in Norwid's poetry, Borowy makes a statement, which although left undiscussed for the moment, will be of great interest in the course of our discussion. Immediate juxtaposition with the above remarks on the role of faith in Norwid's lyrics provides an excellent context for these remarks: "The atom and the cosmos — these are the boundaries of the poetic world of Norwid. Between them extends the chief domain of his poetic attention: 'the kingdom of man'".

Among contemporary critics one finds positions concerning Norwid's religiosity which are entirely consistent with those expressed by earlier critics as outlined above, with the important distinction that was recognition of the importance of religiosity in Norwid's writings becomes, among certain modern critics, an approach to an understanding of a poet whose writings are unanimously considered difficult to comprehend. Norwid's so-called "ciemności" (obscurities) provide one of the few points of unanimity among critics of the poet. The poet Julian Przyboś is an example, as critic, of one who readily admits his difficulties in understanding Norwid's poetry. He poses to himself the problem, mentioned above by Krzyżanowski,<sup>38)</sup> of Norwid's place in Polish poetry. Przyboś rejects the views of Norwid as Romantic poet, Parnassian, or modernist. His proposed resolution of the problem, which is of much less interest than his approach to the problem, is to emphasize Norwid's religiosity as a guide and aid in the difficult task of simply reading Norwid on the one hand, and of designating his place in Polish Literature on the other. For Przyboś, Norwid's adherence to a religious tradition places him beyond all attempts at comparison both with his Romantic contemporaries and with the Parnassians, symbolists and modernists with whom he is so often compared:

Norwid the poet is a creative but anachronistic student of the authors of the Bible; his relation to the word became in the course of time a

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36) TADEUSZ MAKOWIECKI, "Promethidion", *O Norwidzie pięć studiów*, ed. Konrad Górski, Tadeusz Makowiecki, and Irena Sławińska (Toruń, 1949), 22.

37) WACŁAW BOROWY, "Główne motywy poezji Norwida", *O Norwidzie* (Warsaw, 1960), 54. This article was first presented as a paper to the Towarzystwo Literackie im. A. Mickiewicza in 1947.

38) See Footnote 13.

relation to the Word in the Biblical sense, to the Word of the Book of Genesis. He wanted to make of his poetic word a vessel for all wisdom: it was to contain the law, and philosophy and philosophy of history; this was to be a sacral word... Whereas other poets treated the Bible as literature by stylizing, like Mickiewicz and Słowacki, their works on the model of the Holy Scriptures — Norwid took the Bible not as a model to be imitated but as a testimony of initiation into the 'eternal' truths.<sup>39)</sup>

According to Przyboś, Norwid's artistic and ideological tendency is so uncontemporary for his time, so far outside of any chronology, that he cannot be labelled progressive or retrogressive, as is sometimes done by "vulgarizers of Marxism", but only as something of the present day.<sup>40)</sup> Przyboś proposes this context for an approach to understanding Norwid on the basis of his own reading of several of Norwid's lyrics, particularly of "Krzyż i dziecko" (Cross and Child). It is evident that Przyboś, rather than merely taking account of Norwid's religiosity, as most of the earlier studies have done, is suggesting that Norwid cannot be understood unless one considers the implications and full ramifications for his creativity of the religious tradition, however it is to be labelled, within which Norwid operates.

Probably the most important contemporary spokesman for the point of view that Norwid cannot be understood without examination of his religiosity, is Irena Sławińska. For this critic as for other contemporary critics mentioned here, Norwid's whole being and his whole creativity are pervaded and shaped by his religiosity. Sławińska, perhaps more than most critics of similar viewpoint, stresses Norwid's orthodox adherence to dogma, such as original sin, celebration of sacraments, such as marriage, love of the Catholic liturgy, and devotion to traditional objects of veneration, such as the Blessed Virgin. On the other hand she cites numerous examples of Norwid's bitter condemnation of the hypocritical use, especially by fashionable society, of the externals of religion. Christianity for Norwid gave man freedom of conscience, nobility, wisdom and the potential for union with all men through love. These are man's rights as sons of God, and these are man's obligations, the beginning of mature struggle.<sup>41)</sup>

In an earlier article entitled "Ci git l'artiste religieux...", after one of Norwid's poems, Sławińska examines more strictly Norwid's creativity in terms of religiosity. She here shows the frequency of the cross in Norwid's use of metaphor, a theme widely noted in Norwid's creativity and which is treated in Chapter V of this study. Norwid's use of Biblical imagery is also demonstrated by Sławińska. The literary forms as well in the Scriptures, such as the psalm, prayer, maxim and parable, were a continuing source of artistic inspiration for Norwid.<sup>42)</sup> And as Sławińska sums up the inspiration for Norwid was both moral and artistic: "Norwid was able to perceive in Holy Scripture and liturgy both eternal wisdom and poetic power".<sup>43)</sup>

39) Julian PRZYBOŚ, "Próba Norwida", *Nowe Studia o Norwidzie* (Warsaw, 1961), 75.

40) PRZYBOŚ, 75, 76.

41) Irena SŁAWIŃSKA, "Chrześcijaństwo w przemysleniach Norwida", *Znak*, 144, 6 (1966), 721-732.

42) See Chapter I, Footnote 10.

43) SŁAWIŃSKA, "Chrześcijaństwo...", 732.

Another contemporary study which can also be considered a new departure, more in terms of its implications than for any explicit statement on the necessity of examining Norwid from the religious point of view, is Stefania Skwarczyńska's review article, "Listy Norwida do Joanny Kuczyńskiej", which discusses the recent collection of letters *Do Pani na Korczewie* (Warsaw, 1963), edited by J.W. Gomułicki.<sup>44)</sup> Skwarczyńska avails herself of the opportunity presented by this review article to discuss in considerable detail certain central aspects of Norwid's Christian world view. The first of these is Norwid's Christian morality, which she, surely mistakenly, interprets as an innovation not only in Polish literature but on a world-wide scale. The following is her description in part of Norwid's Christian morality:

Taking his stand on the fundamentals of morality set in the Gospel, he demands that its references encompass the totality of human activities, positions, and manifestations in all the domains to which historical development has led — from the socio-economic and technical-industrial domain, through the domain of politics, both on the national and international level, to the domain of culture, science, and art.<sup>45)</sup>

Whether human responsibility for the affairs of the world — *this* world in the Christian sense — might not better be regarded as the traditional Christian posture, debate on this point can be set aside. What is important to stress is that, if Skwarczyńska can make this sort of statement concerning Norwid the man, the unavoidable implication is the extension to Norwid the poet and writer, especially since culture and art are explicitly included as spheres encompassed by Norwid's Christian morality, as described above.

Likewise, Norwid's view of man, which Skwarczyńska designates as the central point of his philosophy of religion, philosophy of history, and philosophy of art, united one with another through this central point, has a similar and, in this case, obvious extension of reference to Norwid's creativity, in light of the importance of this theme for all of Norwid's work. Skwarczyńska defines Norwid's view of man thus:

Man is a sacred thing, he is a unity of body and soul; he belongs equally to the natural world — in this, also to the world of nature — and to the supernatural world; he is by his nature a social, historical and religious being.<sup>46)</sup>

From this definition proceed for Norwid, on the one hand, man's immeasurable dignity, his physical and spiritual inviolability, and his guarantee of freedom. On the other hand, this definition of man entails a series of responsibilities:

The obligation of developing one's whole personality through the continual realization of humanity within one's self, the obligation of transforming one's natural participation in collective life into a conscious engagement of the self in the labor of the historical progress of humanity and in

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<sup>44)</sup> Stefania SKWARCZYŃSKA, "Listy Norwida do Joanny Kuczyńskiej", *W kręgu wielkich romantyków polskich* (Warsaw, 1966), 439-487.

<sup>45)</sup> SKWARCZYŃSKA, 451.

<sup>46)</sup> SKWARCZYŃSKA, 452.



the labor of realizing Christianity in the life of the collective, the obligation of harnessing one's whole self to one's activity, behavior and position.<sup>47)</sup>

Through acceptance of these obligations, man becomes the "cały-człowiek" (whole-man) in Norwid's terms.

A third and extremely important aspect of Norwid's Christian world view discussed by Skwarczyńska is Norwid's Christological interpretation of history and man's role in it. Skwarczyńska derives this interpretation from a lost article of Norwid entitled "O Mszy Świętej — ze stanowiska archeologii i sztuki" (On the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass — from the Point of View of Archeology and Art), the general lines of which she reconstructs on the basis of mentions of it in Letter 22 of the collection, *Do Pani na Korczewie* and Letters 538 and 547 in *Listy II*.<sup>48)</sup> In this view Christ's sacrifice of blood upon the Cross has overcome history, has freed man from the progression of history, and has set an end to the need for bloody sacrifice. The sacrifice of blood has for man been replaced, through Christ's redemption, by the bloodless sacrifice of the "Msza-wieczna" (eternal Mass). The eternal Mass is offered by individuals through bloodless sacrifice of themselves in the stream of history, thus hastening the spiritual development of humanity.<sup>49)</sup> Skwarczyńska attributes the source of Norwid's interpretation of history to the Apostle Paul: "St. Paul's statement about the fulfillment in humanity, the mystical body of Christ, of that which was lacking in the Passion of the God-Man has acquired such a complexion in Norwid's historiosophical interpretation".<sup>50)</sup> This last point, while not altogether incorrect, needs considerable refinement, which need not be entered into here since it will be treated in detail subsequently. As in the case of Norwid's Christian morality and of his view of man, Norwid's interpretation of history is of extreme importance for his creativity; Borowy in "Główne motywy poezji Norwida" cites history as one of the most important themes in all of his work.<sup>51)</sup>

In passing, mention should be made that this is merely a suggestion here as to the importance within Norwid's creativity of each of the three aspects of Norwid's Christian world view discussed by Skwarczyńska because she limits herself in exemplifying these points to Norwid's letters, and therefore her remarks might with full justification be applicable only to Norwid the man and not necessarily to Norwid the writer. In the course of the discussion on Norwid's lyrics, the importance of these points in his creative works will be evident. This is simply a note to caution the reader about the limited applicability of Skwarczyńska's remarks as they stand. There is no question of the general validity of her statements; the reader, of course, at this point, does not have the advantage of hindsight. As far as the other critics mentioned are concerned, Przyboś limits his remarks to Norwid's poetry, and treats the

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47) SKWARCZYŃSKA, 453.

48) See Juliusz W. GOMULICKI, ed., *Do Pani na Korczewie* (Warsaw, 1963), 85; also *Listy II*, pp. 166, 177, 178.

49) SKWARCZYŃSKA, 455-457.

50) SKWARCZYŃSKA, 457.

51) BOROWY, "Główne motywy", 25.

religiosity in these works strictly as a literary, not a biographical problem. While maintaining this distinction, Sławińska sees Norwid's religiosity as an all-pervasive aspect of both man and artist. The earlier critics with some notable exceptions, Krzyżanowski among them, generally blur the distinction between biographical and literary study, which Przyboś and Sławińska carefully preserve. But the purpose in including especially the earlier critics is to demonstrate that despite the long standing recognition of Norwid's religiosity, there is still no study of any length to probe the implications of this particular aspect for Norwid's creativity. Perhaps Przyboś, Sławińska, Skwarczyńska, by implication, and Jan Błoński, whose recent article will be discussed next, have made a start in this direction.

Like Przyboś, Jan Błoński in his article "Norwid wśród prawnuków", admits his uncomfortable, almost ambivalent attitude toward Norwid. On the one hand Błoński grants him the very highest position in Polish literature:

...There is taking place — before our eyes — a reevaluation of the whole Polish literary tradition: Norwid and Kochanowski, if they are not taking the place of the Romantics, then at least are equated to Mickiewicz and Słowacki.<sup>52)</sup>

He recognizes, like most present-day critics, the difficulty of reading Norwid, in his case, to such an extent that, as he says: "Norwid, I understand perfectly well, even today can get on one's nerves".<sup>53)</sup> Again like Przyboś and Skwarczyńska, Błoński does make an attempt to analyze Norwid's view of reality by treating it within a religious frame of reference. "In a word, like many deeply religious people, Norwid comes to the world through God, and not the other way around".<sup>54)</sup> Indeed Błoński finds Norwid's originality precisely in this view of reality, as he calls it, "a reading of the code" of reality beyond which man must perceive the "Plan of Providence, the true history of mankind".<sup>55)</sup> For all its originality, Błoński sees this approach to reality as an extension and adjustment of a common Romantic perception of reality, whereby an unseen world is perceived behind the visible world.<sup>56)</sup> In quoting Makowiecki's article, "Promethidion", Błoński suggests that Norwid's view of reality is a Christian Platonic view: "Norwid considered 'love among people (...) only a reflexion, a shadow of eternal divine love'. Apparently the Platonic terms have here an obvious Christian sense".<sup>57)</sup> Rather than seeking to trace Norwid's view of reality to Romanticism, as Gomulicki has done, the second suggestion will be pursued in the course of this study. For the present, it is clear that Błoński, as was the case with Przyboś, Sławińska and Skwarczyńska, gives more than mere recognition to Norwid's religiosity; he attempts to apply this aspect

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52) Jan BŁOŃSKI, "Norwid wśród prawnuków", *Twórczość*, XXIII, 5 (1967), 67.

53) BŁOŃSKI, 68.

54) BŁOŃSKI, 79.

55) BŁOŃSKI, 79.

56) BŁOŃSKI, 84.

57) BŁOŃSKI, 83. T. MAKOWIECKI "Promethidion", *O Norwidzie pięć studiów*, 18.

as an approach toward understanding what for him is extremely difficult poetry.

This brief survey of some of the major critics and literary historians who have discussed Norwid's religiosity, however defined or in whatever context treated, is intended to emphasize that this aspect of Norwid, whether as man or as writer, has been recognized from the very moment of Norwid's resurrection by Przesmycki; it was treated in several monographs as early as 1909, in Brzozowski's literary history in 1910, and several years later in Feldman's history. The point has been repeated almost without interruption since then, at times in terms so extravagant, e.g. Cywiński, that one might have expected an extended treatment of the religious aspect of Norwid's creativity to have been undertaken, if only in refutation or at least to restore balance. Judging solely by the frequent mentions of and the importance attributed by all the above critics to Norwid's religiosity, the reader might agree even at this point that Krzyżanowski's charge cannot be met, that a book of synthesis defining Norwid's place in Polish and world literature cannot be written until his religiosity is subjected to full analysis and then integrated, along with the numerous other influences upon him. Although one may disagree with his approach, one cannot but agree with these remarks by Théodore Domaradzki: "...il n'est pas possible de comprendre l'oeuvre de Norwid sans un examen approfondi de son esprit religieux".<sup>58)</sup> It seems until such a study is completed, Norwid, at best, will continue in his present ambiguous position or, at worst, will be totally ignored, as was the case in a recent literary history, *Romantyzm i modernizm* by Stanisław Kolbuszewski, who ironically also cannot resist a quotation ("było w ojczyźnie laurowo i ciemno") from the most frequently quoted Polish poet.<sup>59)</sup> Jan Błoński's curious statement that "Polish history of literature is afraid of Norwid"<sup>60)</sup> seems to have more legitimacy than one might have expected. Perhaps Przyboś, Skwarczyńska, and Błoński have taken the first overdue steps toward filling this gap in Norwid scholarship.

Finally, an ulterior purpose in including this survey of critics is to indicate some precedence for the focus of the present study upon Christian Platonism or the Augustine Christian tradition, which are really two terms to identify the same tradition, as the following chapter will make clear. Let us recall that Wanda Achremowiczowa's criticism of Alicja Lisiecka's paper, "Historiozofia Cypriana Norwida", given at the discussion meeting of the Instytut Badań Literackich, involved the latter's alleged underestimation of the Catholic tradition of thought, especially of St. Paul, and of the Platonic tradition.<sup>61)</sup> Edouard Krakowski's study, "La société parisienne..." also points in this direction when referring to Christian Neo-Platonism and the Augustinian doctrine as giving the best account of the religious aspect of Norwid's writing.<sup>62)</sup> Borowy's remarks

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58) Théodore F. DOMARADZKI, "Le culte de la Vierge Marie chez Cyprien Norwid", *Études Slaves et Est-Européennes* VI, 1 (1965), 4.

59) KOLBUSZEWSKI, 266.

60) BŁOŃSKI, *loc. cit.*, 87.

61) See Footnote 24.

62) See Footnote 35.

concerning the atom, the cosmos, and the middle domain, the kingdom of man,<sup>63)</sup> bear a striking resemblance to Augustine's so-called "geography of being", as we shall see in the following chapter. Another statement strongly suggestive of Augustine's "geography of being" is Skwarczyńska's, referring to man's state between the natural world and the supernatural world and participating in each. Skwarczyńska's definition of Norwid's Christological interpretation of history is again strikingly similar to the Augustine interpretation.<sup>64)</sup> Finally, Błoński's mention of Platonic terms with a Christian sense also suggests the Augustinian tradition.<sup>65)</sup> Lastly, Zofia Szmydtowa's study, "Platon w twórczości Norwida", may be entered here as an important addendum. Szmydtowa cites certain similarities between Plato's and Norwid's ideas on the immortality of the soul, spiritual freedom, love, and art, indicates the importance of the Socratic dialogue as an art form in Norwid, and, most importantly for us, describes Norwid's view of Plato as a precursor of Christ.<sup>66)</sup> As will be seen, Augustine viewed Plato in much the same light. In general, if we accept Norwid's Christianity, then the presence of elements of Platonism definitely points to the Augustine tradition within Christianity.

### Chapter III: THE AUGUSTINIAN REALITY

Any discussion of Norwid's religiosity might perhaps endeavor to prove his orthodoxy as a Catholic. Indeed it would be entirely possible to comb Norwid's writings for statements agreeing with one or another of the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church. The fact is undisputed, after all, that Norwid was a practising, communicating Catholic all of his life. His deep love of the institutionalized Church is evident in his defense of Pope Pius IX from attack by mobs on the night of April 29 and 30, 1848.<sup>67)</sup> His rejection, at a meeting to discuss the formation of Polish legions, of Mickiewicz and the teachings of Towiański as "radical mysticism" because they stand outside the authority of the Church is another widely known event in Norwid's life that could be taken as an indication of his orthodoxy.<sup>68)</sup> Similarly his attempt, although in a moment of despair in April 1852, to join the order of the Resurrectionist Fathers could be viewed in this light. These are simply well-known events in Norwid's life, not to make any mention of the Catholicity in his works,<sup>69)</sup> that might lead us to investigate further his Catholic

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63) See Footnote 38.

64) See Footnotes 48-50.

65) See Footnote 57.

66) Zofia SZMYDTOWA, "Platon w twórczości Norwida", *Poeci i poetyka* (Warsaw, 1964), 503.

67) Cyprian NORWID, *Dzieła zebrane*, ed. J.W. Gomulicki (Warsaw, 1966), I, p. 28.

68) Cyprian NORWID, *Listy*, ed. Z. Przesmycki (Warsaw, 1937), I, p. 45.

69) See for example, Father Józef JARZĘBOWSKI, "Katolicki profil Norwida", *Norwid żywy*, ed. Władysław Günther (London, 1962), 274-286.

orthodoxy. There is little doubt, then, that one could establish an inventory of orthodoxy by culling from all of Norwid's writings, artistic and otherwise, statements agreeing with the major tenets of the Catholic Church.

By proceeding in this fashion one could establish Norwid's acceptance of the Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, belief in immortality of the human soul in an after-life whose domains are the traditional Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory, devotion to the Virgin Mary, acceptance of Papal authority, and so on. The list is left intentionally incomplete and without proof or even demonstration for several reasons of lesser importance and for one reason of major importance. Of the lesser reasons, first would be the contradictions and inconsistencies in Norwid as Jastrun and Błoński have noted;<sup>70)</sup> suspicion along these lines would necessitate demonstrating that these inconsistencies and contradictions do not affect dogma, exclusively a task for some unlikely theological review board. There obviously can never be a *Nihil obstat* or *Imprimatur* affixed to Norwid's writings (or any other poet's, for that matter) guaranteeing that they are free of doctrinal error. Secondly, Norwid's own statement, although made in a fit of depression, and referring more to the Church's too passive role, in Norwid's opinion, in social and political action, must be granted at least a modicum of credence: "As to the church — which I had the idea of entering several years ago and I worked internally on this — then: if I became a member of the religious today — tomorrow I would commit heresy..."<sup>71)</sup> But these are minor reasons against attempting to establish Norwid's orthodoxy.

The major reason, the only reason of actual moment, is that this approach for literary study is by and large fruitless. As the studies by Jarzębowski and Domaradzki,<sup>72)</sup> which incline, particularly the latter's, in the direction of demonstrating Norwid's Catholic orthodoxy, make clear; this approach, however much it may yield on problems of Norwid's biography, is severely limited by its very methodology from making any possible contributions to literary study of Norwid. In addition, efforts to establish Norwid's orthodoxy tend paradoxically to mask the profound Catholicity or better, since Norwid himself prefers the term, the profound Christianity that pervades his whole work, forms his world view and, to a considerable degree, determines the very form of his work. That there can be found such a correspondence between world view and literary form may not be surprising in an artist who can make numerous statements to the effect that: "The style and the man are more one in me than in anyone else..."<sup>73)</sup> A compilation of tenets of faith expressed in Norwid's writings can never account for the Christian spirit shaping Norwid's creativity nor for the original manner in which his Christianity is treated as a framework for investigating the whole of reality. The tenets of faith cannot provide any aid for the difficult

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70) Błoński, 69.

71) *Listy* I, p. 65.

72) See Footnote 69 above and Footnote 58, Chapter II. Also Józef JARZĘBOWSKI, *Norwid i Zmartwychwstańcy* (London, 1960) and Théodore F. DOMARADZKI, "Le Catholicisme de Norwid", *Études Slaves et Est-Européennes*, II, Part. 3, pp. 131-137.

73) *Listy* I, p. 63.

task of reading Norwid's work; they can bring us no closer to Norwid's literary art. In order to come to terms with these problems and not lose sight of Norwid's Christianity, and, indeed, treat the latter in the present context solely as a literary problem, a different approach will have to be taken.

In the previous chapter, the suggestion was made that Norwid's religiosity be approached in terms of the religious tradition within which Norwid seems to be operating. We have seen certain critical precedents for identifying Norwid's tradition as Christian Platonism or Augustinianism. Besides the suggestions offered by the critics above, there are features in Norwid's works that help to identify this tradition. One of these is the use by Norwid in several places of traditional terminology "Boże-Królestwo" (Kingdom of God) or "niebieskie królestwo" (heavenly kingdom) in a manner suggestive of Augustine's concept of the City of God. The following quotation from *Pisma polityczne i filozoficzne*, for example, criticizing misapplication of the theory of the Kingdom of God, implies that this domain is not solely the final resting place of God's elect in the world to come. It is seen rather, even if in the distorted form of armed conflict, as part of the reality of this world; it is in this world, yet not of this world:

But the theory of the kingdom of God (which is not *from theory*, for it is not of this world), applied in the manner in which *states (not nationalities)* have taken, is an armed confrontation of states... — a confrontation of the illegitimate son and the usurper father, it is still that old struggle of Brutus with Caesar — only that Brutus didn't put on the white regal garments of the kingdom of God! — *In order to bring down the earthly kingdom, it is not fitting to misuse the kingdom of God*, for nothing will come of that — the facts speak for themselves.<sup>74)</sup>

There also would seem to be no need to specify that this kingdom is "not of the same world as the Roman empire",<sup>75)</sup> were the term to be understood solely as the heaven of life after death. The contrast of the kingdom of God and the Roman empire might best be understood in the Augustinian sense of an ethical opposition of two societies, each with their distinctive governing principle, as Norwid indicates in the following excerpt from the same *Pisma*:

Rome was not erected by the Romans, but the Romans were composed by Rome from various tribes. And as before the Savior, through the idea of omnipotence, then after the Savior this society was created through Omni-Love.<sup>76)</sup>

This ethical opposition then is between a society in which the eternal is present through the presence of Christ in history and in each man, as opposed to one in which Christ is absent with the concomitant diminution of the stature of man. Norwid describes the first society in these terms:

The Eternal is everywhere — why should It not be in history? — Now it is in History *through* man, just as it is in the history of each man

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<sup>74)</sup> Cyprian Norwid, *Pisma polityczne i filozoficzne* (London, 1957), 29, 30.

<sup>75)</sup> *Listy* I, p. 77.

<sup>76)</sup> *Pisma polityczne i filozoficzne*, 9.

*through itself, through the God-man — through Christ... For the Eternal acts in man through itself, but in history through mankind.* This category is the prerequisite for the Christianity of society.<sup>77)</sup>

The opposed society is the following:

A society, made up of people fulfilling exclusively practical and factual service, would have to be comprised solely of the exhibitionistic young, sure of their strength, years and health, or comprised only of capitalists or only of the farmhand class of agricultural workers.<sup>78)</sup>

Yet for Norwid, as for Augustine this world, since it is, after all, the creation of God, cannot be viewed as evil. Its sorrows and joys, as the following quotation indicates, are instrumental in leading toward union with God:

Providence, always acting *under earthly cover* (sous l'enveloppe sensuelle, sous l'apparence commune et réel) uses these states of sorrow and joy as its agents, as its emissaries and springs.<sup>79)</sup>

There also appears to be a reflection of Augustine's hierarchy of being in Norwid's writings, although the terminology is obviously not Augustinian. For example, Norwid assigns the Church to a place above History, tribes and races to a position below History, and only peoples (narody) to a place in History, since the latter are a physical and spiritual entity, the first being only spirit and the second only physical, in Norwid's definition. This three-fold division of the levels of reality is strongly reminiscent of Augustine's geography of being as we shall see presently. Norwid's interpretation of time, as I have shown elsewhere<sup>80)</sup> and will discuss more at length later, and also Augustine's, is that on a certain dimension of reality, time is a single unity of the eternal present, as Norwid says in closing a letter to Maria Trębicka: "Christianism is *in the center of time*".<sup>81)</sup> Christ's crucifixion has overcome time, subsuming all past and future into an eternal present. Perception of this eternal present through the events in the temporal flux is also a point shared by Augustine and Norwid, as we shall see. One need not necessarily refer to the Romantic Platonic perception of an unseen world beyond the visible world, suggested by Błoński, as in the previous chapter.<sup>82)</sup> On this particular point it is feasible to posit a probable influence upon Norwid by Cieszkowski and others of the Polish national school<sup>83)</sup> and by the German idealists recognized as heavily influential upon the Polish school.<sup>84)</sup> If Norwid's perception of reality can indeed be traced to such influence, what is clear is that

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77) *Ibid.*, 31.

78) *Ibid.*, 108.

79) *Ibid.*, 95.

80) Frank CORLISS, Jr., "Time and the Crucifixion in Norwid's *Vade-mecum*", *SEJ* XI, 3 (1967), 284-295.

81) *Listy* I, p. 170.

82) See page 108.

83) See for example Marian PIECHAŁ, *O Norwidzie* (Warsaw, 1937), 43.

84) Henryk HINZ and Adam SIKORA, *Polska myśl filozoficzna* (Warsaw, 1937), 43.

Norwid has incorporated this alleged influence into a coherent world view agreeing in its major points with the Augustinian tradition within Christianity. Norwid, in fact, specifically repudiates the German idealists for being too transcendental and not sufficiently tied to everyday reality. Christian truth encompasses the whole of eternal life and temporal life; "This is the difference between the philosophy of St. Paul and German philosophy".<sup>85)</sup> Indeed another point in common between Norwid and Augustine is their allegorical interpretation of reality, while maintaining a completely matter-of-fact view of everyday reality and the unfolding events of history. The allegorical view of reality in Norwid can be seen in the following example from "Ruiny" (Ruins).

Lecz mnie ci więcej drożsi, co w rzeczach potocznych  
Trzeźwi będąc, są przecież w wieczne zachwyceni  
Treść niewidzialną z onych zgadując widocznych.<sup>86)</sup>

(But those are much more dear to me, who in familiar things  
Being temperate, are still caught up in things eternal,  
Guessing the unseen content of those visible things).

Exactly the opposite position, a matter-of-fact view of reality is expressed in the often quoted "Ogólniki" (Generalities):

Gdy, z wiosną życia, duch Artysta  
Poi się jej tchem jak motyle,  
Wolno mu mówić tylko tyle:  
*"Ziemia — jest krągła — jest kulista!"*  
Lecz gdy późniejszych chłódów dreszcze  
Drzewem wzruszą, i kwiatki zlecą,  
Wtedy dodawać trzeba jeszcze:  
*"U biegunów — spłaszczona, nieco..."*.  
Ponad wszystkie wasze uroki,  
Ty! Poezjo, i ty, Wymowo,  
Jeden — wiecznie będzie wysoki:

\* \* \*

*Odpowiednie dać rzeczy — słowo!*<sup>87)</sup>  
(When, with the spring of life, the spirit Artist  
Drinks in its breath as butterflies,  
He is free only to say this much:  
*"The earth — is round — is spherical!"*  
But when the shudders of later chills  
Stir the tree, and the flowers drop off  
Then one must add also:  
*"At the poles — it's flattened somewhat..."*  
Above all your charms,  
You! Poetry, and you, Rhetoric,  
One — will be eternally high:  
*To give the thing the appropriate — word!*)

Perhaps only someone within the Augustinian tradition could reconcile in a coherent world view these contradictory positions.

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85) *Listy* I, p. 238.

86) *Pisma zebrane*, ed. Przesmycki, Vol. A., Part I, p. 201.

87) *Dzieła zebrane* I, 543.



A final point of similarity is the supreme importance of Christ in the theology of Augustine and, of course, in a different way in the writings of Norwid. For Augustine, "in everything we learn we have but one master, namely the inner truth which presides over the soul, i.e., Christ the unchangeable power and eternal wisdom of God".<sup>88)</sup> As far as Norwid is concerned, one might say that his whole creativity is Christ-oriented; by far the most frequent image in Norwid's writings is that of Christ and the Crucifixion. These are obviously only indications of points of similarity between Norwid and Augustine to suggest that investigation of this area gives every expectation of being extremely fruitful.

The traditions within Catholicism have been described by Étienne Gilson, probably the leading contemporary Thomist scholar, in the introduction to his study of Augustine's Christian philosophy:

First the Christian philosophy of Saint Thomas Aquinas, and now the Christian philosophy of Saint Augustine. Are there, then two Christian philosophies? Indeed there are, and more than two, but it so happens that the Church has raised the Christian philosophy of Thomas Aquinas to the rank of her common doctrine. For this reason, every Christian who cares to philosophize should study it first and foremost. But this he cannot do for long before he becomes conscious in it of another form of Christian philosophy, namely that of Saint Augustine... The doctrines of St. Augustine and St. Thomas represent the outstanding achievements of human reason in its attempt to understand the meaning of divine revelation.<sup>89)</sup>

Gilson also specifies the philosophical schools to which Thomism and Augustinianism are related:

One reason for the difference between the two doctrines lies in the fact that the two great doctors set about their task with different philosophical equipment. In Thomas Aquinas's own words, Augustine followed Plato as far as the Christian faith allowed, while Aquinas himself employed the philosophical technique of Aristotle in his attempt to arrive at a rational interpretation of the truths of Christianity.<sup>90)</sup>

These quotations from Gilson indicate the recognition and position of Augustine's philosophy within the Catholic Church. Thus establishing Augustine's place within the Church is a simple matter; a leading Thomist has been cited, and the same statement could be found in any Augustine scholar. However, to trace the tradition of Augustinianism from the fourth to the twentieth centuries, from Augustine and his immediate successors, through Medieval and Scholastic Augustinianism to modern writers such as Bergson, Kierkegaard, Jaspers or the poets Blake, Thompson, and even T.S. Eliot, to mention a few who come immediately to mind, is obviously a task beyond the scope of the present study.<sup>91)</sup> As far as Norwid's place within this tradition is concerned, support is lent by the suggestions to this effect from the several critics cited at the

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88) Étienne GILSON, *The Christian Philosophy of Saint Augustine*, tr. L.E.M. Lynch (New York, 1964), 74.

89) GILSON, vii.

90) *Ibid.*

91) See "Augustinianism", *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1967), I, pp. 1063-1071.

end of the preceding chapter, plus the striking apparent similarities mentioned above and to be investigated further; and it seems a reasonable assumption that, as a practising Catholic of profound faith, Norwid is natural heir to this tradition within the Catholic Church. Demonstrating Norwid's participation in this tradition in terms of influences doubtless is an impossible task, destined at the outset to highly controversial and unsatisfying results, as seems to be the case with many "influence" studies on Norwid.<sup>92)</sup> To this end, investigation would probably have to proceed along the lines suggested in Krakowski's *La Société parisienne*, that is, examination of the relationships between Norwid, Krasinski, Ary Scheffer, Herwegh and his wife Emma.<sup>93)</sup> As pointed out in the Introduction, there is no question but that Norwid knew Augustine. Perhaps the most convincing case for placing Norwid in the Augustinian tradition can be made by going back to the source of the tradition, to Augustine's writings, and especially to certain concepts particularly important for the formation of world-view.

An introduction to Augustine's writings can be best approached by brief mention of certain aspects of Platonic philosophy which Augustine variously adopted, adjusted or rejected. Similarity between the view of the created world in the writings of the Neoplatonist Plotinus and that found in Augustine is commonly recognized,<sup>94)</sup> and inclusion here of a crucial excerpt from Plotinus' *The Enneads* may be helpful in understanding Augustine's geography of being:

The Kind, then, with which we are dealing is twofold, the Intellectual against the sensible: better for the Soul to dwell in the Intellectual, but given its proper nature, it is under compulsion to participate in the sense realm also. There is no grievance in its not being, through and through, the highest; it holds mid-rank among the authentic existences, being of the divine station but at the lowest extreme of the Intellectual and skirting the sense-known nature;..."<sup>95)</sup>

What this excerpt represents in its three-level view of reality is an adjustment to the Platonic dualism of Ideas and matter, if only exemplified by the familiar allegory of the cave in the *Republic*.<sup>96)</sup> The addition of a third "mid-rank" for the human soul, which shares attributes with and has propensities toward both the highest and lowest rank, makes Plotinus's division of reality strikingly parallel to that of Augustine.

The precedents for such a triality are many, extending back to Plato himself. In his study on Origen, Jean Daniélou briefly surveys the philosophical background of this third-century Christian philosopher and contemporary of Plotinus and indicates that the concept of three levels of being was an idea common among the so-called Middle Platonists, the second-century school of Platonists. It is true that the middle rank for

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92) See Mieczysław JASTRUN's "Powinowactwo czy wpływy", *Poezja i rzeczywistość* (Warsaw, 1965), 182-189. Jastrun here questions Gomulicki's assumption of direct influence of Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du mal* upon Norwid's *Vade-mecum*.

93) See Chapter II, Footnote 34. Stanisław Kossowski's *Krasinski a Norwid* (Lwów, 1912) is of little help in this connection.

94) Stanislaus G. GRABOWSKI, *The Church* (New York, 1957), 299-311.

95) PLOTINUS, *The Enneads*, tr. Stephen MacKenna (London, 1962), 363

96) J.A. STEWART, *The Myths of Plato* (Carbondale, Illinois, 1960), 243-6.

this school was occupied by various intermediaries, usually in the form of demons, between God and this world, though for some, Albinus for example, a second god occupied this middle rank.<sup>97)</sup> In the orthodox Christian view Origen himself floundered on this point under the influence of Middle Platonism, since he is guilty of subordinationism by assigning the Logos to a category intermediate between God and creation.<sup>98)</sup> Frederick Copleston's survey of Middle Platonism in his *History of Philosophy*, Vol. I, makes substantially the same point as Daniélou concerning the levels of being for philosophers of this eclectic school.<sup>99)</sup> The former describes this tendency to proliferation of levels of the hierarchy of being as one of the leading characteristics of the Neo-Platonists, among whom Plotinus, as in the above formulation, represents a more restrained variety of Neo-Platonic mysticism.<sup>100)</sup> The ultimate precedent in these matters for both the Middle Platonists and the Neo-Platonists is, of course, Plato himself. Plato's most explicit statement concerning a triad of levels of being is found in the Symposium in the speech made by Diotima in answer to Socrates' question about Eros. Diotima replies: "He is a mighty genius [daimon, spirit], Socrates, and hence, like all the race of spirits is midway between divine and mortal".<sup>101)</sup> This spirit is described as an intermediary between divinity and humanity.<sup>102)</sup> Despite this evidence in Plato for a triality of levels of being, the potential is only realized in Plotinus and Augustine, as we shall see presently. Plato's legacy is the familiar dualism of Being and Becoming, as Copleston's summary remarks indicate:

...although Plato brings the complexity of the problem into greater relief and definitely transcends the pre-Socratic materialism, he fails to give any adequate solution to the problem and leaves us with a dualism, the sphere of Reality on the one hand and the sphere of semi-reality or Becoming on the other hand.<sup>103)</sup>

Augustine's own experience at an early age with Manichaean dualism and his later efforts to combat this heresy may very well have been instrumental in turning Augustine to the triality found in the later Platonists, especially Plotinus.<sup>104)</sup> Augustine's full statement of his three-fold geography, though it is referred to in several places, is found in a letter from c. 390 to one Caelestinus; there is no question as to the importance Augustine attributes to this statement:

Since I know you so well, here is something both great and short. There is a nature, which is subject to the changes of both time and space, as

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97) See "Origen and the Philosophical Background" in Jean DANIELOU, *Origen*, tr. Walter Mitchell (New York, 1955), 73-98.

98) DANIELOU, 254, 255.

99) Frederick COPLESTON, *A History of Philosophy* (Westminster, Maryland, 1957), I, pp. 451-456.

100) COPLESTON, 476-485.

101) PLATO, *Phaedrus, Ion, Gorgias, and Symposium with Passages from the Republic and Laws*, tr. Lane Cooper (Ithaca, New York, 1955), 252.

102) Ibid.

103) COPLESTON, 488.

104) AUGUSTINE, *The Confessions*, tr. Vernon J. Bourke (New York, 1953), III, 6, pp. 57, 58; and VII, 2, pp. 164, 165.

the body; and there is a nature which is not subject to space but only to time, as the soul; and there is a nature which is subject to neither space nor time, and that is God. What I have portrayed as changeable is creature; and as unchangeable, the Creator. Since, therefore, we postulate of all being continuity and unity, doubtless every form of beauty is a form of unity, and you see at once in that classification of natures what is highest; and what is lowest, yet existent; what intermediate, being greater than the lowest and less than the highest. The highest is Beatitude itself; the lowest can be neither happy nor wretched; but the intermediate lives wretchedly by inclination, blessedly by conversion. He who believes in Christ does not love the lowest, is not proud in the intermediate nature, and thereby becomes fit to cling to the highest. And this is the whole of what we are commanded, urged, and aroused to do.<sup>105)</sup>

Just as the soul in Plotinus's levels of reality can tend either upwards or downwards, so for Augustine the human soul by means of "inferior reason" can look down to things on the lowest level, or by means of "superior reason" it can look up to the highest reality. In the *Confessions* Augustine recounts his soul's efforts to move from the realm of the changeable to the realm of the unchangeable, to *That Which Is*. His soul by its natural weight sinks again. Only by embracing the "Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, who is above all things... who calls out and says: 'I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life'"<sup>106)</sup> can man's soul attain the highest reality. The doctrine of the Incarnation in its Christian sense can, of course, find precedents not among the Neo-Platonists, but only in Augustine's source, the Christian tradition. These two concepts, Augustine's geography of being and the Incarnation of Christ, central to Augustine's thought, are indispensable for an understanding of the City of God and the city of man and Augustine's view of time, history, and reality which follow from the concepts of City of God and the earthly city.

Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* is regarded by many as Augustine's philosophical as well as literary masterpiece;<sup>107)</sup> here are found the best descriptions not only of the theory of the title but also some of the important interpretations which are of particular interest for comparison with Norwid. Augustine's famous description of the two societies, the heavenly and the earthly is found in Book XIV of the *City of God*:

Two loves have built two Cities: the love of self, which reaches even to contempt for God, the earthly city; and the love of God, which reaches even to contempt for self, the heavenly city. One glories in itself, the other in God, witness of its conscience. One swollen with pride, uplifts its haughtily head; the other cries out to God with the Psalmist: "Thou art my glory, it is Thou who dost lift up my head".<sup>108)</sup>

These two cities have coexisted, have been commingled throughout history since the moment when Cain slew Abel, becoming thereby the

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105) St. AUGUSTINE, *Letters*, tr. Wilfred Parsons S.N.D. (New York, 1951), I, p. 43.

106) AUGUSTINE, *Confessions*, tr. Vernon J. Bourke (New York, 1953), 186-8.

107) Vernon J. BOURKE, *Augustine's Quest of Wisdom* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1945), 248.

108) AUGUSTINE, *De Civitate Dei*, XIX, xxviii, quoted from B. ROLAND-GOSSELIN "St. Augustine's System of Morals", tr. Fr. Leonard, C.M., in *A Monument to Augustine*, M.C. D'Arcy, S.J. et. al. (New York, 1930), 241.

human founder of the earthly city.<sup>109)</sup> Augustine examines the whole of human history from the dual vantage point of the two commingled societies. He finds a case parallel to Cain and Abel in the slaying of Remus by Romulus. Augustine examines the stories of the Old Testament to discern to which of the two cities the Biblical figures belong. At the time of the Deluge the citizens of the earthly city disappear, thus prefiguring the final separation of the two cities at the Second Coming of Christ. With the descendents of Noah, citizens of the earthly society reappear through their exercise of free will in turning to the lowest mutable kind of nature and away from the highest immutable reality in Augustine's three-fold geography of being: the Old Testament citizens of the City of God are all foreshadowing or prefiguring the central event in human history, the coming of Christ. It is important to emphasize as Gilson does,<sup>110)</sup> that the individual, to whichever of the two cities he belongs, is never separated from human society; moral life is always interwoven with social life; man can only act through history, or, as Norwid would say, man always bears the stigma of history, "stygmata przeszłości", (stigma of the past) from the legend "Stygmata".<sup>111)</sup> The two orders coexist; citizens of the heavenly city for all appearances share a common life with inhabitants of the earthly city but not like them. Even when they perform actions which are outwardly the same as acts by the inhabitants of the earthly city, these actions are carried out in a different spirit.<sup>112)</sup>

This last aspect strikes a note of strong similarity with Kierkegaard's unknown "knight of faith":

Is it really he? Why he looks like a tax-collector! However, it is the man after all. I draw closer to him, watching his last movements to see whether there might not be visible a little heterogeneous fractional message from the infinite, a glance, a gesture, a note of sadness, a smile, which would betray the infinite in its heterogeneity with the finite. No! I examine his figure from tip to toe to see if there might be a cranny through which the infinite was peeping — He belongs entirely to the world, no Philistine more so.<sup>113)</sup>

Notice, too, that there seems also to be a three-fold order to reality underlying Kierkegaard's world view as expressed in this excerpt. Between the orders of the finite and the infinite lies a third order, the reality of the "knight of faith". For comparison with Norwid on this point of the unrecognizability of the man of faith, the citizen of the City of God, numerous examples might be chosen. The following shows a slightly different statement of the problem, for here the citizen of the City of God, to continue Augustine's terminology seems to be recognized,

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109) Interestingly enough Norwid in "Promethidion" refers to the world of Cain: "W cesarstwie tego tu świata Kaina", (In the empire of this world here of Cain), in *Pisma zebrane*, ed. Przesmycki, 151.

110) GILSON, 171.

111) Cyprian NORWID, *Dzieła*, ed. Tadeusz Pini (Warsaw, 1934), 488.

112) GILSON, 175, 176.

113) Søren KIERKEGAARD, *Fear and Trembling and Sickness unto Death*, tr. Walter Lourié (New York, 1955), 49, 50.

or at least suspected, by what we can assume is a fellow believer, while being scorned by the earthly city:

1.

Na śliskim bruku w Londynie,  
W mgłę, podksiężycowej, białej,  
Niejedna postać cię minie,  
Lecz ty ją wspomnisz, struchlały.

2.

Czoło ma w cierniu? czy w brudzie? —  
Rozeznać tego nie można;  
Poszepty z Niebem o cudzie  
W wargach...czy? piana bezbożna!...<sup>114)</sup>

1.

(On the slippery pavement in London,  
In the white moonlit mist,  
Many a figure passes by you,  
But you, dismayed, will remember that one.

2.

Is its brow in thorns? or covered with mud? —  
It's impossible to make that out;  
Whispers with Heaven of miracle  
On its lips...is it? impious froth!...)

To return to our exposition of the City of God, Augustine is careful to recognize the good that is in the earthly city. There is a semblance of beauty, after all, in this earthly city despite its depravity. The important point is that the uses of the earthly city must be valued not in and of themselves in relation to man, but in relation to God; or in Norwid's poetic terms, the joy and sorrow of this life are the agents and springs of Providence. Given man's incapacity to see God Himself, man must contemplate Him in His works. This process has been termed "Augustinian contemplation" by Fulbert Cayré in *La contemplation augustinienne. Principes de la spiritualité de S. Augustin* (Paris, 1927); the principle has been accepted by Gilson as described above.<sup>115)</sup> It is this principle which underlies Augustine's search for images or vestiges of the Trinity both in the world around him and in the human psychology and soul, as well as his interest in numerology.<sup>116)</sup> Norwid's own attempt to "read" reality for its signs of the eternal, as in the example quoted above, might be viewed as a sort of "Augustinian contemplation" with the difference that, whereas Augustine seeks images of the Trinity, Norwid perceives a world full of images of the Crucifixion, the sign of the cross, and as Norwid says in the fourth lecture in the series "O Juliuszu Slowackim...":

This crucifixion requires no explanations for there were and will be an immense number of such crucifixions (without any metaphors), an immense number on any polar points of a scheme! Every-where

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114) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 563. See Maciej ŻUROWSKI, "'Larwa' na tle porównawczym" (I), *Przegląd Humanistyczny* VII, 6 (1963), 15-34.

115) GILSON, 187, 188.

116) BOURKE, 207ff.

unilateralities will stick out their crude elbows to such a degree that the background, against which they take shape, will be sundered; then even if on the canvas of such a background there were painted an ass, a frog, or a goat, behind such a canvas there will always be a wooden cross bracing the frame of the picture and which will peer through the tautly spread threads.<sup>117)</sup>

Thus in Norwid's allegorical statement even the basest of realities will reveal these images or vestiges of the Crucifixion of Christ. Norwid's view here is similar, although more restricted, to that of Blake, with whom Norwid has been compared;<sup>118)</sup> "He who sees the Infinite in all things, sees God".<sup>119)</sup> Here the difference between Blake and Norwid, who maintains with Augustine the mediation of Christ, points up the latter as a "temperate mystic" within a recognized Christian tradition while the former represents, at least to one critic, an inconsistent fusion of Christian and Platonic principles,<sup>120)</sup> to which one might add a tendency to pantheism, which is alien both to Augustine and Norwid. Reference to a common tradition, even given Blake's inconsistency and unbridled mysticism, still would seem the best account for any similarities between the two. In the case of Kierkegaard above, the point can probably be accepted without question since Kierkegaard has generally been placed in the Augustinian tradition.<sup>121)</sup>

To turn to the problem of time, which so vexes Augustine, the temporal order, the order of man's existence, is so familiar yet an enigma. Augustine's statement of the famous quest is well-known:

For, what is time? Who can explain it easily and briefly? Who can grasp this, even in cogitation, so as to offer a verbal explanation of it? Yet, what do we mention, in speaking more familiarly and knowingly than time? And we certainly understand it when we hear another person speaking about it. What, then is time? If no one asks me, I know; but, if I want to explain it to a questioner, I do not know.<sup>122)</sup>

In attempting an answer to this question, Augustine states that neither the past nor the future actually exist since the first had but no longer has existence, and the second will have but does not have existence. The present then is the indivisible point on the temporal order which exists. The question next arises as to how to account for the common occurrence of measurement of time. Neither the past nor the future can actually be measured since they do not have existence; nor can the present since it is an indivisible point. The measured times of past, present, and future in man's common experience are seen as realities of man's mind, as an awareness of present, a memory

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117) *Dzieta*, ed. Pini, 573.

118) See Footnote 114.

119) From *There is no Natural Religion* in J. MIDDLETON MURRAY, *William Blake* (London, 1933).

120) J.G. DAVIS, *The Theology of William Blake* (Oxford, 1948), 124, 125.

121) See ERICH PRZYWARA, S.J., "St. Augustine and the Modern World", tr. E.I. Watkin, *A Monument to Saint Augustine*, M.C. D'ARCY, S.J. et. al. (New York, 1930), 251-286.

122) *Confessions*, XI, XIV, p. 343.

of past and an expectation of future. However, these psychic realities mean for man his entrapment in a lower reality, as Augustine says in prayer to God:

...I have disintegrated into periods of time, of whose order I am ignorant, and my thoughts, which are the innermost vital parts of my soul are rent asunder by tumultuous diversities — until such time as I shall flow together into Thee, purged and melted into clear liquid form, by the fire of Thy love.<sup>123)</sup>

Norwid, appropriately enough, experiences a similar disintegration of life into periods of time past and time future. These are the first four lines of the verse "Przeszłość i przyszłość (the Past and the Future):

*Przeszłość ciągnie do siebie, a Przyszłość do siebie,  
Ta o sumieniu-dziejów, ta prawi o niebie,  
I szarpia i w dwie strony porwają życie  
Aż ich Obecność spyta: "Kogo to męczycie?!"*<sup>124)</sup>

*(The Past pulls toward itself, and the Future to itself,  
This one prates about the conscience-of-history, that one, about the sky,  
And they jerk, and they snatch life away in two directions,  
Until the Present asks them: "Who is it you are tormenting?!")*

Man is thus like those scoffers who pose such absurd questions as what was God doing before Creation. All men seem in this predicament: "They try to get the taste of eternal Things but their heart still flutters in the past and future fluctuations of things and is still vain".<sup>125)</sup>

The question of the relationship of these two orders, the temporal and the non-temporal, the finite and the infinite, becomes for man, standing between these orders, the problem of moral choice between the two orders. Even to understand the relationship of created time to creative eternity requires that man move out of the temporal realm into the eternal present, as Gilson describes it:

Man can do this only on condition that he finds a haven for the mind beyond the reach of time's tide, that he becomes moored, so to speak, and by gathering together into a permanent present all things that are no more and that are yet to be, leaves time behind to cross over, alone, into eternity.<sup>126)</sup>

It is, of course, in this light of gathering into a permanent present things past and yet to be that Norwid's well-known verse "Wieś" (Village) celebrating the Polish village must be read, and not as though the village has not yet attained an awareness of time, as Błoński suggests.<sup>127)</sup> Rather, in the Augustinian frame of reference, the Polish

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123) *Confessions* XI, xxix, p. 364. For Augustine's view of time see: *Confessions* XI, x-xxxI, pp. 339-366; also the explication in Gilson, 189-196.

124) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 315.

125) *Confessions* XI, xi, p. 340.

126) GILSON, 195.

127) Jan BŁOŃSKI, "Norwid wśród prawnuków", *Twórczość*, XXIII, 5 (1967), 73, 74.



village has attained a higher awareness of time. Here is the second stanza of the poem:

Przeszłość twa-zawsze wczora!  
Przyszłość-ręką dosiężna  
U ciebie zawsze-pora!  
Tyś wczasów księżna...<sup>128)</sup>  
(Your past-always yesterday!  
The future-reached by the hand  
With you always-the season!  
You are the princess of repose...)

The relationship of the two orders is described by Chaix-Ruy as different orientations according to which man is understood to move:

"...de là l'histoire nous apparaîtrait toute entière comme déroulée et se déroulant à la fois, tandis que se partageraient sous nos yeux les deux courants du temps qui s'accompagnent et mêlent leurs courses, comme ces fleuves qui s'écoulent dans la mer sans se confondre avec elle. Nous verrions même que ces deux courants ont une orientation différente: l'un descend vers le multiple tandis que l'autre est aspiré par l'Un, aimanté vers l'éternité."<sup>129)</sup>

For man the task of moving toward the One is not a matter of simple attraction but rather of struggle through the mediation of Christ. Augustine has an excellent description of the struggle of man to move away from the lower order to the higher:

But, since 'Thy mercy is better than lives', behold my life is but a distraction; and Thy right hand has held me up, in my Lord the Son of man, the Mediator between Thee as One and us as many, in many ways and by many means, so that through Him I may lay hold of that for which He has laid hold of me, and that I may be gathered in from the days of old and follow the One. Forgetting what is behind, not straining outward to things which will come and pass away, but straining forward to what is before, not according to distraction, but with mental concentration, I press on toward the prize of my heavenly calling, where I shall hear the voice of praise and I shall see Thy delight, which neither comes nor passes away.<sup>130)</sup>

In Norwid, the future is described in a non-temporal sense that would seem to reflect Augustine's "straining forward" and "pressing". In this sense the future, perhaps best understood as a potentiality, does not merely "happen" in the flux of time but must be gained through the "Msza-Swięta" (Holy Sacrifice of the Mass) through the fulfillment of the sacrifice of Christ, as Skwarczyńska describes above.<sup>131)</sup> As Norwid says in the letter of 1863:

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128) Cyprian NORWID, *Vade-mecum*, ed. Juliusz Gomulicki (Warsaw, 1962), 69. This final redaction of the verse "Wies" does not appear at all in Gomulicki's *Dzieła zebrane*.

129) Jules CHAIX-RUY, "La Cité de Dieu et la structure du temps chez saint Augustin", *Augustinus Magister* (Paris, 1954), II, 926.

130) *Confessions*, XI, xix, 363.

131) See Chapter II, Footnote 49.

For the future is gained by these three things: *spirit, patience, and fulfillment — but by no means through blood: that is a fairy tale! NATURALLY, the Druids and Egyptians before Christ professed otherwise — and no wonder!* — <sup>132)</sup>

A future of this sort had best not be regarded as part of the temporal order, which merely occurs independent of human effort, but as a striving beyond the temporal toward the fulfillment of the sacrifice of Christ, toward building the City of God. As far as the mediation of Christ in this process is concerned, Norwid's writings provide any number of examples that "...this peace — Christ's peace — this is the point of departure for struggle..."<sup>133)</sup> One of the best-known of these statements occurring both in "Promethidion" and in his letters is the following, taken in this instance from a letter of 1851:

Well... if they walked not with the cross of the Savior *behind them*, but with their own cross behind the Savior... Well... what of those school-boys with their social harmonies — policemen of the all-good and all-beautiful, fatally overworked by the filth and torpor of society?!... But where today do they teach that half of ability is *to seek one's own cross*, and the other half is *to carry it in the footsteps of the Savior* and to place it on one's own grave.<sup>134)</sup>

This, of course, is Norwid's restatement of the several familiar Biblical passages quoting Christ's words to His disciples, as in Luke 9, 23: "And he said to them all, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me". Rejection of the mediation of Christ to move from the earthly city to the higher reality of the eternal present results in a destruction of man's middle ground of striving toward the City of God; man descends to the meaningless flux of temporal existence, to the "wszech-falsz" (universal-false) or the "kał" (defecation) of everyday reality, as Norwid often terms it.

In obvious relationship to the problem of time it is important to emphasize at the outset that Augustine's allegorical method of treating history in no way negates what could be called a common-sense view of history. What for Augustine was a pagan acceptance of the past forms one dimension of history. There is a higher dimension, the history of God's involvement in the world, a *historia ipsa*.<sup>135)</sup> Something of Augustine's common-sensical view of the passage of time on one dimension of history can be seen in the following excerpt from the *Confessions*:

Time takes no holiday. It is never idle as it glides through our sense perceptions. It works wonders in one's mind. See how it came and went from day to day, and in coming and going it subtly introduced into me other hopes and other memories.<sup>136)</sup>

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132) *Listy* I, p. 459.

133) *Listy* I, p. 70.

134) *Listy* I, pp. 77, 78.

135) William M. GREEN, "Augustine on the Teaching of History", *Classical Philology*, XII, 18 (1944), 326.

136) *Confessions*, IV, viii, p. 84.

By adding the second dimension of history, Jacques Maritain says that

Augustine created the philosophy of history, let us put it more accurately (because the lights of faith are here necessary), *the wisdom of history*; and the sentiment of irreversible historic becoming, of the world's movement and development in the sense of time is, in our opinion, one of the most precious jewels for our Augustinian inheritance.<sup>137)</sup>

Augustine rejects the classical view of history as a series of recurring cycles and gives to the linear view a purposeful direction, that is, "the gradual formation of the heavenly city throughout history. The final end is the establishment of the perfect City of God in an eternal happiness which the people of the elect will enjoy".<sup>138)</sup> On this dimension of history where man is no longer the slave and creature of time, but its master and creator, then history also becomes a creative process.<sup>139)</sup> Of absolute necessity for understanding this allegorical interpretation is the point that the creative process referred to here by Christopher Dawson occurs through history but not *in* history. The process of formation is through history, through the middle realm of Augustine's geography of being, but the result is above history. Thus being outside the temporal order, the citizenship of the City of God is comprised of more dead and unborn than of living.

We have seen already in brief discussion something of the Augustinian geography of being reflected in Norwid's work, and of Norwid's seemingly contradictory views of reality, especially in the examples above, of Norwid's matter-of-fact view of reality in the poem "Ogólniki" and of his allegorical view of reality found in the excerpt from "Ruiny". Obviously Augustine's geography of being itself becomes a historical concept when developed and exemplified in the two divergent processes of the City of God and the earthly city. Given these two mystical concepts, Augustine's interpretations of time and history are readily understandable since the latter are actually integral parts of those mystical concepts. Norwid's contrast of the words "czyn" (deed) and "cin" (rank - in Russian), in the *Pisma polityczne i filozoficzne* rests precisely on the two divergent orders of history, the first moving toward the fulfillment of history through mediation of Christ, "the Cross of history", while the second is a power limited to an historical movement outside of the plans of Providence.<sup>140)</sup> The poem "Żydowie polscy" (Polish Jews) also draws this distinction of different dimension of history as in the third stanza:

Aż oto, że dzieje pozornie są zamęt,  
Gdyż w gruncie są: siła i łatwość szeroka! —  
Aż oto, że dzieje są jako testament,  
Którego cherubin dogląda z wysoka —

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137) Jacques MARITAIN, "St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas", tr. Fr. Leonard, C.M., *A Monument to St. Augustine*, 221.

138) GILSON, 175.

139) Christopher DAWSON, "Saint Augustine and His Age", *A Monument to Saint Augustine*, 71.

140) NORWID, *Pisma*, 113-115.

Węc znowu Machabej na bruku w Warszawie  
 Nie stanął w dwuznacznej z Polakiem obawie.<sup>141)</sup>  
 (Until apparent history is seen as *anarchy*,  
 Where at basis are: *force and order far and wide!* —  
 Until history is as a testament,  
 Whose cherubim gaze down from on high,  
 Then never again will the Machabee stand with the Pole  
 on the pavement in Warsaw in ambiguous fear).

It is significant that, given this allegorical interpretation of history, Norwid more than most poets is bound to everyday events of greater or lesser historical significance; within the Augustine tradition these views are not incompatible. Besides the allegorical interpretation, surely one of the reasons why Norwid is difficult to read is simply the amount of specific historical reference or of reference to events contemporaneous to Norwid of lesser significance, which make the Gomulicki edition with its extensive notes an indispensable tool to any student of Norwid.

#### Chapter IV: DIMENSIONS OF NORWID'S REALITY

In the introduction to the present study it was suggested that the persistence of Przesmycki's misconception concerning Norwid's view of reality, which has been continued by Gomulicki and others, i.e., that Norwid's is a Platonic dualistic reality, may be one of the most serious obstacles to a work of synthesis on Norwid, such as Krzyżanowski calls for.<sup>142)</sup> This view presents an inadequate framework for an integral role of Christ and the Crucifixion, which occupy a position of supreme importance in Norwid's works, akin indeed to the position these occupy in Augustine's philosophy, with the possible difference that the Augustinian emphasis is more on the Incarnation than the Crucifixion itself. In a dualistic world, the drama of man, "a contradiction incarnate", standing "on the border of two incompatible worlds, pierced by the thorn of mystery", as Norwid describes him in the early poem, "Dumanie" [II]<sup>143)</sup> (Contemplation), and the role of Christ as Mediator and as the way to unity becomes meaningless. Only Norwid's view of a reality defined by Augustine's three-fold geography of being could have engendered the drama, at once both personal and historical, contained in the following excerpt from the verse "Nieskończony" (Infinite). The reader is cautioned, here as elsewhere, not to misread the two dimensions of reality mentioned in the excerpt as the only two dimensions; in Augustinian terms, man himself sharing attributes of both the higher and lower orders occupies the middle realm.

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141) *Dziela zebrane* I, pp. 476, 477.

142) See pp. 96, 97 above.

143) *Dziela zebrane* I, p. 184.

Niżej, niżej — duch i kał,  
 Człek, wcielona sprzeczność, dział...  
 Z raną śmierci, co go dwoi,  
 Z blizną grzechu — rozłamany —  
 Ledwo stoi...  
 Nad nim, droga...  
 Krzyż, *jak waga*... przewidziany  
 Od wszech-sumień wstęp do Boga...<sup>144)</sup>  
 (Lower, lower — spirit and defecation,  
 Man, a contradiction incarnate, a division...  
 With the wound of death, which halves him,  
 With the scar of sin — sundered —  
 Barely stands...  
 Above him, the way ...  
 The cross *like scales*... the admittance  
 To God foreseen from universal-consciences...).

In this instance "duch" stands for the highest order of being while "kał" epitomizes, as it frequently does in Norwid, the lowest order. Man, as mentioned, occupies the middle realm and strives in the path of Christ upward toward union with God. Rejection of the Augustinian geography of being as defining Norwid's conception of reality would result in a diminution of the importance of Christ and the Crucifixion in Norwid's poetry to that of sacred symbol. That the Crucifixion in Norwid's works is this, indeed, none could perhaps deny. Yet we shall see in this and the subsequent chapters that Christ and the Crucifixion taken together are for Norwid's thought and art a unique determining factor understandable probably only within the Augustinian tradition.

Some additional suggestions beyond those already mentioned as to the supreme importance attributed by Norwid both in his personal life and in his art, to the Passion of Christ, can be found first in a letter to Bohdan Zaleski dated 1851, in which Norwid rejects Thomas à Kempis' manual *The Imitation of Christ* as being, despite its holiness, merely an imitation of Christ and not an avowal of Him.<sup>145)</sup> The same letter quotes the taunt of unknown persons against Norwid for what in their view must have seemed a "Christ complex" on the poet's part: "If you are the Son of God, come down from the cross".<sup>146)</sup> Certainly the most effective statement of these matters, which one is inclined to accept at face value upon closer familiarity with Norwid's writings, is the excerpt from "Epimenides" IV, which can nearly be taken as Norwid's artistic credo:

Pójdę, gdzie oni pójda,  
 wstrzymam się, gdzie staną,  
 Pójdę, albowiem Muzy mojej  
 jest przydomek  
 Sieroctwo; więc podniosę  
 rzecz zapamiętaną,  
 Jako wieszcz poniewierki,  
 i ostatnich ziomek  
 I pisarz treści, co jest  
 krzyżem przemazaną; ...<sup>147)</sup>

144) *Ibid.*, 338, 339.

145) *Listy* I, p. 89.

146) *Ibid.*, 87.

147) *Pisma zebrane*, ed. Przesmycki, Vol. A, Part II, pp. 514, 515

is the excerpt from "Epimenides" IV, which can nearly be taken as Norwid's artistic credo:

(I will go where they go,  
I will stop where they stay,  
I will go, for the name of my Muse is Orphanage;  
So I will raise up a forgotten thing;  
As a bard of wandering, and fellow countryman of the least ones  
And writer of content which is anointed with the sign of the cross;...).

In another place I have described the Crucifixion of Christ as the key to the problem of time in the *Vade-mecum*<sup>148)</sup> cycle and will briefly reiterate and develop the main points of that study, because the problem of Norwid's view of time is inseparably connected with his view of reality. The chief conclusion reached in the earlier study was that from a certain point of view or on a certain dimension of reality all time is contemporaneous, is part of the eternal present. There are numerous seemingly puzzling statements to this effect in Norwid's lyrics. For example the first line of the third stanza of the poem "Przeszłość" (The Past) runs: "*Przeszłość jest to dziś tylko cokolwiek dalej...*"<sup>149)</sup> (The *past* that's *today*, only somewhat more distant). The opening lines to the verse "Post scriptum" are "Nie tylko *przyszłość* wieczna jest-nie tylko!.../ I przeszłość, owszem, wieczności jest dobą..."<sup>150)</sup> (Not only the *future* is eternal — not only!.../ Also the past, of course, is a period of eternity). In Chapter III the second stanza is quoted of the final redaction of the verse "Wieś" (The village) of the 1962 edition of *Vade-mecum* (less ironic and thus more suitable for present purposes than the version in the 1966 *Dzieła zebrane*), which presents a picture of the village in an eternal present as an image of the City of God and yet tragically trapped in the flux of time, a prey to natural calamity. Norwid's reaction to the destruction of Chopin's instrument, as in the last line of "Fortepian Szopena" (Chopin's Pianoforte) is by now famous: "*Ideał - sięgnął bruku*"<sup>151)</sup> (*The ideal - reached the pavement*). Norwid's reaction to the destruction of another ideal, the village, is found in the closing stanza to the verse by that title:

Ach!... czy nie ma już miejsca na świecie  
Dla Niewinności?  
A kiedy?... zapomną o Powiecie  
*Plagi ludzkości!*<sup>152)</sup>  
(Oh!... is there no longer a place in the world  
For Innocence?  
And when?... will the plagues of humanity  
Forget about the Rural District!)

Both Chopin's piano and the village are images of an eternal order, yet as material substance they share the fate of all temporal things. In addition to these statements on time, Gomulicki quotes an excerpt from a letter of 1857: "for each moment of life is a continuous past and

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148) See Chapter III, Footnote 80.

149) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 548.

150) *Ibid.*, 503.

151) *Ibid.*, 673.

152) *Ibid.*, 570.

present, and every *today* is continuously a *yesterday* and a *tomorrow*".<sup>153)</sup> To anticipate the problem somewhat, Norwid's laconic statement that "Christianism is *in the center of time*"<sup>154)</sup> is to be understood in terms of the following fuller description from Oscar Cullman's *Christ and Time*:

It roots primarily in the thoroughly positive conviction that the mighty Christ-event has given a new center to time, and so it roots in the faith that the fulfillment has already taken place, that it is no longer the Parousia but rather the cross and resurrection of Christ that constitute the middle point and meaning of all that occurs.<sup>155)</sup>

A solution to this enigma of time is suggested, at least in part, in the opening lines to the poem "Przeszłość": "Nie Bóg stworzył przeszłość, i śmierć, i cierpienia,/ Lecz ów, co prawa rwie..."<sup>156)</sup> (It was not God who created the past, and death, and sufferings,/ But he who breaks the laws...). Gomulicki in his notes to this poem suggests a reading that Satan is the one who breaks the laws and who has introduced death into the world.<sup>157)</sup> While this statement is not in itself incorrect, it tends to place at a remove the problem of evil. Rather each individual man through sinning places himself on the purely temporal order of existence, or his soul gravitates through the weight of sin to the lowest level of being, that of the earthly city in Augustine's terms. Indeed, if the whole of history is man's responsibility in Augustine's view, for Norwid his responsibility is no less; as in the often quoted concluding lines from "Królestwo" (The realm): "Udziałem twym — więcej!... — panowanie/ Nad wszystkim na świecie, i nad sobą".<sup>158)</sup> (Your domain — is greater!... — control/ Over everything in the world, and over yourself). This same point is also emphasized by Skwarczyńska, as noted in Chapter II.<sup>159)</sup> The poem "Przeszłość" suggests, in the parable of the child riding in a cart who sees an oak tree moving away, that perception of time is a problem of perspective. And in the verse "Post-scriptum" man is chided in ironical terms, typical of Norwid, for his mistaken view of the past. The opening lines are repeated for the sake of continuity:

Nie tylko *przyszłość* wieczna jest — nie tylko!...  
I przeszłość, owszem, wieczności jest dobą:  
Co stało się już, nie odstanie chwilą...  
Wróci Idea, nie powróci *sobą*.

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153) *Listy* I, 267.

154) See Chapter III, Footnote 81.

155) Oscar CULLMAN, *Christ and Time*, tr. Floyd V. Filson (London, 1949), 86.

156) This quotation is taken from *Vade-mecum*, ed. Juliusz Gomulicki (Warsaw, 1962), 46. The version of this verse in *Dzieła zebrane* shows "Nie Bóg stworzył przyszłość..." thus rendering a radically different reading of the verse.

157) *Dzieła zebrane* II, p. 752. See Roman JAKOBSON's analysis and solution to the problem in "'Przeszłość' Cypriana Norwida", *Pamiętnik Literacki*. LV, 3 (1963), 449-456.

158) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 599.

159) See Chapter II, Footnote 47.

Przeszłość ma wieczność w wieczystej połowie  
 Zamknąć — odemknąć — zarówno się uczem!  
 Tylko wy dzisiaj, klasyczni mistrzowie,  
 Wiecie też, którym gdzie poczynać kluczem?  
 Z tragedii całej klasycznego świata  
*Podziały* znacie, a z wymowy *style*:  
 To, jakby poszedł kto na grobie brata  
 Herboryzować! zioła rwać!... to tyle!...<sup>160)</sup>  
 (Not only *the future* is eternal — not only!...  
 Also the past, of course, is a period of eternity:  
 What has already happened, will not be undone by a moment...  
 It will return as an idea, it won't return as *itself*.  
 The past has eternity in its eternal half:  
 We learn both to shut it and open it!  
 But do you today, classical masters,  
 Know also with which key where to begin?  
 Of the whole tragedy of the classical world  
 You know *divisions*, of eloquence — *styles*:  
 That is like someone going to the grave of his brother  
 To herborize! to pick herbs!... it amounts to that!...)

Thus the spiritual essence of things past never dies, but, as Norwid says, of the past we know only its divisions and of eloquence we know only styles. Historical classifications and styles are rooted in time and are destined to be fixed in the past even before their existence. Again as Norwid says, we lack the key for opening the past to its eternally present elements or we, like the child of Norwid's parable, lack the proper perspective. This is failure on man's part because God has provided the key or the perspective.

The key to the concept of time that Norwid appears to be expressing in the above examples, although it may seem puzzling and mystical, lies at the heart of Christian tradition, especially the Augustinian tradition. Descriptions of this view of time could be drawn from nearly any point in this tradition, from the Church fathers to modern Protestant theologians. Karl Barth, for example, describes the key to this concept in the following terms:

When the Christian community looks back at what happened in Christ, at His first advent, His life, death and resurrection, when it lives in this recollection, then it is not mere recollection, not what we call history. That which has happened once for all has rather the power of divine presence. What happened still happens, and as such will happen.<sup>161)</sup>

As Roger L. Shinn points out in his book, *Christianity and the Problem of Time*, the starting point for most modern speculation in this field is St. Augustine's *City of God*. Here, in contrast to the Hellenic cyclical view of history, or the Judaic linear view, there is presented a concept of history with its focus on the central event in all time, the life of Christ.<sup>162)</sup> In discussing Augustine's role in fostering this Christian view of history, Erich Auerbach in *Mimesis* presents a full description of the

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160) *Dzieta zebrane* I, p. 503.

161) Karl BARTH, *Dogmatics in Outline*, tr. G.T. Thompson (New York, 1947), 201.

162) Roger L. SHINN, *Christianity and the Problem of Time* (New York, 1953), 29-62.



concept, which, although lengthy, deserves inclusion here because of its striking similarity to certain of Norwid's statements:

This type of interpretation obviously introduces an entirely new and alien element into the antique conception of history. For example, if an occurrence like the sacrifice of Isaac is interpreted as prefiguring the sacrifice of Christ, so that in the former the latter is, as it were, announced and promised, and the latter "fulfills" (the technical term is *figuram implere*) the former, then a connection is established between two events which are linked neither temporally nor causally — a connection which it is impossible to establish by reason in the horizontal dimension (if I may be permitted to use this term for a temporal extension). It can be established only if both occurrences are linked to Divine Providence, which alone is able to devise such a plan of history and supply the key to its understanding. The horizontal, that is the temporal and causal, connection of occurrences is dissolved; the here and now is no longer a mere link in an earthly chain of events, it is simultaneously something which has always been, and which will be fulfilled in the future; and strictly in the eyes of God it is something eternal, something omni-temporal, already consummated in the realm of the fragmentary earthly physical event.<sup>163)</sup>

We may be prepared, on the basis of the earlier discussions, to grant that Norwid does share this Augustinian Christian conception of history, with its two dimensions, the horizontal and the figural-vertical, as Auerbach terms the latter in another place.<sup>164)</sup> The following examples from Norwid's lyrics should leave no doubt as to this point.

The first of these examples is taken from the verse "Zapał" (Fervor). Developed through a play on words associated with fire, as in the title, the poem sets the central event of human history in the image of the flame, as in lines 5-10:

Wtedy i Drujd, i horda Litwy tajemnicza  
Kłęba kozła swojego pod grzechów ciężarem,  
A czoła jej ozłacał żywy płomień *Znicza*.  
Lecz z świętym-ogniem stało się jak z Niebios darem:  
Po legendowych wiekach — przyszły historyczne,  
Ogień-boski za-przestał być Dziejów skazówką.<sup>165)</sup>

(At that time both the Druid and the mysterious horde of Lithuania  
Offered their goat in sacrifice under the weight of sin,  
And the living flame of *the fire* lit up their brows!  
But with the sacred fire it happened as with a gift from heaven:  
After legendary ages historic ages came —  
God's fire ceased to be the pointer of history).

Just as the Crucifixion of Christ employs a pre-Christian form, the pagan gallows infused with new spiritual content, the sacrificial goat is given new essence through the gift of heaven, i.e., is changed into the *Agnus Dei*, as the pagan fire (*znicz*) is fulfilled in the divine fire (Ogień-boski). Striking indeed is the close parallel between Auerbach's "prefiguring" and Norwid's identification of the pagan flame as a

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163) Erich AUERBACH, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, tr. Willard Trask (Garden City, N.Y., 1957), 64-65.

164) *Ibid.*, 65.

165) *Dziela zebrane* I, p. 624.

"pointer of history". The relationship between Isaac and Christ in Auerbach's example is exactly paralleled in Norwid's imagery: the sacrificial goat and the pagan fire prefigure and are fulfilled in the *Agnus Dei* and God's fire. The reason for the striking similarity has obviously to be sought in the force of shared tradition.

If the event described in the above lines, that is, the Crucifixion of Christ, is the central point in human history, the culmination and fulfillment of the whole of that history, then events following the event in time, that is, on the horizontal dimension, in Auerbach's term, have the same relationship to this central event as those which preceded it through the figural-vertical dimension of reality. Norwid rebukes modern man for failing to understand the significance of events on this latter dimension. Modern man may, indeed, be living more in the legendary ages than the pagan Romans, who at least understood the sacred nature of fire, as in the opening lines of "Zapał": "Powiadają że piękne były inne wieki,/ Gdy ogień święty wznosił się złotym filarem,/ Gdy Rzym od Dziewic-białych wyglądał opieki" (They say that other ages were beautiful,/ When the sacred fire rose up in a golden pillar,/ When Rome sought protection from pure white Virgins). But the Romans' ignorance of the significance of the flame and their misuse of it in the Vestal fires cannot be compared with modern man's arrogant and utterly ignoble abuse. The poem ends with this terrible irony, preserving the play on words associated with fire:

(Natomiast — tanie mamy *zapałki-chemiczne*,  
Które gdy zżęcznie ujmiesz — obrócisz w dół główką  
I o obuwie potrzasz?... płomyk wraz wybucha,  
A Turki palą fajkę z długiego cybucha!...).

(We on the other hand have cheap chemical matches  
Which held carefully, when one turns the head  
And strikes it on one's shoe,  
immediately a small flame bursts out...  
And Turks smoke a pipe from a long chibouk).

Modern man with his "zapałki chemiczne" and the "płomyk", which is all they can provide, stands below the Turk in dignity and at a great remove from the reality of God's fire, although his own matches are a faint "post-figuring", so to say, of the central event of all time, the Crucifixion.

If Norwid in the above poem treats the symbol of fire in terms of its relation, outside of any temporal connection, to the central event in history, the divine fire, that is, the Crucifixion, then Norwid does not hesitate to interpret historical figures in this same allegorical manner. For example the life of Cicero presented in the poem "Do Wielmożnej Pani I" (To Mrs. I) is viewed as patterned on the events of Christ's life, that is, is interpreted as prefiguring the central event in history, just as the sacrifice of Isaac prefigures the sacrifice of Christ in Auerbach's example. The poem telescopes into the single figure of Cicero the historical acts of the precursor of Christ, John the Baptist, and of Christ himself:

Czoło mówcy nie znało *kropelki chrztu* — wcale,  
Kiedy *Patriae-Pater*-konsul purpurowy —  
Cicero, rękę wzniośszy nad zamęt ludowy,  
Głosił:

"...że przyjdzie człowiek, w boleści i chwale,  
Sprawiedliwy — i przez to w koronie cierniowej".

A ręce obie mówcy, gdy niewiele potem  
Blade przybito gwoźdźmi na deskach trybuny,  
My znamy, w czyje grały i psalmy, i struny?...  
Lubo milczało niebo błyskaniem i grzmotem!<sup>166)</sup>

(The brow of the speaker did not know a drop of baptismal water —  
[not at all,

When *Patriae-Pater* — a consul in the royal purple —  
Cicero, having raised his hand above the human tumult,  
Announced:

"...that a man will come, in affliction and in praise,  
Just — and thereby in a crown of thorns".

And both hands of the speaker, when not much later  
Pale they were pinned by nails on the boards of the tribune,  
Do we know whose psalms and on whose strings they played?...  
Or were the lightning and thunder of heaven silent!)

Norwid is thus repeating his question of "Post-scriptum" and "Przeszłość": do we have the key or the proper perspective to enable us to perceive the eternally present in the historical past? And in the closing lines to "Do Wielmożnej Pani I" the vertical-figural relationship, as Auerbach describes it, holds true for events not only of the past, but of the present and of the future, or in Karl Barth's words, "what happened, still happens, and as such will happen". The poet here would rejoice to see historical events in Europe as fulfillment of Christ's sacrifice. The tears, that is, the suffering of contemporary man should not be meaningless hieroglyphs, but should partake of the events of Christ's Passion, here by repeating and fulfilling the act of the sinful woman who washed Christ's feet with her tears (Luke 7:38). The sacrifice of Christ and of man are to be one, since Christ washed His disciples' feet after the passover meal and commanded them to do likewise unto one another (John 13:5-15).

Tylko radbym, Europy oglądając kartę,  
Znać stopy Zbawiciela swobodniej oparte,  
A choćby to okupić przyszło świata łzami,  
Rzekłbym:

...ON pierw umywał nasze, gdy był z nami.

(I would be only happy viewing the map of Europe,  
To see the feet of the Savior more freely resting

And even though this might come (to pass) to redeem with the tears of  
[the world

I would say:

...He washed ours first, when He was with us).

Hence the pattern of all life is set by that of *the* event which overcomes history; the pattern is repeated in the daily life of each human being. This is an example of man's participation in the events of the Crucifixion and of his fulfillment of the sacrifice of Christ by offering his daily bloodless sacrifice to Christ's sacrifice of blood. It is also an example of what Skwarczyńska is referring to in her discussion of Norwid's lost

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166) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 723.

work "O Mszy Świętej — ze stanowiska archeologii i sztuki", which was discussed in Chapter II.<sup>167)</sup>

Besides interpreting historical figures in the allegorical manner described by Auerbach above,<sup>168)</sup> Norwid is completely consistent in applying this view of reality to his own contemporaries. For example the verse "Do Emira Abd el Kader w Damaszku" (To Emir Abd el Kader in Damascus) interprets the acts of this military commander in protecting the Christians of Syria from massacre in 1860<sup>169)</sup> as an instance of man's participation in fulfillment of the Sacrifice of Christ. This context is made clear in stanzas three and five of this poem, the latter quoted subsequently:

Bóg jeden rządzi z wieków w wieki,  
Nikt nie pomierzył Jego łask:  
Chce? — to wyrzuci z ran swych ówieki  
A gwiazdy w ostróg zmieni blask.<sup>170)</sup>  
God alone rules from ages to ages,  
No one has measured His graces:  
If he wants? — then He will cast out the nails from His wounds,  
And will change stars into the glitter of spurs).

Through the concept of the Mystical Body, the suffering of Christ and the suffering of man are one, as in the familiar words from Matthew 25:40, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me". Norwid's fifth stanza can be regarded as a restatement of this oneness of the suffering of God and man. Stanza five and six are quoted here so as not to break the syntactic unity of the two:

A jeśli w łzach gnębionych ludzi,  
A jeśli w dziewic krwi niewinnéj,  
A jeśli w dziecku, co się budzi,  
Ten sam jest Bóg — nie żaden inny —  
To — namiot Twój niech będzie szerszy  
Niż Dawidowych cedrów las;  
Bo, z królów — Magów trzech, Tyś pierwszy,  
Co konia swego dosiadł w czas!  
(And if in the tears of oppressed people,  
And if in the innocent blood of maidens,  
And if in the child, who awakens,  
This same God is present — and no other —  
Then — let Your tent be broader  
than a forest of David's cedars;  
For, of the three Kings of the Magi, You are the first,  
Who mounted his horse at the proper time).

It is important to re-emphasize that Abd el Kader's participation in the events of Christ's life cannot be regarded as metaphorical, but as allegorical, that is, real on the "omni-temporal" dimension of reality, in Auerbach's phrase. The cross of Christ is the process, through

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167) See Chapter II, Footnotes 49, 50.

168) See Footnotes 162, 163, above.

169) *Dziela zebrane* II, p. 581.

170) *Dziela zebrane* I, pp. 459, 460.

history, but not in history, of the formation of the City of God; the cross repeats but is paradoxically the same through the Mystical body, or as Norwid says in the poem, "Na zgon śp. Jana Gajewskiego..." (On the decease of Jan Gajewski...): "Boga pierw zranią i krzyż znowu będzie/ Drugi a tenże sam, bo z ludzką twarzą".<sup>171)</sup> (They will first wound God, and the cross will be again,/ another but the same, for it has a human face). In the same sense one must view the persecutions of the important historical figures, past and contemporary, presented in the verse, ["Coś ty Atenom zrobił, Sokratesie"] (What have you done to Athens, Socrates). The series of questions Norwid poses to Socrates, Dante, Columbus, Camoens, Kościuszko, Napoleon, and Mickiewicz echo in their irony, the irony in Christ's words of John 10:32, "Many good works have I showed you from my Father; for which of those works do ye stone me"? Whatever one thinks of the suitability of such a list, the model for each of the persecutions mentioned in the poem is made clear through the image of the nail in the last stanza:

Każdego z takich jak Ty świat nie może  
 Od razu przyjąć na spokojne łoże,  
 I nie przyjmował nigdy, jak wiek wiekiem,  
 Bo glina w glinę wtapia się bez przerwy,  
 Gdy sprzeczne ciała zbija się aż cwiekiem  
 Później... lub pierwój...<sup>172)</sup>  
 (Each of those like You the world cannot  
 Immediately admit to a peaceful resting place,  
 And has never admitted, through the ages,  
 For clay sinks into clay incessantly,  
 While contrary bodies are hammered down even with a nail  
 Later... or at first...).

Despite the fact that this world claims its own, as in the above poem, the great of the world are persecuted and as the weight of mankind descends to the lowest level of reality, in the image of clay sinking into clay, still with the presence of the Cross in history, persecutions, human sufferings, and death are not distressing phenomena when seen in the proper perspective. In the verse "Encyklika-Oblężonego" (Encyclical of One under Siege), dedicated to Pope Pius IX, whom Norwid fervently admired, the Pope views the current bloodshed and threat to his own life — "Jako tępy ćwiek/w dłoni Zmartwychwstałego Zbawiciela".<sup>173)</sup> (As a blunt nail in the palm of the Resurrected Saviour). On the dimension of history described here, that is, the history of the City of God, death represents no threat since through Christ there is no past, no real death. In the poem "Śmierć" (Death) the spiritual essence of man is untouched by death:

1.

Skoro usłyszysz, jak czerw gałąź wierci,  
 Piosenkę zanuć lub zadzwoni w cymbały;  
 Nie myśl, że formy gdzieś podojrzewały;  
 Nie myśl — o śmierci...

171) *Ibid.*, 425.

172) *Ibid.*, 371.

173) *Ibid.*, 694.

2.

Przed-chrześcijański to i błogi sposób  
Tworzenia sobie *lekkich* rekreacji,  
Lecz ciężkiej wiary, że śmierć: *tyka osób*,  
*Nie sytuacji* — —

3.

A jednak ona, gdziekolwiek dotknęła,  
*Tło* — nie istotę, co na *tle* — rozdarłszy,  
Prócz chwili, w której wzięła — nic nie wzięła:  
— Człek — od niej starszy!<sup>174)</sup>

1.

(As soon as you hear the worm boring the branch,  
Hum a song or strike up the cymbals;  
Don't think that forms have somewhere matured;  
Don't think — about death...

2.

This is a pre-Christian and salutary method  
Of creating for yourself *light* recreations,  
Or the *oppressive* belief that death: *touches persons*,  
*Not situations* —

3.

But still it, wherever it has touched,  
Having rent — *the background* — not the being against *the background*,  
Except the moment, in which it has taken — it has taken nothing:  
— Man — is older than it!

The implication in this poem is that for the Christian, a citizen of the City of God, death affects only his situation and not his spiritual essence, while for the pre-Christian or non-Christian, the citizen of the earthly city, death has dominion over the person. In the poem "Na zgon Józefa Zaleskiego" (On the Decease of Józef Zaleski), Norwid uses the two words *śmierć* and *zgon* (or *skon*) to distinguish between the two kinds of death described in the verse "Śmierć". Zaleski's death is described by Norwid as a calm Christian death: "Zaiste, że takowy skon jest żywotem, a otucha takowa zowie się Chrześcijaństwem".<sup>175)</sup> (It is true that such a decease is called life, and such courage is called Christianity). Despite the fact that "...Krzyż jest życie już wiek dziewiętnasty".<sup>176)</sup> (*The cross is life* already for the nineteenth century), as the verse "A Pani cóż ja powiem?...". (And what will I tell you?...), Norwid still sees more deaths than deceases in the age contemporary to him. This leads to the problem of the individual man and his choice between the City of God, set above time, where death affects the situation but not the person, and between the earthly city (a problem to be taken up presently), leaving the problem of man's choice until the two opposing societies or the two opposing processes of history have been delineated.

In the foregoing, an order of reality, a type of historical process has been described, in which all events, through the figural-vertical relationship, are part of *the* event, the Crucifixion. This is the process, through

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174) *Ibid.*, 646.

175) *Ibid.*, 520.

176) *Ibid.*, 400.

history but not in history, of the formation of the City of God. Contrasted to this order of reality is the earthly city, which Gilson terms "a mockery of the true order against which it is in permanent revolt".<sup>177)</sup> There are numerous examples in Norwid's lyrics depicting the lowest order of existence, the earthly city. All of the examples of Norwid's pre-exile verses to be introduced in Chapter VI describing the city in contrast to the village characterize the former as belonging to an order of reality trapped in the meaningless flux of time, whose inhabitants pursue raucous noise and sensations of the moment and are condemned to eternal death. In the later verse "Spartakus" the gladiator charges the spectators who come to the spectacle of the games that their whole life is death:

— Siedliście, głazy, w głazów kole,  
 Aż mchu porośnie na was sierć:  
 I duszą waszą — nasze-bole,  
 I ciałem waszym — naszych ćwierć.  
 — Siedliście, głazy, w głazów kole:  
 Całe już życie wasze — śmierć!<sup>178)</sup>  
 (You have seated yourselves, stones, in a circle of stones,  
 Until a growth of moss covers you:  
 Both our-pains are — your soul,  
 And the quartering-of-ours-is — your body,  
 — Sit, stones, in a circle of stones:  
 Your whole life is — death!)

Augustine, in the *City of God*, XIII, 10, says that the whole of human life without God would better be called "death" rather than "life" for since birth it is one uninterrupted process of dying.<sup>179)</sup> Norwid's view of the tragedy of this life, devoid of the presence of God, is set in the opening lines to the verse "Słowo i Słowo" (Word and the Word).

Co znaczyłaby ludzkość, gdyby ją kto zmierzył,  
 Jak ona jest... i w taką jak jest ona, wierzył?  
 Co ona by znaczyła, widziana tak szczerze,  
 Jak ją *znam i oglądam* — nie zaś, jak w nią wierzę?  
 Co by ona znaczyła!...

Dziewięćset milionów  
 Skazanych na śmierć istot... parę zaludnionych  
 Półwyspów, i nic więcej. Tu trup w każdej chwili  
 I to już wszystko.

Ludzkość z takowym obliczem  
 Choć to tylko oblicze — nie byłaby niczem.  
 Bo jak obraz bez myśli sam siebie zagląda,  
 Tak ludzkość bez boskości sama siebie zdradza;<sup>180)</sup>  
 (What would humanity mean, if someone measured it,  
 As it is... and if someone believed in such a one, as it is?  
 What would it mean, seen so sincerely,  
 As I *know and view* it — not, however, as I believe in it?  
 What would it mean!...

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177) GILSON, 174.

178) *Dzieła zebrane* I, pp. 417, 418.

179) *City of God*, XIII, 10, pp. 529, 530.

180) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 705.

Nine hundred million  
 Beings condemned to death... a few populated  
 Peninsulas, and nothing more. Here at every moment a new  
 Corpse...  
 And that's all.  
 Humanity with such a countenance,  
 Although it's only a countenance — would be nothing,  
 For as an image without an idea obliterates itself,  
 So humanity without divinity betrays itself;)

Without the presence of God in history through the Crucifixion of Christ, human life becomes trivialized as Norwid describes it in the verse "Małe dzieci" (Small Children) where generation after generation, while still themselves children, produce their offspring, "A brak jeszcze *Ludzi-dojrzałych*".<sup>181)</sup> (But there is still a lack of *mature-Persons*). This situation is akin to that described in a letter of 1853 to Maria Trębicka where Norwid says that a woman sometimes would have to marry five men in order to get a whole person; the same would be true for men in choosing women.<sup>182)</sup> Incidentally this poem ("Słowo i Słowo") in the words "What would it mean, seen so sincerely,/ As I know and view it — not however as I believe in it?/ What would it mean!..." is another example of Norwid's combining a matter-of-fact view of reality with a higher vision of it — without destroying the truth of either view.

This state where man is dwarfed because of the absence of God in history might be regarded as merely a beginning of the process of sinking lower and lower to the order of material objects, the lowest order of being, as Norwid says in the poem, "Teofilowi" (To Teofil), dedicated to his friend the poet Lenartowicz: "Strzeż się nie *ludzi-złych*, ale *nie-ludzi*,/ Bo ktoś jest dobry"?<sup>183)</sup> (Beware not of *evil-people*, but of *non-people*,/ For who is good?). This communality of human morality is, of course, a very Augustinian view-point. These "non-people" can be found in nearly all of the lyrics in which Norwid describes the "kał" of salon life. An example would be the ironic advice for avoiding the Kierkegaardian anguish at the futility of existence in the closing stanza to the verse "Marionetki" (Marionettes), which is tantamount to advising man to become a "non-person", to sink into the "Wszech-fałsz" in order to avoid suffering from nerves caused by the human state:

Lub jeszcze lepiej — znam dzielniejszy sposób  
 Przeciw tej nudzie przekłétój:  
 Zapomnieć *ludzi*, a bywać u *osób*,  
 — Krawat mieć ślicznie zapięty!...<sup>184)</sup>  
 (But still better — I know a more effective means  
 Against this accursed tedium:  
 Forget *people*, and visit *personages*,  
 — Have a neck-tie nicely tied!...)

The verse "Ostatni despotyzm" (Ultimate Despotism) is another ironic statement of the sway the unreality of the lowest order of being has

181) *Ibid.*, 702.

182) *Listy* I, p. 142.

183) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 367.

184) *Ibid.*, 482.



over man, as the authorial "I" of the poem attempts to tell the news that "Despotism has fallen". This important piece of information is drowned out in the amenities of salon chatter: "Jakże? pan cieszy się zdrowiem —" (How? is your health —), "Ktoś nadchodzi — to Baron —" (Someone's coming — it's the Baron —), "Niech siądzie! —" (Won't you sit down!), "może pomarańczę?...?" (Would you like an orange?...?), "Lub może wody z cukrem?" (Or would you like a sweet drink?) "Upadły szarańcze/ W Grecji —" (Locusts have alighted in Greece).<sup>185</sup> The poem continues in this vein until the one piece of news with possible historical significance is swamped by the banalities of the moment. There are many more examples that could be added to these above, but the reader can see here described a dimension of reality devoid of the presence of God, set in the flux of time, a picture of what in Augustine's terms is the earthly city.

Thus there are these two orders of reality and the two historical processes resulting from man standing between and choosing between the two orders, whose chroniclers are respectively the "historyk" (historian) in the poem by that title, who can provide description of historical events, and the "Dziejopis"<sup>186</sup> (Historian), who can return to man the primeval fear of his forefather who first saw a comet in the sky. In the course of this study several additional instances will be seen of Norwid's view of natural phenomena as signs from a higher order of reality. The "Dziejopis" is then the historian who can nudge man out of the purely temporal order, can make him sensitive to God's reality, and can instill in man what Fulbert Cayré has called "Augustinian contemplation".<sup>187</sup> Yet it would be a grievous error to accept this dualism as defining Norwid's view of reality, as indicated in the introduction to this study. The difficulty is that man himself in this life, that "contradiction incarnate", as Norwid calls him, belongs wholly to neither the order immutable in time and place, nor to the order mutable in time and place. He is, on the one hand, repulsed upward away from the lowest order of reality, as Norwid puts it in the poem "Smutną zaśpiewam pieśń" (I Will Sing a Sad Song): "Tam mię wypierał, w górę, fałsz, i więcej/ Niż fałsz owoców jego sto-tysięcy..."<sup>188</sup> (The false, and more than the false — a hundred thousand of its/ Fruits drove me there, upwards). Man must apply "Augustinian contemplation" to the reality around him so as to perceive: "W tej powszedniości, o! jakże tu wiele/ Mistycznych rzeczy i nieodgadnionych,/ Maleńkich..."<sup>189</sup> (In this ordinariness, oh! how many/ Mystical things, small and inscrutable, are here...). Man is thus propelled by these two factors, revulsion at the "Wszechfałsz" of the lowest level of reality and attraction to a higher sphere of reality through "Augustinian contemplation". On the other hand, man does not belong to the perfect, immutable, spiritual order. Norwid rejects German idealist philosophy, it will be recalled, as encompassing only the transcendental dimension of reality.<sup>190</sup> In the

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185) *Ibid.*, 665.

186) *Ibid.*, 662.

187) See Chapter III, Footnote 114.

188) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 393.

189) *Ibid.*, 392.

190) See Chapter II, Footnote 30.

third lecture of the series, "O Juliuszu Słowackim..." Norwid regards the parable as more encompassing since it presents truth plus the drama of life, while German philosophy, as in the preceding sentence, presents only one layer of reality.<sup>191)</sup> We have seen this same attitude expressed in a letter to Bohdan Zaleski of 1851, when Norwid labels orientation to a divine order without responsibility for this world, as "*strivings in advance for the kingdom of God*".<sup>192)</sup>

In the lyrics there are several interesting examples of man sharing elements of both the higher and lower dimensions of reality, yet not belonging wholly to either order. The poem "Sen" (The Dream) describes two dying men lying on a square where a battle has taken place. The first man is lying with his face to the sky:

On mąż, obliczem całym w niebo wryty,  
Jak gdy się człowiek za-kocha, za-patrzy  
I za-przepaści się w coś...<sup>193)</sup>

(He is a man with his whole face transfixed by the sky:  
As when a man will fall in love with, will stare at  
and will ruin himself over something...)

This man who is entirely oriented upwards calls out "earth" with his last dying breath, as one might ask for water. The second man is lying in the opposite position, that is, face down and his last dying gasp is "sky", as though each of these men were crying out to the other for the one thing that might save his life. Thus Norwid seems to be saying, in terms close to Augustine, that death is this division of spirit and flesh. The poem "Dumanie" II (Contemplation), discussed briefly in the preceding chapter, contains a suggestion of the Crucifixion as the gift of life for man, forming a fusion of his disparate elements: "Tak więc człowiek na miedzy dwóch niezgodnych światów/ Tajnym przybity cierniem,..."<sup>194)</sup> (So then man, on the border of two incompatible worlds/ Pierced by the thorn of mystery,...). A similar position is contained in the legend "Dwa męczeństwa" (Two Martyrdoms) in which the Apostle Paul suffers symbolic martyrdom first by being perceived as a god and a second martyrdom by being regarded as a disruption of trade and warfare, that is, of having effect only on the lowest dimension of reality. Norwid sees his actual martyrdom at the hands of Caesar as leaving him whole, a man, through the presence of God:

Więc był Apostoł Paweł pętany jak zwierzę,  
I jako Bóg obwołan — a wytrwał przy wierze,  
Ze cztękiem był — Albowiem stało się wiadomo,  
Ze człowiek zwierząt bogiem, gdy Bóg: *ecce homo*.<sup>195)</sup>

(So Paul the Apostle was fettered like a beast,  
And acclaimed as God — but he persisted in the belief,  
that he was a man. — For it became known  
That man is god of the beasts, where god is: *ecce homo*).

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191) *Dziela*, ed. Pini, 564.

192) *Listy* I, p. 77.

193) *Dziela zebrane* I, p. 381.

194) *Ibid.*, 184.

195) *Ibid.*, 259.

The two martyrdoms, each in its own way, sunder man by including only one of his disparate elements, but man is man and has his realm below God and above the beasts, when the Crucifixion is present in history, for the final words "ecce homo", as Gomulicki indicates,<sup>196)</sup> are those of Pilate shortly before he hands Christ over to the Jews to be crucified. Man's state then could be characterized by this stanza, the third, from the verse "Idee i prawda" (Ideas and Truth):

I ściągałby go magnetyzm globowy  
 W sfery dotkliwe,  
 Gdzie nie doświadcza nic zawrotów głowy —  
 Nic!... co-szczęśliwe.  
 — Aż wielki smutek lub kamień grobowy  
 Z tych sfer, bezpiecznych,  
 Wypchnie znów na szczyt myślenia budowy,  
 W obłąd dróg mlecznych.<sup>197)</sup>  
 (And the magnetism of the globe would draw him  
 Into the tangible spheres,  
 Where nothing experiences vertigo —  
 Nothing!... which is — happy.  
 — Until a great dolour or the tombstone  
 From these carefree spheres,  
 Will again push him out onto the top of the edifice of thinking,  
 Into the madness of the milky ways).

Thus man seems in perpetual exile shuttling between the tangible carefree order of existence and, driven thence by grief or the thought of death, between a higher non-tangible sphere, only to be drawn downwards again. It is significant that Norwid's description of man's transient state in the middle realm bears a marked resemblance to Augustine's description of this state, even to the ecstatic vision sometimes attained by man:

Sometimes, thou dost introduce me to a very unusual inner experience, to an indescribable sweetness, which, if it reaches perfection in me, will be beyond my present knowledge. But it will not happen in this life, for I fall back among these lower things, pulled down by these troublous weights, and I am absorbed again in ordinary affairs. I am held fast and weep a great deal, but I am held quite firmly. So great is the burden of custom! Here, I am able to exist, but I do not want it; these, I wish to be, but I cannot; in regard to both, I am unhappy.<sup>198)</sup>

The problem then of becoming a whole, mature person, of uniting spirit and flesh, and of being resurrected to the level of providential history, to which so much of Norwid's poetry is devoted, becomes a life-long struggle for man in his transient state, midway between the higher and lower orders of reality. Gilson has similarly described the Christian life, in Augustine's view, as one of continual struggle in man's

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196) *Dzieła zebrane* II, p. 372.

197) *Dzieła zebrane* I, pp. 600, 601.

198) *Confessions* X, 40, p. 321.

mid-way transient state.<sup>199)</sup> Norwid's lyrics contain many pertinent examples, some of which will be mentioned subsequently; perhaps this excerpt from a letter of 1850 to Zaleski makes the point as succinctly as any: "For this peace — the peace of Christ — this is the point of departure for the struggle"<sup>200)</sup> Norwid's irony is turned on those who regard the life in Christ as other than a lifetime of struggle, against those who think that "...ażeby z *martwych powstać — dość,/ Na zegarek raz spojrzawszy... wstać*".<sup>201)</sup> (...in order to rise from the dead — it is enough,/ Having taken a glance at your watch... to get up). Norwid is pointing to this same element of struggle in a Christian life by contrasting the words "ascension" and "assumption" in the following excerpt from "Teofilowi" (To Teofil):

Strzeż się tych modlitw, co są jak zaklęcia  
Przeto iż słudzy nie *wniebowstąpienia*  
Oczekiwają ale w *niebo-wzięcia*...<sup>202)</sup>  
(Beware of those prayers, which are like incantations  
For the servants await  
not *ascension* but *assumption*).

The lines along which this struggle takes place are through the cross of Christ, through fulfillment of the sacrifice of Christ by man carrying his cross daily, as earlier indicated in a quotation from Norwid,<sup>203)</sup> or as Skwarczyńska describes it, through fulfillment of the bloodless sacrifice of the "Msza-święta".<sup>204)</sup> It is through sharing and fulfilling the sacrifice of Christ that man is able to participate in providential history or *historia ipsa*,<sup>205)</sup> that is, in the historical process of the formation of the City of God. In the poem "Psalm wigilii" (Psalm of Christmas Eve) thanks are given to God for allowing man to share in Christ's suffering and thereby regain the kingdom of heaven:

O! dzięki Tobie za *Państwo-boleści*,  
I za *męczeńskich-koron* rozmnożenie,  
I za wylaną czarę *szlachetności*  
Na lud, któremu imię jest — cierpienie —  
I za otwarcie bram... nieskończoności!<sup>206)</sup>  
(Oh! thanks to You for the *Kingdom-of-sorrows*.  
And for the multiplication of martyrs' *crowns*,  
And for the cup of *nobility* poured forth  
Upon humanity, whose name is — suffering —  
And for opening the gates of infinity).

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199) GILSON, 169.

200) *Listy* I, p. 70.

201) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 463.

202) *Ibid.*, 367.

203) See Chapter III, Footnote 33.

204) See Chapter II, Footnotes 49, 50.

205) See Chapter III, Footnote 134.

206) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 228.

## Chapter V: THE CRUCIFIXION

In comparison with Augustine, Norwid, as mentioned above,<sup>207)</sup> places a greater emphasis on the Crucifixion of Christ, whereas the former's emphasis may be more on the Incarnation. While this is generally so, one obviously cannot overlook the importance in Augustine of the concept of the Mystical Body of Christ found in St. Paul, I Corinthians 12:12: "For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ". Augustine on the basis of this concept, unites, as does St. Paul, human suffering and Christ's Sacrifice, as in this statement from *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, LXII, 2: "Whatever He hath suffered, therein we also have suffered; and that which we suffer, He also suffers in us... In him we are dead, and in Him we are risen again; and He dieth in us and in us riseth again; for He is the unity of the Head and the Body".<sup>208)</sup> Bourke points out that this concept is the basis for the ethical society of the City of God.<sup>209)</sup> Augustine, like Norwid, views the Crucifixion as a model of human life on earth:

Hence, our Savior applied his own single death to this double death of ours, and to bring about our resurrection in both, he proposed beforehand and offered His one Resurrection both as a mystery and as a type. For He was not a sinner nor a godless man, so that in His case the inner man had to be renewed as though the Spirit were dead, and He had to be called back to the life of justice; but being clothed in our mortal flesh, in that alone does He die, in that alone does He rise again, and in that alone does He harmonize our twofold death and resurrection, since in it He completed the mystery for our inner man and gave example for our outer man.<sup>210)</sup>

Incidentally, a reflection of this double death occurs in Norwid, among other places, in the previously quoted poem "Spartakus", in which the gladiator, about to die a physical death, reproaches the spectators with being dead in spirit: "— Siedliście, głazy, w głazów kole:/ Całe już życie wasze — śmierć!"<sup>211)</sup> (— You have seated yourself, stones, in a circle of stone:/ Your whole life is *death!*/).

In addition to the importance of the Crucifixion of Christ in the writings of Augustine, in order to account for the supreme position the Cross occupies in Norwid's works, one must obviously also take into account the tradition of Polish Messianism. The fullest expression of this tradition is Mickiewicz's well-known *Księgi narodu polskiego* (Books of the Polish Nation) and *Księgi pielgrzymstwa polskiego* (Books of the Polish Pilgrimage). In Mickiewicz's providential history outlined here,

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207) See page 126.

208) ERICH PRZYWARA, *An Augustine Synthesis* (New York, 1958), 287.

209) VERNON J. BOURKE, *Augustine's Quest of Wisdom* (Milwaukee, 1945), 282ff.

210) AUGUSTINE, *The Trinity*, tr. Stephen M. Kenna (Washington, D.C., 1963), 136, 13

211) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 418.

Poland is the Christ of nations, crucified and to rise again on the third day bringing peace and freedom to all nations:

A trzeciego dnia dusza wróci do ciała, i naród zmartwychwstanie, i uwolni wszystkie ludy Europy z niewoli... [A jako za zmartwychwstaniem CHRYSYTA ustały na ziemi całej ofiary krwawe, tak za zmartwychwstaniem narodu polskiego ustana w Chrześcijaństwie wojny.<sup>212)</sup>

(And on the third day the soul will return to the body, and the nation will rise from the dead, and will free all the peoples of Europe from bondage... [And as after the resurrection of Christ sacrifices of blood came to an end, on the whole earth so after the resurrection of the Polish nation wars in Christianity will come to an end).

Mickiewicz's "Litania pielgrzymka" <sup>213)</sup> (Pilgrim's Litany) expresses much the same view.

In the writings of Krasiński the role of the Crucifixion is also prominent, as in the poem "Pod Chrystusem w niebo wstępującym" (Beneath Christ Ascending into Heaven):

Nie tak, jak dawniej — w cierniowej koronie  
Nie tak, jak dawniej — z gwoździami u ręki,  
Pan bólu tylko i Bóg tylko męki —

Innym już wiekom inny Chrystus płonie:  
Od ramion krzyża na zawsze odpięty,  
Jak duch świetlany, wyzwolony, święty,  
Zawisł na Ojca wszechbłękitnem łonie  
I w światów nowych wschodzącej jutrzence  
Macza wzniesione — wniebowstępnę ręce.<sup>214)</sup>

(Not as of old — in a crown of thorns,  
Not as of old — with nails in the hand,  
Lord only of grief and God only of suffering

To other ages another Christ shines:  
Freed forever from the arms of the cross,  
As the spirit, luminous, delivered, and holy,  
Suspended on the all-blue bosom of the Father  
And steeped His raised hands ascending to heaven  
In the rising dawn of new worlds).

Krasiński's prayers also contain numerous instances of the sign of the Cross, such as the following from "Modlitwa podczas mszy" (Prayer during Mass):

I ja krzyż mój noszę, i ja gwoździe czuję  
w dłoniach moich, w boku moim.<sup>215)</sup>

(And I carry my cross, and I feel the nails  
in my palms and in my side).

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<sup>212)</sup> Adam MICKIEWICZ, *Księgi narodu polskiego i pielgrzymstwa polskiego, Dzieła VI* (Cracow, 1950), 17.

<sup>213)</sup> *Ibid.*, 56, 57.

<sup>214)</sup> Zygmunt KRASIŃSKI, *Pisma VI* (Warsaw, 1912), 172.

<sup>215)</sup> KRASIŃSKI, *Pisma III*, p. 365.

As is evident from these examples, Krasiński, like Norwid, an orthodox Catholic, treats the Crucifixion more in the traditional context. He was, of course, opposed to the Messianism of Mickiewicz and the mystic Towiański, which both he and Norwid regarded as heresy.<sup>216)</sup>

Certainly Norwid had deep disagreements not only with Mickiewicz, but also on certain points with Krasiński. Krasiński's religiosity was too other-worldly, focused on paradise and the Second Coming, as the first of the above examples suggests. Gomulicki indicates that the following excerpt from the poem "Epos-nasza" (Our Epos) alludes to this characteristic in Krasiński:<sup>217)</sup>

A oni? — że tak zniskąd nie zdradzani  
Po paradyzie latają w promieniach  
Z Beatryksami swymi — rozkochani —  
W purpurze, w wieńcach i w drogich kamieniach,<sup>218)</sup>  
(And they — since they are not betrayed in any quarter  
Fly in beams of light through paradise  
With their Beatrices — in love —  
In the royal purple, in laurels, and in precious stones.)

In contrast to this, Norwid terms himself, with Don Quixote, "kawalery błędne" <sup>219)</sup> (errant cavaliers), suggesting a more earthly orientation in religious outlook. Yet for all these differences, Norwid feels himself very much the heir to the Romantic tradition in Poland, especially of the triumvirate of the "wielkoludy" (giants), Mickiewicz, Słowacki, and Krasiński. The following quotation from the introduction to the *Vademecum* cycle indicates his view of his relationship to these writers and suggests the direction his art takes:

Wielcy i słynni poprzednicy moi, zaiste, że jeżeli nie więcej, niż mogli, to dopełnili wszystkiego, cokolwiek można było. Wszelako: szkoła ta, cechująca się rozjaśnieniem i wyrokowaniem o szerokich historycznych sytuacjach lub o *prawach narodu*, nie miała zapewne dosyć czasu, aby w utworach jej strona *obowiązków*, strona *moralna*, znaczne zajmowała miejsce...<sup>220)</sup>

(My great and famous predecessors, indeed, if not more than they could, then at least completed everything that was possible. Still: this school, characteristically concerned with explaining and judging broad historical situations or *laws of a nation*, did not have time for the aspect of *obligations*, for the *moral* aspect to occupy a significant place in its works...).

Norwid is thus heir to a literary tradition in which the image of the Crucifixion is prominent. And as one attempting to reassert the "aspect of obligations, the moral aspect" in art, Norwid treats the Crucifixion in what appears to be a highly original manner.

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216) See for example Zygmunt KRASIŃSKI, *Dzieła* VI, ed. Tadeusz Pini (Warsaw, 1935), Letter 208 of 1843 to Stanisław Małachowski, 261, 262.

217) *Dzieła zebrane* II, p. 397.

218) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 296.

219) *Ibid.*, 297.

220) *Ibid.*, 538.

Through the Crucifixion, Norwid unites individual morality or obligation with the larger historical and social concerns he sees in Polish Romanticism; as he says in "Promethidion":

Niech zatem każdy *rzeczy swej*\* pilnuje,  
Ten to generał-bas harmonizuje  
(Let then everyone attend to *his own thing*,  
This is what harmonizes the thoroughbass)

In a note to the first of the above lines, Norwid adds:

\*Nie *rzeczy swej*, ale *krzyża swego*, to jest, *rzeczy pospolitej*...<sup>221)</sup>  
(Not *his own thing*, but *his own cross*, that is, the common weal,...)

The epigraph to the first dialog of "Promethidion" repeats this view:

Nie za sobą z krzyżem Zbawiciela, ale za Zbawicielem z *krzyżem swoim*,  
ta jest zasada wszech-harmonii społecznej w chrześcijaństwie — ten jest  
tego, co zowią materyalnie *specyalnościami*, rytm i akord... ta to jest  
nareście tajemnica ruchu sprawiedliwego...<sup>222)</sup>

(Not in one's own footsteps with the cross of the Savior, but in the  
footsteps of the Savior *with one's own cross*, this is the principle of  
social omni-harmony in Christianity — this is the rhythm and accord of  
that which materially is called *specialties*).

In another place in "Promethidion" Norwid indicates the author's function in this "moral aspect" of art:

[Autor] mając na celu *mądrość*, która zaczyna od bojaźni Bożej, 'bo  
*początkiem mądrości jest bojaźń Boża*', a która, tak od *Bojaźni w Bogu*  
musi sobie *krzyżem*, to jest, bojownem bolesaniem drogę pierwszej  
otwierać,...<sup>223)</sup>

([The author] having as a goal *wisdom*, which begins from fear of God,  
'for the fear of God is the *beginning* of wisdom', but which beginning  
from fear in God, ends with *freedom in God*, — must first open the path  
for himself with the *cross*, that is, with the painful struggle).

In his lyrics Norwid not only opens the way for himself by means of the Cross, he also shows the path to the reader through the same image of the Cross. For Norwid, as we shall see, the cross of Christ is the way in man's middle realm to union with God. That the cross of Christ is the way to the highest order of being is made clear in the verse "Krzyż i dziecko" (Cross and Child) which Przyboś has discussed.<sup>224)</sup> The poem tells of a boy and his father sailing in a boat when the child cries out that the mast is going to strike the bridge. The child sees a cross formed by the intersection of the vertical line of the mast and the horizontal line of the bridge. The father calms the child by saying that this is the sign of salvation. Much like the excerpt from the fourth lecture of "O Juliuszu Słowackim..." which was quoted above,<sup>225)</sup>

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221) Cyprian Norwid, *Dzieła zebrane*, ed. Zenon Przesmycki, Vol. A, Part I (Warsaw, 1912), 138.

222) *Ibid.*, 135.

223) *Ibid.*, 134.

224) See Chapter II, Footnote 40.

225) See Chapter II, Footnote 52.



this poem also contains a general statement that the sign of the cross is formed continually in reality by the intersection of the vertical and horizontal dimensions: "Oto-wszerz i w z-wyż/ Wszystko — toż samo"<sup>226)</sup> (Thus — in breadth and in height/ Everything is — the same). The poem closes with two separate verses which designate the cross as the gateway: "— Gdzież się podział krzyż?/ — Stał się nam bramą". (Where has the cross gone?/ — It has become a gateway for us). Finally, a similar statement of the meaning of the way of the cross is this excerpt from "Do panny Józefy z Korczewa" (To Miss Józefa of Korczew): "Ale poręcze się sięgają do nieba,/ Poręcze z krzyży!"<sup>227)</sup> (But railings reach to heaven,/ Railings of crosses!).

If the above examples suggest a path and a way for man, a way for man to become whole, to fuse the disparate elements in him, and ultimately to attain union with God, the following examples demonstrate the lonely struggle of man to achieve this by following the footsteps of Christ. We have seen that time for the man living in God's law is a unity with no past or future on the figural-vertical dimension of reality, and that this time, the historical ages as contrasted to the legendary ones, in Norwid's terms from the verse "Zapał" above,<sup>228)</sup> comes into being with the Crucifixion. The Crucifixion is an event contemporaneous to every man. In a poem such as the often quoted "Nerwy" (Nerves), the consequences of the foregoing are made clear.

Byłem wczora w miejscu, gdzie mrą z głodu —  
Trumienne izb ogładałem wnętrze;  
Noga powinęła mi się u schodu,  
Na nieobrachowanym piętrze!  
Musiał to być cud — cud to był,  
Ze chwyciłem się belki spróchniałej...  
(A gwóźdź w niej tkwił,  
Jak w ramionach *krzyża!*...) — uszedłem cały!<sup>229)</sup>  
(I was yesterday in a place where they're dying of hunger —  
I looked over the coffin-like interiors of the rooms;  
My foot tripped up at the staircase  
On the misjudged landing.  
That must have been a miracle — that was a miracle  
That I grabbed the rotten beam...  
[And a nail was sticking in it,  
As in the limbs of the *cross!*...] — I came away whole!)

Based on an actual occurrence in Norwid's life, this poem presents the Crucifixion as more than merely an event contemporaneous to every man, more importantly it is an event in which every believer takes part. He participates in the miracle, bears the stigmata through his involvement, in this case, in the sufferings of the poor, as Norwid himself puts it in the closing words from "Promethidion", a variant of the earlier statement, cited above: "Not with the Cross of the Savior with

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226) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 689. All examples from "Krzyż i dziecko" are from here. Gomulicki views Norwid's usage of the cross in this verse as an indebtedness to Calderon, whom Norwid greatly admired. See *Dzieła zebrane* II, pp. 870, 871.

227) *Ibid.*, 488.

228) See pages 75-77.

229) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 663.

me, but rather going with my own cross in the footsteps of the Savior..."<sup>230)</sup> This poem may, in fact, be regarded up to this point as a poetic restatement of Luke 9:23: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross daily and follow me". Paradoxically, these are the wounds that heal; as the poet says, "uszedłem cały", or, again, as the very next verse from Luke says: "For whosoever will have his life shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake, the same shall save it".

However, in the second half of this poem, a mirror-image of the first half, the poet visualizes a visit to the salon of Pani Baronowa, where he will be unable to communicate his experience of participation, through the sufferings of the poor, in the Crucifixion. He will find no understanding on the part of the wealthy; his concern would, if expressed, only meet with the accusation, "Socjalizm!" The poem, thus, in its very structure brings into confrontation the two extreme dimensions of reality: the timeless reality of Christ's cross and the unreal world of physical surroundings rooted in time and replete with all the symbols of the unreal — the mirror, the candelabra, and the painted parrots. Faced with this choice, the poet knows he will betray his vision and leave like a silent Pharisee. Participation in the Crucifixion, then, is by no means a final solution to the problems of life; it is rather the beginning of struggle upward out of the lowest level of being, out of the earthly city toward the City of God.

Whereas participation by man in the Crucifixion is realized, if betrayed, in the poem "Nerwy", in many of Norwid's lyrics the figure (or rather a figure) of Christ crucified haunts the verses. In the poem "Larwa" (Spectre), Christ or an *alter Christus*<sup>231)</sup> walks unknown through the city crowds among people who in history see only bloodshed and in human society only money. Among these the Christ crucified is unrecognized and His miracle unheeded. The first three (of five) stanzas are:

1.

Na śliskim bruku w Londynie,  
W mgłę, podksiężycowej, białej,  
Niejedna postać cię minie,  
Lecz ty ją wspomnisz, struchlały.

2.

Czoło ma w cierniu? czy w brudzie? —  
Rozeznać tego nie można;  
Poszepty z Niebem o cudzie  
W wargach... czy? piana bezbożna!...

3.

Rzekłbyś, że to Biblii księga  
Zataczająca się w błocie,  
Po którą nikt już nie sięga,  
Iż nie czas myśleć o cnocie!...<sup>232)</sup>

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230) *Dzieła zebrane*, ed. Przesmycki, Vol. A, Part. I, p. 179.

231) For a brief description of this concept see Karl ADAM, *The Spirit of Catholicism* (Garden City, N.Y., 1957), 64, 65.

232) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 563. The first two stanzas are quoted in a different context above on page 26.

## 1.

(On the slippery pavement in London,  
In the white moonlight mist,  
Many a figure passes by you,  
But you, dismayed, will remember that one.

## 2.

Is its brow in thorns? or covered with mud? —  
It's impossible to make that out;  
Whispers with Heaven of a miracle  
On its lips... is it? impious froth!...

## 3.

You might say it's a book of the Bible  
Floundering in the mud,  
To which none reaches out,  
For it's not the time to think of virtue!...

In the poem "Stolica" (Capital), closely related to "Larwa" in setting and theme, the eternal presence of the cross over the rapacious city is unrecognized, as in the opening stanza of the poem addressed to the city. Here again, the confrontation of the dimensions of reality described by Auerbach is made clear from the very outset: "O! ulico, ulico.../ Miast, nad którymi *krzyż*;/ Szyby twoje skrzą się i świecą/ Jak źrenice kota, łowiąc mysz". (Oh! street, street.../ Of cities over which the cross;/ Your windowpanes sparkle and gleam/ Like the pupils of a cat catching a mouse). Just as all time is one in the Crucifixion of Christ, so also in the God-man the spiritual and the material are one. In stanzas three and four of this poem Norwid rejects both these separate approaches or "answers" to life — the spiritual, in the sense of planning for reward in Heaven, and the material, in the ecstasy over a piece of bread:

## 3.

Ruchy dwa, i gesty dwa tylko:  
Fabrykantów, ścigających coś z rozpaczą,  
I pokwitowanych z prac, przed chwilką,  
Co — tryumfem się raczą...

## 4.

Konwulsje dwie, i dwa obrazy:  
Zakupionego z góry *nieba*,  
Lub — fabrycznej *ekstazy*  
O — kęs chleba.<sup>233)</sup>

## 3.

(Two movements and two gestures only:  
Of industrialists pursuing something with despair,  
And of those paid off from their labors a moment ago,  
Which — they celebrate as a triumph...

## 4.

Two convulsions, and two images:  
Of heaven purchased in advance,  
Or — of the factory *ecstasy*  
Over — a bite of bread).

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233) *Ibid.*, 572, 573.

The only possible escape from the frenzy and bustling described in the first four stanzas and the only way for man, who shares elements, spiritual and physical, with the highest and lowest orders of being, to be made whole, to avoid either of the deaths described in the verse "Sen",<sup>234)</sup> lies in Christ and His Crucifixion, through which the past and future and the spiritual and material are one. The peace and calm found in the figure of Christ or of the *alter Christus* are directly contrasted to the noise and bustle of the city's crowds described in the first half of the poem. These are the concluding stanzas, quoted in entirety to communicate the sense of the eternity of the cross over the city, the same image with which the poem opened:

5.

Idzie Arab, z kapłańskim ruszeniem głowy,  
Wśród chmurnego promieniejąc tłoku;  
Biały, jak statua z kości sioniowój;  
Pojrzę nań... — wytchnę *oku!*

6.

Idzie pogrzeb, w ulice spływa boczne  
Nie-pogwałconym krokiem;  
W ślad mu pójde, *gestem* wypocznę,  
Wypocznę — *okiem!*...

7.

Lub — nie patrząc na niedobliżnionych bliźnich lica,  
Utonę myślą wzwyż:  
Na lazurze balon się rozświeca  
W obłokach?... — *krzyż!*

5.

(An Arab walks, with priestly movement of the head,  
Shining through the gloomy throng;  
White, like an ivory statue:  
I'll look at him... — I'll rest my *eye!*

6.

A funeral procession passes, flows out into side streets  
With un-broken stride;  
I will follow in its path, I will rest my *gesture*,  
I will rest — my *eye!*...

7.

But not looking at the faces of neighbors who keep their distance,  
I will drift in thought upwards:  
In the azure a balloon glistens;  
In the clouds?... — *the cross!*)

As mentioned in connection with the poem "Larwa", it is possible to interpret the "Arab with priestly movement of head" as Christ and the "funeral procession" as His sacrifice, or, respectively, as simply a Christ-like figure, an *alter Christus*, and a man's death, both of which make the Crucifixion of Christ immediate for the poet in his vision of the cross. Perhaps, indeed, there is no need even to resolve this ambiguity;

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234) See page 140.

ambiguity may, in fact, be the best method of pointing to the mystery of the words of Augustine on the Mystical Body of Christ, quoted at the beginning of this chapter.

In the same vein as "Larwa" and "Stolica", the poem "Grzeczność" (Courtesy) continues the theme of Christ and His Crucifixion unrecognized in the world of His eternal presence.

1.

Znalazłem się był raz w wielkim Chrześcijan natłoku,  
Gdzie jest biuro lasek, płaszców i *marek*;  
— Każdy za swój chwycił się zegarek,  
Nie ufając bliźniej ręce i oku!...

2.

Jeden tylko Mąż zwrócił moją uwagę:  
Z przezornością albowiem szczególniejszą  
Łączył wdzięk i względność, i powagę,  
W niczym od chrześcijańskiej nie zimniejszą —

3.

'Któż jest? — pytam — tyle uprzejmy dla gości  
Wśród podejrzewających się bliźnich owych?'  
(Był to strażnik *figur-woskowych*  
Z pobliskiego *Muzeum-ciekawości!*...).<sup>235)</sup>

1.

(I once found myself in a great crowd of Christians,  
Where there's a check-room for canes, coats and *marks*;  
— Each one clutched at his own watch,  
Not trusting closer other's hand and eye!...

2.

Only one Man attracted my attention:  
For with a very special providence  
He joined grace and consideration and seriousness  
In no way colder than christian —

3.

'Who is that? — I ask — so obliging for the guests  
Among those so suspecting of their fellow men?'...  
[That was the guard of *wax figures*  
From the nearby *Museum of Curiosities!*...].

Here Christ is relegated by the world to a museum of curiosities, rejected as having no relevance to life. Christ is the trusting, vulnerable one, christian with a small "c" among the hypocritical Christians with a capital "C" who are unaware of His presence. Yet, it is Christ who brings the spiritual values of grace and consideration to man hopelessly mired in a world of objects, such as canes, coats, watches, etc., till man himself becomes an object, perhaps a wax figure devoid of feeling for his fellow man.

Even in the most insignificant occurrences of daily life, there can be perceived the highest significance when these are considered on the figural-vertical dimension of reality. An excellent example of such a

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235) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 634.

reinterpretation of the trivia of the horizontal-temporal dimension is the poem fragment, number LXVIII of the Vade-mecum:

3.

Niewiasta igłą krzyż na piersiach kole,  
Co, gdy uczynią?... — im starczy!  
Lecz nikt nie pomni: *kto? kiedy?* lub *po co?*  
*Znak ów sprowadził... a krzyże*  
Sterczą na skałach i w zorzach się złocą,  
I morze im stopy liże.<sup>236)</sup>

3.

(A woman pricks *the cross* on her breast with a needle,  
Which, if they would do?... — suffices for them!  
But no one remembers: *who? when? or what for?*  
Brought about *this sign...* and crosses  
Stand on the rocks and turn golden each dawn  
And the sea licks their feet).

Here, despite the proliferation of signs of the cross, with a reality filled with the eternal presence of Christ, the sign, the actual historical event of the Crucifixion and its meaning are forgotten.

Finally, the image of the crucifixion in the pierced feet of Christ appears in the poem "Do zeszłej" (To the Departed), in which Norwid defines the purpose of his art — service of Christ for unity with Him:

Sieni tej drzwi otworem poza sobą  
Zostaw — wlećmy już dalej!...  
Tam, gdzie jest *Nikt* i jest *Osoba*  
— Podzielní wszyscy, a cali!...

Tam — milion rzęs, choć jedną łzą pokryte;  
Kroć serc, łkających: *'Gdzie Ty?'*  
— Tam — stopy dwie, gwoźdźmi przebite,  
Uciekające z planety...

\* \* \*

Tam — milion moich słów; tam — lecą i te.<sup>237)</sup>  
(The doors of this hallway leave open  
Behind you — let us soar further!...  
There where *None* is and is a *Person*:  
All divisible, yet whole!...

There — a million lashes, though covered with a single tear;  
A multitude of hearts, sobbing: *'Where art Thou?'*  
— There — two feet pierced with nails  
Rushing from the world...  
There — a million of my words; there — these also fly).

If in this poem Norwid presents union with Christ as the ultimate purpose of his art, the means to this union is through the sign of the cross, which for Norwid, as we have seen, is more than just a conventional symbol for the Divine; it is, rather, the pattern and key to all life, as it is, in fact, in the traditional Christian view. Auerbach has described

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236) *Ibid.*, 627.

237) *Ibid.*, 650.

the Christian conception of reality above in terms of two dimensions, the horizontal-temporal and the vertical-figural. Norwid not only shares this traditional concept; he sees the sign of the cross as precisely the embodiment of this conception of reality and, for him, the means to participation in art, his way toward union with Christ. As Norwid says in the Epilogue to "Promethidion", where he outlines the various paths by which different peoples have come to participation in art:

Chryścjanizm/przychodził/przez przecięcie linii ziemskiej horyzontalnej i linii nadziemskiej prostopadłej, z nieba padłej, czyli przez znalezienie środka +, to jest przez tajemnicę krzyża (środek po polsku znaczy zarazem sposób).<sup>238)</sup>

(Christianity/has come [to participation in art] through the intersection of the horizontal earthly line and the perpendicular supermundane line, come down from Heaven, or through finding the center of the +, i.e., through the secret of the cross [środek 'center' in Polish also has the meaning of 'means']).

Not only does the cross of Christ represent a unity of the two orders, the temporal-horizontal and the vertical-figural in Auerbach's terms, or of the City of God and the earthly city in Augustine's terms, for man it represents the only hope of life in the real sense that death is the result of the division of man into his incompatible elements, spirit and flesh. Verses like "Larwa", "Stolica", "Grzeczność", and "Nerwy" represent various fusions, through the figure of Christ, of the highest dimension of reality, that of the nonmaterial, atemporal and unchangeable with the lowest dimension of reality, that of the material, temporal, and changeable. It is the Crucifixion of the God-man, who shares man's own division, that makes man whole and shows him the way to move upwards from his middle realm to union with God as the verse "Do zeszlęj" suggests. Norwid's lyrics provide an almost literal demonstration of Christ's words, so beloved by Augustine, of John 14:6: "I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the father but by me". Nor is it an exaggeration to say that for Norwid man would not be man without Christ in history; his own weight of sin would pull him down to the lowest level of being and make it impossible for him to attain the highest level and to contribute to the historical process of the formation of the City of God. Man depends for "being" upon God, as Norwid says in the verse "Pierwszy list, co mnie doszedł z Europy" (The First Letter Which Reached Me from Europe):

O! Boże... jeden, który JESTEŚ — Boże,  
Ja także jestem...  
...choć jestem przez Ciebie.<sup>239)</sup>  
(Oh! God!... Thou alone who art — God.  
I also am...  
...although I am through Thee).

Thus the Crucifixion in Norwid's lyrics is the middle way to union with God for man who himself occupies the midrank in the Augustinian and, at this point one might add, Norwidian geography of being. It is

238) *Dzieła zebrane*, ed. Przesmycki, Vol. A, Part I, p. 354.

239) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 354.

the way to union with God which, of course, for both Augustine and Norwid is the purpose of human life, as Norwid says in the concluding stanza to "To rzecz ludzka!..." (This is the Human Thing!...):

Byt — a wielkie bytów morze,  
Oceanów źródł żywotnych,  
Gdzie myśl kąpie się, i z błotnych  
Dróg ku Tobie wraca, Boże!  
To rzecz ludzka...<sup>240)</sup>  
(Existence — and the great sea of existences,  
The spring of life's oceans,  
Where thought bathes, and from muddy  
Roads returns to You, Oh God!  
This is the human thing...).

The Crucifixion is the example and model of all life through the Mystical body of Christ, as Norwid puts it in the verse already cited, "Na zgon śp. Jana Gajewskiego" (On the Decease of Jan Gajewski): "Krzyż znów będzie,/ Drugi a tenże sam, bo z ludzką twarzą".<sup>241)</sup> (*The cross will be again,/ Another but the same, for it has a human face*). The cross provides man with the proper orientation, indeed for Norwid, the only possible orientation, in this life. As indicated above in the excerpt from "Promethidion" concerning participation in art,<sup>242)</sup> man must find the center of the cross, the intersection of the horizontal and vertical dimensions. The cross preserves man from the false orientation of a too otherworldly Krasieński or of German philosophy on the one hand, and of an orientation solely to this world, as in positivism or science. For man to have life he must fuse both these dimensions, since death is, for Norwid and for Augustine, separation of body and soul, the dissolution of man into his disparate elements. The middle way, the finding of the center of the cross, the means to union with God (środek = center and means) is exemplified in the early poem "Do mego brata Ludwika" (To My Brother Ludwik), written in 1844, within two years of Norwid's leaving Poland:

Atomów władcy, marzeń wodze nikłych,  
Z dzielnicy naszej cieszymy się i rządźmy;  
Nadzwyczajnego wiele jest u zwykłych,  
Popatrzymy w niebo, tam górnymi bądźmy,  
A ręce w zwyczaj ujarzmiwszy — prządzmy...<sup>243)</sup>  
(Rulers of atoms, captains of trifling dreams,  
Let us rejoice at our sphere and control it;  
There is much of the extraordinary in the usual,  
Let us look to heaven, let us there be lofty,  
And having mastered our hands in habit — let us spin...).

Almost without exaggeration, one can say that finding the intersection of the horizontal and vertical dimensions of the cross is the key to understanding all of those categories, such as the nation, art, work,

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240) *Ibid.*, 203.

241) *Ibid.*, 425.

242) See Footnote 238 above.

243) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 207.



etc., which have a high position in Norwid's value system. For example, we will recall that the nation is in a middle rank between the Church and the tribe, since it alone is both a spiritual and physical entity, while the other two are, respectively, only spiritual and only physical. Norwid attacked the Pan-Slavism of Mickiewicz and Towiański in this fragment:

Od narodu do plemienia  
Jak od kwiatu do korzenia!<sup>244)</sup>  
(From the nation to the tribe  
As from the flower to the root!)

In Norwid's view, this would be descending out of the middle realm to the lowest level of being. Incidentally, he makes a wry comment on Pan-Slavism in a letter of 1848 to Bohdan Zaleski: "I am curious as to what Italy, Spain, and the Gauls would say if some one advised them to create a *Romance* nation?..."<sup>245)</sup>

Art for Norwid occupies a similar position between two outer levels of reality and fuses these orders, as in the well-known lines from "Promethidion":

I tak ja widzę przyszłą w Polsce sztukę,  
Jako *chorągiew na prac ludzkich wieży*,  
Nie jak zabawkę, ani jak naukę,  
Lecz jak *najwyższe z rzemioł apostoła*  
I jak *najniższą modlitwę anioła*.<sup>246)</sup>  
(And so I see future art in Poland,  
As a banner on the tower of human works,  
Not as a toy, nor as science,  
But as the highest of the apostle's handicrafts  
And as the lowest prayer of an angel).

In the poem "Na zgon poezji" (On the Decease of Poetry) Norwid says:

Umarła ona (Poezja), ta wieika  
Niepojednanych dwóch sfer pośrednica,<sup>247)</sup>  
(She died (Poetry), that great  
Mediator of two unreconciled spheres)

In the essay "Słowo i litera" (Word and Letter) a similar fusion is described for the word:

Akt, w którym treść a forma najnierozdzielniej dopełniają się wzajem,  
jest *słowo*.<sup>248)</sup>  
(The act, in which form and content most inseparably fulfill one another,  
is the *word*).

One might assume an influence here from Hegel since he refers to art as "the first reconciling medium between what is merely external,

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244) *Ibid.*, 237. See also Gomulicki's commentary in *Dzieła zebrane* II, pp. 350, 351.

245) *Listy* I, p. 43.

246) *Pisma zebrane*, ed. Przesmycki, Vol. A, Part I, p. 150.

247) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 747.

248) *Wszystkie pisma Cypriana Norwida*, ed. Zenon Przesmycki (Warsaw, 1938), VI, p. 60.

sensuous, and transient, and the world of pure thought, between nature with its finite reality and the infinite freedom of philosophic reason".<sup>249)</sup> This would be close then to Norwid's idea of art as "mediator". Hegel also refers to the reconciliation of content and form in art as does Norwid, for example: "the content of art is spiritual, and its form is sensuous; both sides art has to reconcile into a united whole".<sup>250)</sup> This idea, however, could hardly be considered exclusively Hegelian. Szmydtowa, it will be recalled, posits Schelling as the major contemporary influence on Norwid in this area. The important point, it appears, is that tradition would have allowed Norwid to absorb these influences within a Christian framework and there seems no question that this is the context in which Norwid's view of art is to be understood, as in a letter of 1852:

Sztuka jest mniej lub więcej dojrzałym *widzeniem*, w miarę jak sztukmistrz jest mniej lub więcej dojrzałym chrześcijaninem.<sup>251)</sup>

(Art is more or less mature *vision*, to the degree to which the artist is a more or less mature Christian).

This problem will be discussed again briefly in the following chapter, since Norwid's view of art is formulated already in the *Juvenilia*.

As for Norwid's view of work, it likewise can be interpreted as a fusion of the vertical and horizontal dimensions of reality. Lisiecka has seen a similarity between Fourier and Norwid in their view of the sacred character of work.<sup>252)</sup> Whatever similarity there may be, the framework of Norwid's view is Christian. In this case the model is not the cross, but the Incarnation:

O! tak — WCIEŁONYM skoro pogardzili,  
Wcielenie wszelkie — więc: *praca* wszelaka —  
Rwie się...<sup>253)</sup>

(Oh! yes — once the INCARNATE has been scorned,  
Then any incarnation: any work —  
breaks...).

The essence of Norwid's view of reality is the very Augustinian view that all creation, all things created, are to varying degrees like the Creator. Norwid's statement to this effect is from a letter to Marya Trębicka from 1846:

Niech Pani zechce wierzyć, że jedno tylko niepodobieństwo jest na świecie — niepodobieństwo wytłumaczenia ludziom, że niepodobieństwa nie istnieją. Bo wszystko Bogu jest podobnem, jako Stwórca Swojemu, na obraz którego jest stworzenie, a przeto wszystko jest pod tym względem *podobieństwem*. Niepodobieństwo musiałoby być *oryginalnością* absolutną

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249) *Hegel Selections*, ed. J. Lowenberg (New York, 1929), 314, 315.

250) *Ibid.*, 314.

251) *Listy* I, p. 133.

252) Alicja LISIECKA, "Romantyczna 'Filozofia Przyszłości' Cypriana Norwida". *Nowe studia o Norwidzie*, ed., J.W. Gomułcki and J.Z. Jakubowski (Warsaw, 1961), 202.

253) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 267.

254) *Listy* I, p. 29.

tak absolutną jak Bóg — a że Bóg drugi nie istnieje — niepodobieństw więc niema.<sup>254)</sup>

(Please believe that there is only one unlikelihood on earth — the unlikelihood of explaining to people that unlikenesses do not exist. For everything is *like* God, as Its Creator, in whose image is creation, and thereby everything in this respect is a *likeness*. Unlikeness would have to be absolute *originality*, as absolute as God — but since another God does not exist — therefore there are no unlikenesses).

## Chapter VI: JUVENILIA

Examination of the early lyrics of Norwid for traces of those Augustinian elements particularly relevant for Norwid, as outlined in the preceding chapters, is of special importance because of the approach adopted in this study. According to the supposition that Norwid came to the Augustinian theological tradition of the Catholic Church through his upbringing in that Church, the expectation would be that elements of this tradition could be found in Norwid's lyrics of the period 1840-42, before Norwid left Poland never to return. As we have seen there are numerous critics who have seen the sources of Norwid's philosophy in the Catholic Church. Arcimowicz, whose work, *Cyprian Norwid na tle swego konfliktu z krytyką*, was discussed in Chapter II, seems to stress the importance of tradition as apposed to learning in these remarks on Norwid's faith: "Such a faith did not come in the poet from the outside together with erudition, rather was always opposed to it" [erudition].<sup>255)</sup> Indeed as we shall see, some of the leading elements of Augustinianism which are so profuse in the later works can be found in perhaps surprising abundance already in the early lyrics.

Yet, however convincing a picture one can draw of Augustinianism in these early lyrics of Norwid, one obviously cannot reject the possible, or better, probable influence in this period of the Polish national school of philosophy, and especially of August Cieszkowski, whose is the most frequently mentioned name in this connection. Without going into the problem of these influences, which is beyond the scope of the present study, as an aside, one would only remind the reader that Cieszkowski is a highly likely source of influence upon Norwid in this period. The former's *Prolegomena do historiozofii* appeared in 1838 and Norwid was to meet the philosopher in 1841.<sup>256)</sup> In line with the Polish national school's adjustment or correction of Hegelianism,<sup>257)</sup> Cieszkowski in the *Prolegomena* rejected the supra-individual inevitability of the Hegelian dialectic and proposed as an antidote the individual's act or "czyn" (deed) in forming the future of mankind.<sup>258)</sup> The word "czyn" becomes,

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255) Władysław ARCIMOWICZ, *Cyprian Kamil Norwid na tle swego konfliktu z krytyką* (Wilno, 1935), 112.

256) NORWID, *Dzieła zebrane* I, 13.

257) For a description of the "Filozofia narodowa" see *Polska myśl filozoficzna*, ed. Henryk Hinz and Adam Sikora (Warsaw, 1964), 81ff.

258) *Ibid.*, 364-366. This excerpt from the *Prolegomena do historii* is entitled "Myśl i czyn".

of course, almost a hallmark of Norwid's writing and occurs already in the early lyrics written at about the time Norwid and Cieszkowski became acquainted. The statement "...słowo w czyn zamienić",<sup>259)</sup> (To change word into deed) from the verse "Dumanie" [II] (Meditation) dates from early 1841. The following closing lines from the verse "Burza" [I] (Storm) written in September 1841, are another example:

Myśl wskrzeszać będzie naśladowców krocie  
A w posąg własne skamienieją czyny!<sup>260)</sup>  
(Your thought will resurrect a host of imitators,  
And one's own deeds will petrify into statuary!)

Whatever the final resolution of this complex question of influences from the national school will be, on this particular point Cieszkowski's stress on the "deed" or act of the individual is easily adapted to or incorporated into the Augustinian view of history as a process of creating the City of God through fulfillment of the sacrifice of Christ. The tradition is sufficiently broad and flexible to allow incorporation of this particular feature adopted from Cieszkowski merely as one example of the process, and of other influences as well. The following discussion of Norwid's early lyrics will provide ample evidence of Norwid's adoption of the concept of "czyn" in a clearly identifiable Augustinian context.

The poem "Dumanie", [II] from which the above example of Norwid's use of the term "czyn" is taken, provides an excellent starting point in demonstrating Augustinian elements in the early lyrics because in it the reality to which the poem relates is couched in terms unambiguously Augustinian, in the context of the Augustinian geography of being, the threefold division of reality. The first eight lines of this verse present a clear picture of what in Augustinian terms would be the "earthly city":

Bawicie się, śmiejecie, skoczne wasze tany,  
I oczy pełne ognia, i serca bijące,  
W siatkę złośliwych wrażeń płątają szatany;  
A srebrzyste atłasy i gazy chwiejące  
Zgiełkiem barw, tłumem kształtów, zdradzają pojęcia  
O piękności, — pojęcia zalotne, szalone,  
Jak sny rozmarzonego gorączką dziecięcia,  
Jako jesienne liście wichrami pędzone...<sup>261)</sup>  
(You enjoy yourselves, laugh, satans entangle  
Your lively dancing, and eyes full of fire,  
And beating hearts into a net of malevolent sensations;  
And the silver satins and tulle shimmering  
In a tumult of colors and mass of shapes, betray notions  
Of beauty — notions alluring and frenzied,  
Like dreams of a child delirious with fever,  
Like autumn leaves driven by the winds...).

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259) *Dziela zebrane* I, 184.

260) *Ibid.*, 188.

261) Examples from "Dumanie" I are from *Dziela zebrane*, 183, 184.

Clearly the earthly city of pleasure and false sensations created by satans is described here. The beauty of this world is a mere caricature of the true beauty of the City of God. This is the lowest of the three Augustinian levels of reality, with no truth beyond the perceptions of the senses and no love other than of self in a frenzied search for pleasure, trapped in time and destined for destruction as in the simile of the autumn leaves.

In contrast to this depiction of the earthly city stand the concluding lines to the first section of the poem. This next excerpt is a perfect example of man's misdirected efforts to attain the City of God by means other than through history, by attempting to by-pass history. In a letter to Bohdan Zaleski of 1851 Norwid called these misdirected efforts "striving in advance for the kingdom of heaven".<sup>262)</sup>

Zaiste, miło patrzeć, kiedy człek w niedoli  
Z powagą zapomina, że go serce boli,  
Uśmiecha się i patrzy na śmiejących grono,  
Ale im nie wydziera chwilek wesołości —  
Łagodnie się uśmiecha, jakby go palono  
Za prawdę — jakby, zbawion ludzkich ułomności,  
Mnóstwo szyderstw i wściekłych utyskiwań mnóstwo  
Odepchnął znakiem krzyża, jak pogańskie bóstwo,  
(Indeed, it is a pleasure to see, that when a man in adversity  
In earnest forgets, that his heart aches,  
He smiles and looks at the laughing crowd,  
But does not deprive them of moments of gaiety —  
He smiles gently, as though burned at the stake  
For truth — as though he were freed of human faults,  
As though he cast out with a sign of the cross, like a pagan divinity,  
A multitude of scoffings, a multitude of enraged complaints.)

Like Augustine, Norwid denies any exclusiveness in the sphere of human morality. Hence, the above for Norwid is certainly a misdirected attempt to achieve ideal holiness, to achieve the City of God without accepting responsibility for the whole of human life, for history. We have seen above that the cross is not a sign for exorcising evil; it is the way to God "in the footsteps of the Savior", of following Christ as the Gospel John 14:6 instructs: "I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the father but by me". In an explicit statement of the Augustinian three dimensions of reality, Norwid suggests through the imagery of the thorn the way of true harmony between the world of the senses and the world of the spirit. Man can neither accept this world alone, nor can he turn away from it for a higher reality; man bears responsibility for this world, he bears the stigma of history by sharing Christ's crucifixion:

Tak więc człowiek, na miedzy dwóch niezgodnych światów  
Tajnym przybity cierniem,...  
(So then man, on the border to two incompatible worlds  
Pierced by a thorn of mystery,...)

The striving outside of history for the Kingdom of God is thus rejected by Norwid; he likewise rejects, in these mocking terms,

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262) *Listy I*, p. 77.

acceptance of this world with its suffering rendered meaningless because of the absence of Christ in history:

...Tu — słyszeć wesele  
I śpiewy, i pogodne, harmonijne dźwięki,  
A tam ostatnią czkawką skrzypiące gardziele,  
I łyzy, i boleść widzieć; tu miłuchne ręce,  
Splątane w słodki węzeł, w liturgiczne szczęście,  
A tam nie widzieć nawet ani jednej ręki,  
Która by niosła pomoc rozbolelej męce;  
I tylko hieroglify niemych cierpień... pięście.  
(...Here — to hear the mirth  
And songs, and calm, harmonious sounds,  
And there throats screeching with the last gurgle,  
And to see tears, and sorrow: here dainty hands,  
Clasped sweetly in prayer, in liturgical happiness,  
And there to see not a single hand,  
Which would bring help to grievous distress;  
And only hieroglyphs of mute sufferings... fists).

On the one hand we have here the hypocrisy of those who seek holiness without assuming responsibility for human suffering; hypocrites, Christian in name only are, of course, one of Norwid's favorite targets. Secondly, human suffering itself, which should be vestige and fulfillment of Christ's sacrifice, becomes a sign with no referent, a hieroglyph pointing nowhere, as contrasted to the sign of the Cross in history pointing to the fulfillment of history, the formation of the City of God. The word "hieroglif" occurs frequently in Norwid's writing and is nearly always to be understood in this context. Finally through use of the term "męka" for human suffering, the vestigial meaning is heightened, since the same term is used for the Passion of Christ.

Incidentally, this same poem "Dumanie" [II] contains several lines highly reminiscent of the concept of the mystical body of Christ, as in I Corinthians 12:12: "For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ". Augustine knew this teaching of St. Paul and followed it in his philosophy of the City of God. Roland-Gosselin points out that Augustine's emphasis on society has its precedent in this tradition: "...There is such human solidarity in good and evil, such an interchange of ideas, sentiments, and influences, that it is impossible not to consider each man as forming part of a social whole that transcends the individual. Here, indeed, he follows Christian tradition, and, more especially, St. Paul's profound conception of the mystical body of Christ".<sup>263)</sup> Perhaps we should look to this same tradition, to which Augustine has obviously made an incomparable contribution, to account for Norwid's emphasis along these same lines. The following is the relevant excerpt from "Dumanie" [II]:

Trudno — bo żywot ludzki, choć na pozór ginie  
Jednakże treścią bytu najlichszego czeka  
W żyły ogólnej myśli przelewa się, płynie,  
Kroplę po kropli sączy — kroplą w kroplę wcieka.  
I każde głupstwo działa, każda mądrość działa,

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<sup>263)</sup> W. ROLAND-GOSSELIN, "St. Augustine's System of Morals", tr. Fr. Leonard, C.M., *A Monument to St. Augustine*, 241.

Jakby na jednej strunie odegrane pieśni;  
Trzymają się za ręce, nie różni ich chwała —  
Pierwsza wolna od blasków, a drugie od pleśni.

(It is difficult — for human life, although it apparently perishes,  
Still in the content of the existence of the most worthless man  
It is transfused and flows into the veins of the universal idea,  
It drains drop after drop — it trickles in, drop into drop.  
And each bit of stupidity and each bit of wisdom acts,  
As though songs played on a single string;  
They hold hands, praise does not distinguish them —  
The first is free of brilliance, the second, of mold).

In the later poem, "Czemu nie w chórze?" (Why Not in Chorus?), one of those frequently quoted, Norwid repeats his condemnation of those who would isolate themselves from the solidarity of human sin and suffering:

1.  
Śpiewają wciąż wybrani,  
U żłobu, gdzie jest Bóg;  
Lecz milczą zadyszani,  
Wbiegając w próg...

2.  
A cóż dopiero? owi,  
Co ledwo wbiegli w wieś —  
Gdzie jeszcze ucho łowi —  
*Niewinniż rzeź!...*

3.  
Śpiewajcież, o! wybrani,  
U żłobu, gdzie jest Bóg;  
Mnie jeszcze ucho rani  
Pogoni róg...

4.  
Śpiewajcież, w chór zebrani — —  
Ja? — zmieszać mógłbym śpiew  
Tryumfującej litanii:  
Jam widział krew!...<sup>264)</sup>

1.  
(The chosen ones sing on and on,  
At the manger where *God* is;  
But those out of breath are silent,  
Rushing in the door...

2.  
And what then? of those,  
Who have just run into the village —  
Where the ear still catches —  
*The slaughter of the innocent!...*

3.  
Sing, oh! you chosen ones,  
At the manger, where *God* is;  
The horn of the chase  
Still hurts my ear...

4.  
Sing, you gathered in chorus — —  
I? — might disturb the singing  
Of the triumphant litany:  
For I have seen *the blood!...*)

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264) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 578.

In the poem "Pożegnanie" (Farewell), the last which Norwid wrote before leaving Poland, some of the same elements appear in a somewhat different relationship. Whereas in "Dumanie" [II] the Augustinian levels of reality were presented as incompatible in a disharmony whose eventual reconciliation is alluded to through the image of the thorn of mystery, in "Pożegnanie" the two extreme levels between which man has his realm appear in harmony in the opening sections of the poem. The poem begins with a farewell to the walls of the poet's room on which hangs an image of the crucifixion. The poet next bids farewell to the windows, almost sacred in the poet's eye, since through them he views the harmony of creation.

Żegnam także i was, szyby —  
 Tęczowymi lśniące blaski;  
 Do rodzinnej wy siedziby  
 Tak potrzebne jak obrazki,  
 I tak święte jak szkaplerze.  
 Przez was pierwszy raz ujrzałem  
 Wieś i niebo — przez was wierzę,  
 I tak wierzę, jak widziałem — —  
 Wieś i niebo — dwa pojęcia,  
 Które ranny brzask umiła,  
 Były dla mnie, dla dziecięcia,  
 Jak dwa skrzydła dla motyla.<sup>265)</sup>  
 (Farewell to you, also, window-panes —  
 Glittering with the splendors of the rainbow;  
 As necessary as holy pictures  
 to the family abode,  
 And as sacred as scapulars.  
 Through you for the first time I saw  
 The village and the sky — through you I believe,  
 And I believe as I saw —  
 The village and the sky — two concepts,  
 Which daybreak sweetens,  
 Were for me, for a child,  
 Like the two wings for a butterfly).  
 A kłos złoty biorąc z ziemi,  
 I kłos słońca, promień złoty,  
 Wierzchołkami złączonemi  
 W tajemnicze wiłem sploty.  
 (And taking the golden spear from the ground,  
 And the spear of sunshine, the golden beam,  
 I wound their fused tops  
 Into mysterious interlacings).

It would seem that the presence of the cross in the following opening lines to the poem makes possible the fusing of these disparate realms of being:

Żegnam was, o lube ściany,  
 Skąd, dziecinne strzegąc łóżę,  
 Chrystus Pan ukrzyżowany  
 Promieniami witał zorze.  
 (Farewell to you, oh dear walls,  
 Whence, guarding the child's bed,

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265) Examples from "Pożegnanie" are from *Dzieła zebrane* I, 190-193.



The Christ crucified  
With rays of light greeted the dawns).

In this poem the presence of the cross is felt as indispensable for harmony between the orders of reality, especially since the section immediately following the harmonious fusion of spears of grain and spears of sunlight presents an order of reality devoid of spirituality and harmony where the symbols of life, spears of grain and sunlight, are replaced by symbols of death, bone and sand:

Błada kość i piasek błądy  
Smutne grzechu panowanie,  
Marna rzecz i marne ślady — —  
Potem jeszcze świat wesóły,  
Bo wesółym się być mniema,  
I ci ludzie pół-anióły,  
Gdy aniołów całych nie ma — —  
(Pale bone and pale sand,  
The sad reign of sin,  
A paltry thing and paltry traces —  
Then again the gay world,  
For it thinks itself to be gay,  
And those people demi-angels,  
When there are no whole angels —)

This world of self-interest and calculated gesture is dominated by science which Norwid has characterized in the Fifth Lecture of the series "O Juliuszu Słowackim..." in the following manner:

Also the so-called exact sciences, *sciences exactes*, acquire the clarity of their theories through the very fact that they have as their goal only half of the truth and therefore I would say rather that in the face of truth they are *inexactes*.<sup>266)</sup>

That is, science deals only with one level of reality, that of the world of appearances, and has no concern for man's actions in relation to a higher reality. Thus, whereas the cross appeared in the opening section of "Pożegnanie" as the *sine qua non* of harmony of the different orders of being, science occupies a comparable position in the first lines of that section of the poem devoted to the earthly city. Note that the hieroglyph, the sign without referent, occurs here, as in "Dumanie" [II], as the earthly city's pagan counterpart of the cross of Christ. Repetition of the wing imagery, of course, reinforces the contrast:

Potem Sfinks *naukę* zwany,  
Roztoczywszy obszar skrzydeł  
Hieroglifem zapisany,  
Do zgubniejszych gnał mię sideł — —  
(Then the Sphinx called science,  
Having spread its reach of wings  
Marked with the hieroglyph,  
Drove me to more pernicious snares — —)

Hence, as in the poem "Dumanie" [II], we see in "Pożegnanie" a presentation of reality postulated upon the Augustinian threefold geography of being here represented by the "wieś" (village), the "niebo" (sky) and a middle realm of harmony between the two through the presence of

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266) *Dzieła*, ed. Pini, 575.

the cross. Contrasted to this harmony in Christ is the description of the earthly city of calculation, sin, and death. And the poet vows to preserve this vision of the cross and its promise of rebirth, as in this view of the family home, dilapidated and overgrown in the years since his childhood:

I krzyż tylko zerdzawiały  
Na węzłowie mchów zielonych,  
I te szczątki, co zostały  
Z szyb tęczowo-przepalonych;  
I ta myśl, i te wspomnienia,  
I weselszych przeczuć tysiąc,  
Zwitych w tęczę odrodzenia,  
Którą Twórca raczył przysiąc,...  
(And only the rusted cross  
On the head of the bed of green mosses,  
And those fragments, which remained  
From the rainbow-fired panes;  
And that thought, and those recollections,  
And a thousand more joyous presentiments,  
Wound in a rainbow of rebirth,  
Which the Creator has deigned to vow,...)

A similar contrast of village and city is found in "Wspomnienie wioski" (Remembrance of the Village) in which the satanic character of the city is opposed to the holy nature of the village, in a manner suggesting that, for Norwid, "miasto" (city) is the earthly city and "wieś" (village), a reflection or image of the City of God. The poem opens with these words:

Nie lubię miasta, nie lubię wrzasków,  
I hucznych zabaw, i świetnych blasków,  
Bo ja chłop jestem — bo moje oczy  
Wielmożna świetność kole i mroczy.  
Miasto — złożony kraniec przepaści!<sup>267)</sup>  
(I don't like the city, I don't like uproars,  
And noisy amusements, and bright splendors,  
For I am a peasant — for high-born grandeur  
Pierces and dims my eyes.  
The city — gilded edge of the abyss!)

Unlike the village, the city, the devil's realm, possesses none of the characteristics of eternity; its din drowns out any signs from the eternal:

Na wsi burza przeraża! piorun jest straszliwy,  
Gdy wije się po niebie i przegryza chmury:  
Lecz w mieście nie dosłyszają słów Matki Natury,  
Którą pokaleczywszy, i złożony w grobie,  
Bawią się — tańczą sobie...  
(In the village a storm terrifies! lightning is fearsome,  
When it bolts across the sky and pierces clouds:  
But in the city the words of Mother Nature are not heard,  
Whom having mutilated and laid in the grave,  
They amuse themselves — and dance...)

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267) Examples from "Wspomnienie wioski" are from *Dzieła zebrane* I, 155-158.

Man's attempt to read reality for signs of the presence of God, that is, Augustinian contemplation,<sup>268</sup> is precluded by the frenzied life in the city. Norwid gives an example of this attempt in "Dumanie" [I]:

Człowiek żali się, jęczy, czasami przeklina,  
Czasami znów, natchniony, załamuje dłonie,  
Patrzy, szuka, czy jest gdzie w niebiosach szczelina.  
Przez którą można spojrzeć — lecz oko zepchnięte  
Spada i w łzach rozpaczy zanurza się, tonie.<sup>269</sup>  
(Man complains, moans, sometimes curses,  
Sometimes again, inspired, he wrings his hands,  
Looks, searches whether there is in the heavens a chink,  
Through which one can look — but the eye driven back  
Falls and plunges, sinks in tears of despair).

For Norwid, man in the city is trapped in time, in impermanent temporal reality for whom, as he says in the poem "Wieczór w pustkach" (Evening in the Void):

W ciasnym godzin kole  
Braknie miejsca dla jednej, zwanej Nieśmiertelność!<sup>270</sup>  
(In the tight circle of the hours  
There is no room for one called Immortality!)

The city is just such a void where time and space are measured and human action calculated, as in "Wspomnienie wioski":

Tam — w mieście — wszystko cyrklem wymierzone,  
A od początku życia aż do końca  
Człek, patrząc w zegar, na jego tablicy  
Widzi wschód — zachód — i noc safirową,  
Tylko po tańcach znajomą stolicy:  
Tam — w mieście — ujrzysz ziemię inną, nową,  
I ludzi innych — tam piewca, gdy śpiewa,  
To się okłasków, wawrzynów spodziewa.  
(There — in the city — everything is measured by the compass,  
And from the beginning of life right to the end  
Man, looking at a clock, on its face  
He sees the rising and setting of the sun — and the sapphire night,  
Known only after the dances of the capital:  
There — in the city — you see a different, a new land,  
And different people — there a singer, when he sings,  
then he expects applause and laurels).

In a reality where all things are measured and calculated, there is no place for the eternal or the infinite and man is trapped in the flow of time, doomed to destruction, as Norwid has it in the concluding lines to "Wspomnienie" (Recollection):

Bo biedni my, niknąc dzień po dniu sprzed oka,  
My, ludzie — zaledwo jesteśmy *wspomnieniem*.<sup>271</sup>  
(For poor we, disappearing day after day from before the eye,  
We people — are scarcely a *recollection*).

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268) See Page 149.

269) *Dzieła zebrane* I, 161.

270) *Ibid.*, 174.

271) *Ibid.*, 182.

The village, on the other hand, represents to Norwid an image of the City of God. We have seen in the village harmony between the "incompatible worlds", as in the poem "Pożegnanie". In this poem "Wspomnienie wioski" Norwid places the village in especially close relationship to God:

Wież!... to me życie, to podarek Boży!  
To kwiat, co spada z anielskiego czoła,  
(The village!... that's my life, it is God's gift  
It's a flower, which falls from an angel's brow,)

In his article "Katolicki profil Norwida", Józef Jarzębowski has pointed out the close association by Norwid between his Catholicism and Polish rural life.<sup>272)</sup> On the question of time, the village likewise stands in sharp contrast to the city, in which man is doomed to perish with passing time. We have seen by the example of the later poem "Wież", quoted on page 29 above, that the village is an image of an order of reality above the flux of time, out of the senseless bustle of the everyday life of a city. The village and the city are for Norwid visions respectively of the City of God and of the earthly city whose guiding principle is self-love. And in Augustine's view man must choose between these two cities; he has only these alternatives, he cannot choose nothing. The following is an apt quotation from Augustine to this effect:

I say that there is no man who holds that there is nothing he ought to worship, who is not the slave of carnal pleasures, or seeks vain power, or is madly delighted by some showy spectacle. So, without knowing it, they love temporal things and hope for blessedness therefrom. Whether he will or no, a man is necessarily a slave to the things by means of which he seeks to be happy. He follows them whithersoever they lead, and fears anyone who seems to have the power to rob him of of them. Now a spark of fire or a tiny animal can do that... Time itself must snatch away all transient things. Now since the world includes all transient things, those who think to escape servitude by not worshipping anything are in fact the slaves of all kinds of worldly things.<sup>273)</sup>

How then does Norwid depict in the early lyrics the choice between these two worlds, the two worlds of the poem "Skowronek" (Skylark):

Skowronku! tobie dobrze na ten świat spojrzeć  
Jakby na jakie nuty, z których pieśni splatasz;  
Skowronku, tobie miło skrzydła rozpościerać,  
Bo ty do nieba wzlatasz!

Ale spójrz no raz tylko na nieszczęsnych ludzi,  
Których boleść ku ziemi nachyla i ciśnie,  
Których krwawe sny straszą, a cierpienie budzi —  
Lepiej nie patrz...<sup>274)</sup>

(Skylark; it's fine for you to look at this world  
As if at some notes, from which you weave songs;  
Skylark, it's pleasing for you to spread your wings,  
For you soar up to the sky!

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272) JÓZEF JARZĘBOWSKI, "Katolicki profil Norwida", *Norwid żywy*, 274-286.

273) ST. AUGUSTINE, *De Vera Religione*, XXXVIII, 69, in HERBERT PLANE, *The Political and Social Ideas of St. Augustine* (New York and London, 1963), 41.

But look just once at the unhappy people,  
Whom affliction bends and presses to earth,  
Whom bloody dreams terrify, and suffering wakes  
better not look...)

As Norwid says in "Dumanie" [I], to paraphrase: the bloody taint on man's breast, not on his soul, is a hieroglyph of suffering, which cannot be understood on earth and is only understood in the heavens.<sup>275)</sup> The way of understanding the meaningless suffering of this life, of rising out of the temporal order and of transforming the "hieroglyph of suffering" into a sign of the cross is through daily fulfillment of the Crucifixion of Christ, the bloodless sacrifice of the cross through the "Msza Święta", (Holy Sacrifice of the Mass), as Skwarczyńska has pointed out.<sup>276)</sup> In the poem "Sieroty" (Orphans) the first poem Norwid signed, and then only with the initials C.N., he presents a description of a man for whom there is no orphanage since the Father of all dwells in Heaven. This man follows the footsteps of Christ, takes up his own cross daily, and bears the stigma of flesh pierced by thorns, the same image Norwid used in the poem "Dumanie" [II], where it serves to unite the two incompatible worlds in man whose domain is the middle realm. The example of one man bearing witness brings the poet to participation in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and draws him toward the City of God through the force of God's grace, described here in "Sieroty" as a "strong, fragrant breath".

Ten człowiek od pierwszego z światem przywitania  
Był bardzo nieszczęśliwy, ale się nie zrażał,  
Patrzył w Niebo i, pełniąc swoje obowiązki,  
Na ziemię mało zważał.  
On nawet w drobnych rzeczach był prześladowany,  
Jakby go los trefnieniem dla siebie uczynił;  
On często cierpiał potwarz, choć nic nie zawinił;  
On, pragnąc zerwać różę, rwał ostre gałązki...  
Ten więc człowiek, sierota, od nieszczęść ścigany,  
Patrząc w górę, ze świętym uśmiechem prorocтва  
Mówił do mnie, że nie ma bynajmniej sieroctwa!  
Ja zaś jakoś niechcący ku Niebu spojrziałem,  
A Niebo było gwiazdziste;  
W gwiazdach więc tajemnicę tych słów wyczytałem,  
Bo one tam wyraźne były, oczywiste;  
Potem, gdy dusza swego skosztowała chleba,  
Nie mogłem się już więcej oderwać od Nieba,  
Które mnie wciąż ciągnęło silnym, wonnym tchnieniem.<sup>277)</sup>  
(This man from his first greeting the world  
Was very unhappy, but did not become discouraged,  
Looked to Heaven and, fulfilling his obligations,  
Paid little regard to the earth.  
He even was persecuted in small things,  
As though fate made him a buffoon for itself;  
He often suffered slander, although guilty of nothing;

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274) *Dzieła zebrane* I, 159.

275) *Ibid.*, 162.

276) See Chapter II, Footnote 54.

277) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 151.

He, wishing to pick the rose, plucked the sharp stems...  
 This man then, an orphan, pursued by misfortune,  
 Looking upward, with the blessed smile of prophesy  
 Said to me, that there is no orphanage at all!  
 And I somehow unwilling looked to Heaven  
 And the heavens were starry;  
 In the stars then I read the mystery of these words,  
 For they were there clear and obvious;  
 Then when the soul tasted its bread,  
 I could no longer tear myself from heaven,  
 Which continually drew me with a strong, fragrant breath).

If man is to bear witness, and to fulfill the Sacrifice of Christ, he must make his contribution and add his deed to the formation of the City of God. Here is Norwid's statement of this purpose for man in overcoming death. The excerpt is from the verse "Burza" [I] (Storm):

A choćby nawet ciemne gardło morza  
 Rozwarło otchłani wiecznie chciwą żyru,  
 Jeszcze w obłokach błysnie ręka Boża,  
 Abyś się chwycił i wydostał z wiru.  
 Śmiało więc zdążaj ku przeczystej cnocie,  
 Jeśli zaś burza wyrwie ci wawrzyny,  
 Myśl wskrzeszać będzie naśladowców krocie,  
 A w posąg własne skamienieją czyny!<sup>278)</sup>  
 (And even though the dark throat of the sea  
 Opened wide the abyss eternally greedy for flesh,  
 The hand of God still will flash in the clouds,  
 So that you might catch hold and make it out of the vortex.  
 Make your way boldly then toward the most pure virtue  
 And if a storm tears off your laurels,  
 Your idea will resurrect a host of imitators,  
 And one's own deeds will petrify into statuary).

And art for Norwid, as indicated in the previous chapter, is already in the pre-exile poetry designated as one important way of finding permanence in the impermanent world, that is of moving from the lowest order of reality toward the highest. As Christ's life is the way and pattern of all life, so the Logos is the pattern of all art. Art is fusion of matter and spirit reflecting such a fusion in its ideal form in the Logos, as found in the opening passage to the verse "Pismo" (Writing):

Cud wcielonego ducha — to nie zaden kwiatek  
 Z rośliniarni światowej; pismo to opłatek,  
 Którym łamać się trzeba, i od serca życzyć  
 Dosiego roku prawdy — nie szermować, krzyczyć,  
 Lecz całą siłą działać, działać w taki sposób,  
 Jako dawny obyczaj, bez wyborczych osób,  
 Z bogobojną czeladką wieczerzając społem  
 Na sianie z własnej łąki i za własnym stołem.<sup>279)</sup>  
 (The miracle of the incarnate spirit is no flower  
 From the world's hot-house; writing is a wafer,  
 Which one has to break, and from the heart to wish

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278) *Ibid.*, 188.

279) *Ibid.*, 177.

*Happy New Year* of truth — not be defensive or to shout  
 But to act with one's whole force, to act in the same manner,  
 As the old custom, with no favored few,  
 With God-fearing servants supping together  
 On hay from one's own meadow and at one's own table).

Thus art is instrumental in performance of the "Msza święta" and would seem to occupy, as man himself does, the middle realm between the eternal and temporal and the spiritual and physical realms, sharing, again like man, characteristics of both orders. Borowy points to the same phenomenon in his essay "Norwid poeta", by quoting the above poem, as well as the excerpt from "Promethidion" to the effect that art is "the highest of the crafts of an apostle" and "the lowest prayer of an angel".<sup>280)</sup> Ignacy Fik has also noted this characteristic in referring to the dualism of matter and spirit and in pointing to the word as the most general synthesis of the two elements. "The history of humanity is the history of the word... or it is the history of the realization of a synthesis of spirit and matter".<sup>281)</sup> Since art belongs to the middle realm of the Augustinian three-fold geography of being, it encompasses both the higher and lower realms, unlike science whose province is exclusively the lower realm. Therefore art, because of its unique position shared by man himself, is particularly suited to bear witness to the eternal presence of God, especially in the form of the Second Person of the Trinity, in the world. In the verse "Dumanie" [I] we find a clear statement of art's efficacy to bear witness and, thus like man himself, to play an active role in the fulfillment of the Crucifixion of Christ. Norwid describes the artist as best able to find meaning in human suffering — otherwise only a "hieroglyph of suffering" — by seeing it as man's own cross in fulfillment of Christ's sacrifice:

I owszem, ona, jako hieroglif cierpienia,  
 Na ziemi niepojęty, zrozumiały w niebie,  
 Znajdzie tłumacza dla siebie,  
 I Boga samego wzruszy! — —  
 Dalej więc, przyjaciele! dalej do mogiły,  
 Z pieśnią wzniosłą, co z serca sama się wylewa!  
 Idźmy, cierpmy, dopóki nam wystarczą siły,  
 Idźmy i stawmy czoło szalonej zawiei;  
 A każdy niechaj głosem duszy swojej śpiewa  
 Pieśń o Miłości, Wierze i Nadziei.<sup>282)</sup>  
 (And naturally it, like a hieroglyph of suffering,  
 Not understood on earth, more comprehensible in heaven,  
 Will find for itself an interpreter,  
 And will move God Himself! — —  
 So onward, friends! onward to the grave,  
 With a lofty song, which pours forth from the heart by itself!  
 Forward and let's brave the furious blizzards;  
 And let each one sing with the voice of his soul  
 A song of Love, Faith, and Hope).

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280) Wacław BOROWY, "Norwid Poeta", *O Norwidzie* (Warsaw, 1960), 11.

281) Ignacy FIK, *Uwagi nad językiem Cypriana Norwida* (Cracow, 1930), 55.

282) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 162.

In conclusion, these examples taken from Norwid's lyrics of the period 1840-42, demonstrate that already in his pre-exile writing Norwid was indeed operating in the tradition of Augustinianism. We have found in these lyrics excellent evidence of certain leading Augustinian concepts important for the formation of world-view, such as the three-fold geography of being, the mediation of Christ, the harmony through Christ of the disparate orders of reality, the images of the earthly city and the City of God, and the contrasting historical orders of the two societies, the former's meaningless temporal flux, as opposed to the latter's purposeful historical direction of forming the eternal society through fulfillment of the Sacrifice of Christ. These early lyrics also give an interesting picture of the manner in which Norwid's handling of Augustinianism allows adoption of influences contemporary to him. We have noticed several examples of the use of "czyn" probably taken from Cieszkowski's *Prolegomena do historiozofii*. The concept has been integrated by Norwid into the Augustinian philosophy of history as a process of formation of the City of God through fulfillment of Christ's Sacrifice. 'Czyn' represents man's contribution to a process for which he bears responsibility, a process of moving toward permanence, that is, toward the eternal in a temporal order of impermanence. In no case should Cieszkowski's influence be extended to include his view of the coming Kingdom of God on earth.<sup>283)</sup> We have Norwid's explicit statement to the effect that God's Kingdom is not of this world,<sup>284)</sup> echoing Christ's own words in the Gospel. A second instance of adaptation of contemporary influences to Augustinianism would be Norwid's view of art as seen in these lyrics. Zofia Szmydtowa notes an influence from the German idealist Schelling upon Norwid in the latter's assigning such a lofty role to art.<sup>285)</sup> Whether this is so or not, we can see how readily Norwid adapts the idealist view of art to Augustinianism by assigning it its position in the geography of being and its role in the fulfillment of history.

## Chapter VII: THE PRINCIPLE OF COMMINGLING

Analysis of the dualism occurring in Norwid's lyrics may seem paradoxical and at cross-purposes after an attempt to establish an Augustinian three-fold geography of being in the preceding chapters. Yet the contention here is that Norwid's dualism, widely referred to, not only can be reconciled with a three-fold Augustinian view of reality, but indeed that such a view of reality is an absolute prerequisite for understanding the dualism so prevalent in Norwid's poetry. One should keep in mind that Augustine, operating with a tripartite reality, certainly fostered one of the most well-known dualisms in the history of

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283) See the summary of this position by CIESZKOWSKI, "Idea królestwa Bożego na ziemi", *Polska myśl filozoficzna*, 372-374.

284) Cyprian NORWID, *Pisma polityczne i filozoficzne*, 29.

285) Zofia SZMYDTOWA, "Platon w twórczości Norwida", *Poeci i poetyka* (Warsaw, 1964), 497ff.



philosophy, that of the City of God as opposed to the earthly city. When returning to a discussion of the Augustinian dualism of the City of God and the earthly city, Vernon J. Bourke in *Augustine's Quest of Wisdom* reminds his readers that "the metaphysics of Augustine places the intellectual creature in between two contrasting layers of being, between God, and the corporeal world which lies below man".<sup>286)</sup> The highest and lowest levels of reality confront man throughout his lifetime with a choice of orientations, an orientation upward through love of God, and an orientation downward through love of self. These two loves or wills of man in his middle realm continuously form the opposing historical processes of creating the Celestial City on the one hand, and the terrestrial city on the other. Indeed history may be regarded as the results of man's choice between the two outer layers of reality, between the "two opposing camps", as Bourke terms the two societies.<sup>287)</sup> These two historical processes are *historia ipsa*,<sup>288)</sup> the history of God's involvement in the world, and what Norwid in the poem "Żydowie polscy" (Polish Jews) terms "apparent history",<sup>289)</sup> the story of the anarchic order of the earthly city. We will recall from Chapter IV that Norwid distinguishes in his terminology between the chroniclers of these two historical processes: "dziejopis" versus "historyk" from the poem entitled "Historyk".<sup>290)</sup> This is the context for understanding the dualism expressed in a letter of 1869 to Bohdan Zaleski:

Till today Humanity knows only two ways of historical continuation, through the NATURAL succession of generations replacing themselves continuously like waves of water — the second, through a SUPERNATURAL [NADNATURALNE] respect for totality and continuance. I abhor the first and only necessarily and humbly accept it — it seems to me also appropriate for savages.<sup>291)</sup>

Besides being the focuses of man's loves and wills and his unavoidable moral choices — we have seen that in Augustine's terms man cannot chose nothing<sup>292)</sup> — a second crucial point about these historical dimensions is that they are commingled in the life of this world. Gilson's statement to this effect is the following:

We might, therefore, be tempted to think that in St. Augustine's doctrine the radical heterogeneity of the two domains guarantees their complete independence. This is not so. In practice other considerations come in to re-establish relations which theory seems to sever... St. Augustine is expressing his thought strictly when he declares that here below the two cities are mingled together, and that they will remain so until the final judgement definitely separates the citizens of the one from those of the other...<sup>293)</sup>

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286) Vernon J. BOURKE, *Augustine's Quest of Wisdom* (Milwaukee, 1945), 250.

287) *Ibid.*

288) See Chapter III, Footnote 120.

289) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 476.

290) *Ibid.*, 662.

291) *Listy* II, p. 181. Gomulicki also quotes this excerpt in *Dzieła zebrane* II, p. 941.

292) See Chapter IV, Footnote 159.

293) Étienne GILSON, *The Christian Philosophy of Saint Augustine* (New York, 1960) 180, 181.

Bourke in his discussion of the three-fold hierarchy of being emphasizes "that this placing of the soul between two extreme levels of being is the key to the understanding of the two societies which will be described in the *City of God*"<sup>294)</sup>

This statement is especially important in relation to the commingling of the two societies, as we shall see. The two extreme levels of reality are, as Gilson describes them above, radically heterogeneous, for we will recall that the highest level is immutable in time and space, while the lowest level is mutable in both these spheres. Obviously, commingling of spheres as disparate as these is an impossibility and were we left with but these two orders, Augustine, or Plotinus for that matter, would have been presenting a Platonic world-view. For commingling to occur there must exist a middle realm sharing attributes with the highest and lowest levels of reality. For Augustine, this middle realm is the human soul, mutable in time, thus sharing this attribute with the lowest order, and immutable in space, sharing this attribute with the highest order. Gilson has an excellent description of the commingling of the two societies, celestial and terrestrial, within the middle realm:

By their definitions alone the two cities are incompatible. Augustine did not think that they could ever agree, and yet they must at least coexist and consequently, find a *modus vivendi* which will give the City of God a chance to develop. Now when we examine their respective positions, we see at once that there is one level on which the two cities do meet and lead interwoven lives, as it were, namely the level of the earthly life. Here below, inhabitants of the City of God seem to be identified with those who dwell only in the earthly city. How, indeed, could they help this? They are men like the others: their bodies need their share of the material goods for which the earthly city has been organized. They share, then, in its order and peace and, along with other men, benefit from the advantages that city provides and bear the burdens it imposes. And yet, in spite of an apparently common life, the two peoples dwelling together in the same earthly city never really mix. Citizens of the heavenly city live *with* the others but not *like* them. Even though they perform actions which are outwardly the same, they do them in a different spirit. Those who live only the life of the old man look upon the goods of the earthly city as ends to be enjoyed; for those in the same city who lead the life of the new man born of grace, these same goods are merely means which they use and refer to their true end.<sup>295)</sup>

Considering the principle of commingling, as described above in relation to Norwid's poetry, a starting point the key seemingly to so many of the problems in Norwid can be found once again in the image of the Crucifixion. For example in the verse, "Dookoła ziemi naszej" (Round About Our Earth), Norwid suggests that finding the Way of the Cross gives one that proper perspective on this life and enables one to find "THAT WHICH IS",<sup>296)</sup> as opposed to what exists temporarily and imperfectly, as in Augustine's statement "Here, I am able to exist, but I do not want it; these, I wish to be, but I cannot";<sup>297)</sup> or as in the

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294) BOURKE, 225.

295) GILSON, 176.

296) *Confessions*, VII, 17, p. 187.

297) *Confessions*, X, 40, p. 321.

Norvidian paradox, cited below, of finding "That which does not exist". In the Biblical image of separating the wheat from the chaff, slightly altered in Norwid's poem, the way of the Cross allows man to distinguish between the good and the evil or between the City of God and the earthly city. These are the concluding ten lines of "Dookoła ziemi naszej":

Katakumb wtedy słuchaj krwią pisanych,  
A krzyżów pytaj o dawno-wieszanych...

5.

I znajdziesz tego, który nie istnieje,  
Którego sztandar tylko w słońcu wieje,  
I znajdziesz tego, ku któremu idzie  
Niechętna przeszłość o kryjomym wstydzie.  
I znajdziesz żywot w śmierci, a potęgę  
W słabości, w słowie latającym księgę,  
W ciemności jasność, a w jasności cienie.  
To wiedz — i z plewy szczere czyść nasienie.<sup>298)</sup>  
(Then heed the catacombs writ in blood,  
And inquire of those hung long ago of the crosses...  
And you will find that *one which does not exist*,  
Whose standard waves only in the sun,  
And you will find that one toward which comes  
The reluctant past with hidden shame.  
And you will find life in death, and power  
In weakness, in a drifting word, the book,  
In darkness, light, and in light, shadows!  
Know this — and clean the pure seed from the chaff).

As we shall see, much of Norwid's poetry, particularly that in which a dualism of theme or structure figures, is directed just toward this point, toward distinguishing between the seed and the chaff, between the real, essential and eternal and the unreal, unessential and impermanent, or simply between the Augustinian Celestial and terrestrial cities.

When considering the dualism that occurs in Norwid's verses, it is extremely important to realize what kind of antitheses Norwid is setting in opposition. Przesmycki has noted a dualism as a recurring element already in his comments to the "Juvenilia", for example in such poems as "Wspomnienie wioski", "Wieczór w pustkach", "Dumanie" [II],<sup>299)</sup> which were discussed in the previous chapter. The recurrent antithesis of the village versus the city is in no sense a Platonic opposition of an ideal, real world above man and the sensible world of the here and now. Obviously both the city and the country are on one plane of reality, although the latter may be an image of some sort of ideal order, we know from the later poem "Wies" that it is prey to all the calamities of this world.<sup>300)</sup> Zygmunt Dokurno in his recent study *Kompozycja utworów lirycznych C.K. Norwida* describes the structural antithesis in Norwid's early works, which he calls "a contrast of two different

298) *Dziela zebrane* I, pp. 265, 266.

299) Zenon Przesmycki, ed., *Cypryana Norwida Pisma zebrane*, Vol. A, Part 2 (Warsaw-Cracow, 1911), 743-750.

300) See Chapter III, Footnote 128.

interpretations of reality".<sup>301)</sup> Commenting on such later verses as "Sława" (Fame) and "Toast", Przesmycki has noted a recurring motif of an opposition of "Two realities" linking these two poems with others like "To rzecz ludzka" (That's the Human Thing), "Wiesław" and "Rzeczywistość" (Reality), among others. Both Przesmycki and Dokurno are careful not to overextend the dualistic elements in Norwid's work. However, Zygmunt Wasilewski, no doubt following Przesmycki's precedent, makes this dualism the heart of his approach in the monograph of 1935. Wasilewski describes Norwid's dualism as Neo-platonic and labels it "kompleks dwuświatowości" <sup>302)</sup> (Complex of a dual world). Uncritical acceptance of this sort of dualism can be noted in certain of Gomulicki's commentaries, for example the contrast of a "real world as opposed to an ideal" one in the commentary to the poem "Narcyz" (Narcissus); a similar contrast can be found in the commentary to "Idee i prawda" (Ideas and Truth).<sup>303)</sup> He is certainly closer to Norwid's actual position in his comments on the verse "Mistycyzm" (Mysticism) where he says: "... 'mysticism' was supposed to be, as it appears, a particular sort of complement of perceptual realism, existing not along side it however, but in it itself, and linking the 'current' with the 'eternal', and the 'seen' with the 'unseen' ".<sup>304)</sup> The joining of these elements in the perception of reality, and thus, one assumes, in reality itself, makes the position closer to mine, but still seems to betray a Platonic orientation. For while, in Augustinian terms, distinguishing the "eternal" from the "current" would yield the dichotomy of the two opposing societies, a division of "seen" and "unseen" need not necessarily do so. What is critical, ultimately, is distinguishing the "real" from the "unreal", whether seen or unseen.

If we examine the dualism that does occur in Norwid's verses, one thing becomes obvious, namely that the dualism is not that of a visible world of the here and now opposed to an ideal, invisible world above the turmoil of human affairs. In the poem "Nerwy" (Nerves) discussed in Chapter V,<sup>305)</sup> the two closely paralleled scenes, the first of a visit to the poor and participation, through the Crucifixion, in their suffering, and the second of a visit to a salon; both describe events of this world and both would be equally visible to an observer. Yet the events described are clearly not of one order, for the visit to the poor occurs on the "omni-temporal" dimension of history, in Auerbach's term, and, as such, is part of the historical process of the formation of the City of God. The visit to Pani Baronowa's salon, on the other hand, is part of the historical process, of "apparent history", the history of the earthly city. By paralleling exactly the first three and last two verses: the contrasting interiors, action of individuals, effect of these actions, departure of the poet and his emotions after each visit; Norwid brings into confrontation the two opposing historical dimensions in a manner

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301) Zygmunt DOKURNO, *Kompozycja utworów lirycznych C.K. Norwida* (Torun, 1965), 25.

302) Zygmunt WASILEWSKI, *Norwid* (Warsaw, 1935), 177ff.

303) *Dzieła zebrane* II, pp. 771 and 794.

304) *Ibid.*, 784.

305) See pp. 146-148.

which can be best termed "commingling" as Gilson has defined it above.<sup>306)</sup> The critical distinction between the two scenes is not that one is real and the other ideal (starvation is obviously not ideal in any kind of Platonic philosophical framework and can only be considered so in a Christian mystical sense); nor of course is the distinction between the visible and the invisible. The essential point is, as it would be in Augustine's view, that what we are faced with here is ultimately a real historical process as opposed to an unreal one. Norwid underlines this opposition of real and unreal in the last two stanzas not only in the imagery of the mirror, candelabras, and painted parrots, but also in the use of tense. For example, every verb in the first three stanzas describing the visit to the poor is in the past tense, with the exception of the verb "mrą" (they are dying) occurring in a subordinate clause. These events have happened, the miracle has taken place (cud to był). In the last two stanzas, however, Norwid takes us into the realm of the unreal; the visit to the salon has not happened (Muszę dziś pójść do Pani Baronowej). Of the nine finite verb forms in the last two stanzas, seven are in the future tense and the remaining two in the present. Norwid thus apparently here is using the commingling of the two societies as a structural principle.

Incidentally, Roman Jakobson has pointed out, in much greater detail, a similar use of tense as the structural device in the poem "Przeszłość" (The Past). In this verse nouns and pronouns denoting persons have predicates in the past tense while inanimate nouns and pronouns are coupled with verbs in the present tense, suggesting that the present is part of a natural God-made order, while man himself creates the past<sup>307)</sup> through his choice of the earthly society. Here also it seems that Norwid is using commingling as a structural principle bringing into confrontation the two Augustinian historical orders.

The verse "Czułość" (Sensitivity) is also an example of commingling as a structural principle. Because of its brevity this poem can be included in its entirety:

Czułość — bywa jak pełny wojen krzyk,  
I jak szemrzących źródeł prąd,  
I jako wtór pogrzebny...

I jak plecionka długa z włosów blond,  
Na której wdowiec nosić zwykł  
Zegarek srebrny — — —<sup>308)</sup>

(Sensitivity — occurs like a shriek full of wars,  
And like the flow of murmuring springs,  
And like a funeral dirge...

And like a long braid of blond hair,  
on which the widower is accustomed to wear  
A silver watch — — —).

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306) See Chapter III, Footnote 111.

307) Roman JAKOBSON, " 'Przeszłość' Cypriana Norwida", *Pamiętnik Literacki*, LIV, 3 (1963), 449.

308) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 619.

Gomulicki's interpretation of this poem seems essentially correct; he reasserts Przesmycki's original thesis of true feelings expressed by the similes in the first stanza, as opposed to fashionable expression of false feelings through the similes in the second stanza.<sup>309)</sup> The sounds expressing human grief in the first stanza are replaced by the appearances, even the colors of grief, in the blond hair and the silver watch, while the word "czułość" disappears entirely in the second stanza, replaced by habit, the only human reaction to death mentioned in this stanza. Here again the phenomena described in each of the stanzas belong equally to this world; their distinguishing feature is the reality of the one as opposed to the unreality of the other.

We have seen in Chapter IV how Norwid distinguishes in his terminology between elements of the City of God and those of the earthly city. For example in the poem "Historyk"<sup>310)</sup> (Historian), Norwid uses the term "Historyk" to denote the chronicler of an old cemetery and a genealogical tree. On the other hand the "Dziejopis" (Historian) has an effect on living human beings by instilling in them a primeval fear of natural phenomena, which, in Norwid's frame of reference, means bringing them to an awareness of the presence of God in this world. Another distinction in terminology is between the words *śmierć* (death) and *zgon* (decease) occurring in the poems "Na zgon Józefa Zaleskiego"<sup>311)</sup> (On the Decease of Józef Zaleski) and "Na zgon śp. Józefa Z."<sup>312)</sup> (On the Decease of Józef Z.). In both these poems *zgon* is specified as a calm Christian death, which is actually life. *Śmierć* is death visited upon the inhabitants of the earthly city. In the poem "Omyłka" (Error) a similar distinction is made between "Zwycięstwo" (Victory) and "Sukces" (Success) where: "Zwycięstwo wytrzeźwia ludzkie siły,/ Gdy Sukces, i owszem... rozpaja/..."<sup>313)</sup> (Victory moderates human strengths,/ While Success, of course, intoxicates!...). In this poem, "Success is today a god" (bożek) but the grave will restore Victory to its ancient place of prominence among men, thereby placing the latter term on the "omnitemporal" dimension and success on a purely temporal plane of reality.

The division between the celestial and terrestrial societies stands as the organizational principle to the poem "Grzeczność" (Courtesy), which was discussed in Chapter V in connection with the figure of Christ in Norwid's verses.<sup>314)</sup> As mentioned there Norwid uses orthography as one of the devices to place in the closest juxtaposition the two Augustinian societies. The first stanza of the poem describes a crowd of untrusting Christians (here capitalized) each of whom grabs for his own watch. These "Christians" are an element in the reality described here, which is comprised primarily of material objects as canes, coats and watches. In the second stanza, one Man (capitalized) in this scene attracts the poet's attention. This Man, in direct contrast to the people described in the first stanza, is given spiritual values

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309) *Dzieła zebrane* II, pp. 810-813.

310) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 662.

311) *Ibid.*, 520.

312) *Ibid.*, 674.

313) *Ibid.*, 652.

314) See pp. 151.

in place of material objects. Here the Christ-figure is trusting, "christian" with a small "c":

Z przezornością albowiem szczególniejszą  
Łączył wdzięk i względność, i powagę,  
W niczym od chrześcijańskiej nie zimniejszą — —<sup>315)</sup>  
(For with a very special providence  
He joined grace and consideration and a seriousness  
In no way colder than christian — —).

The third stanza contains the solution to the opposition of the first two stanzas, as we discover that this Man is a guard of wax figures in a Museum of Curiosities. He is thus the sole human being in a scene in which men have sunken so low, as Augustine would describe it, as to become one with the lowest level of being. Once more it should be emphasized that the Christ-figure in this verse is made part of the scene of the "crowd of Christians", the two societies are commingled, and the poem in its resolution of the third stanza offers a demarcation of the two. Norwid, as he does so often, here sets his creativity toward separating the "real" and the "unreal" in an everyday reality where they are commingled.

Perhaps particularly indicative is a poem like "Niebo i ziemia" (Sky and Earth), which we might expect to reveal a more Platonic opposition of this world and an ideal world, the "real" one for Plato, above man. In his interpretation of this verse, Gomulicki, following Przesmycki, describes the opposition as being between a realist and a "Christian — idealist".<sup>316)</sup> As we shall see, it might be better to leave out the term "idealist":

Rzeczywistym bądź! co? wciąż o niebie troi,  
Podczas gdy grób, prądami nieustannemi,  
Kości twoich, prochów twych pożąda!  
— Och! tak, wszelako, gdziekolwiek człowiek stoi,  
O wielekroć więcej niebios ogląda,  
Niżeli ziemi...<sup>317)</sup>  
(Be realistic! why? are you continuously dreaming of the sky,  
While the grave, in its unceasing courses,  
Lusts for your bones and for your ashes!  
— Oh! yes, but wherever man stands,  
He beholds many times more of the heavens,  
Than of earth...).

Norwid here is not repeating the false dualism that he rejects in verses like "Sen" (The Dream), "Dwa męczeństwa" (Two Martyrdoms) or "Stolica" (the Capital).<sup>318)</sup> The antidote to the incomplete realism described in the first stanza of "Niebo i Ziemia" is not divorcing oneself from this world in favor of the heavens, but of assuming an orientation that encompasses the earth and the sky, although the former is certainly

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315) *Dziela zebrane* I, p. 634.

316) *Dziela zebrane* II, p. 813.

317) *Dziela zebrane* I, p. 620.

318) See Chapter IV, Footnotes 192, 194 and Chapter V, Footnote 233.

the one of primary importance, as the poet suggests. This orientation is the only possible Christian one for man who occupies the middle rank in Augustine's geography of being. The two realities presented in the poem are on this rank commingled. The poet does not reject the reality of the first stanza; he rather regards it as incomplete, as encompassing only one sphere of reality, much as Norwid, as we have seen, rejects science for the same reason:<sup>319)</sup> the exact sciences could better be termed inexact since they treat only one level of reality.

Far from retreating from this world and its unavoidable evil, man must engage this world and bear responsibility for it, as in the poem "Królestwo" (Realm), cited in Chapter IV.<sup>320)</sup> By bringing the two Augustinian historical processes into confrontation in the foregoing verses, Norwid is leading his reader to "separate the chaff from the seed", to delineate the commingling societies, and thus come to some terms with the evil of this world. The sort of terms Norwid suggests is specified in the verse "Fatum":

# I

Jak dziki zwierz przyszło *Nieszczęście* do człowieka  
I zatopiło weń fatalne oczy...  
— Czekaj — —  
Czy, człowiek, zboczy?

# II

Lecz on odejrzał mu jak gdy artysta  
Mierzy swojego kształt modelu;  
I spostrzegło, że on patrzy — co skorzysta  
Na swym nieprzyjacielu:  
I zachwiało się całą postaci wagą  
— I nie ma go!<sup>321)</sup>

# I

(As a wild beast *Unhappiness* came to man  
And sank its fatal eyes in him...  
— It waits — —  
Whether, man, will turn aside?

# II

But he looked back at it, as when an artist  
Measures the form of his model;  
And it perceived that he was examining — *what?* benefit he would derive  
From his enemy:  
And the whole weight of its figure faltered  
— And it is no more!)

The first stanza of this verse presents unhappiness within the context solely of the earthly city as a challenge to man. In the second stanza however, through the image of the artist measuring his model's figure, a new frame of reference is introduced so that unhappiness is no longer a "hieroglyph of mute suffering",<sup>322)</sup> as Norwid calls it in the early poem

319) See Chapter VI, Footnote 266.

320) See page 129, above.

321) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 583.

322) *Ibid.*, 184.



"Dumanie" [II] (Contemplation). We have seen enough of Norwid's poetry at this point to realize that the model of human suffering, and hence the new context, is the Passion of Christ. In the new context, or on the new historical dimension, that is, the City of God, suffering becomes a way of participating in the omni-temporal event of the Crucifixion. The two stanzas of this poem each delineate then commingled realities, or, in the final sense, an unreality and a reality: in one society, unhappiness is a challenge; in the second, it is an opportunity to participate in an eternal event, and hence as suffering it ceases to exist.

Thus the dualism represented in the above poems both in theme and structure cannot be interpreted within the framework of what Wasilewski calls "kompleks dwuświatowości" (complex of a dual world). The dualities in these poems are not of the sensible world as opposed to the ideal, ultimately real world in the Platonic sense. The dualism in these poems occurs within one order of being, man's middle rank in the Augustinian geography of being. This is the ethical dualism of the two commingled societies, the earthly and the Celestial: the dualism of the disparate elements within man himself.

In *Niewola* (Bondage) Norwid presents a summary statement of his view of man composed of the incompatible elements of the "seen" and the "unseen" as he terms them here, or as Augustine calls them, of the mutable and the immutable.

Więc — badam w sobie dwa pierwiastki różne,  
Ten, co widzialny, ów co niewidzialny,  
Jakby zwaśnione z sobą dwa podróżne  
W oddali jednak cel jeden — moralny.

A potem — siebie tak niewolonego,  
Znów, między *znanym* widzę a *nieznanym*,  
Między "skąd idę?" a "idę do czego?"  
W sobie i w dziejach ja ukrzyżowanym!<sup>323)</sup>

(So I examine in myself two different elements,  
This one which is visible, that one which is *invisible*,  
As though two travelers separated from one another  
In the distance united by one goal — a moral one.  
And then — I see myself so captive,  
Again, between the *known* and the *unknown*,  
Between "where am I coming from?" and "where am I going?"  
In myself and in history I am crucified!)

The pattern of all things, Christ and the Crucifixion, is the model of man himself. In the final line of this excerpt the poet is crucified in history by sharing the eternal sacrifice of Christ through the union of the Mystical Body. He also is crucified in himself since he is made up of an immutable dimension, the vertical in Norwid's terms, and a mutable dimension, the horizontal for Norwid, forming thus the + of every man, on the pattern of the fused human and divine natures in Christ.

The prevailing view, as we have seen, stresses the ontological dualism of the "seen" and the "unseen", which certainly exists in Norwid, as the above quotation indicates. However, the important dualism in Norwid is an ethical one, comparable to the Augustinian opposition of the Celestial and terrestrial cities. This ethical opposition requires a framework of a tripartite reality, since the "seen" and the "unseen", or the mutable

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323) *Pisma zebrane*, ed. Przesmycki, Vol. A, Part I, p. 237.

and the immutable are commingled on the mid-rank, on the pattern of the intersecting dimension of the + in Norwid's writings. Criticism up to now has misread this ethical dualism as an ontological one, thereby offering an inadequate conceptual framework for the role of the cross in Norwid's works.

## CONCLUSION

This study was undertaken in an attempt to correct what has been regarded here as one of the major obstacles to the development of scholarship on Norwid. The Augustinian geography of being has been offered in this investigation as an alternative to the prevailing dualistic interpretation of Norwid's world-view. This position, a legacy from Zenon Przesmycki, has formed the explicit approach in at least one monograph, that by Wasilewski, and appears to be enjoying uncritical acceptance at this time. Norwid's current editor, Juliusz Gomułicki, seems to grant guarded acceptance to the dualistic view in his monumental commentary to the poems in the presently appearing critical edition *Dzieła zebrane*. Gomułicki's commentary, invaluable though it is, will certainly continue to be one of the most influential sources on Norwid, and, as such, is bound to contribute toward fostering the prevailing interpretation.

To complicate matters, Alicja Lisiecka in recent articles and papers has proposed Hegelianism as the philosophical framework of Norwid's world-view. This position has been recently attacked by several critics, among them Jastrun, who has demanded fuller treatment of the Catholic elements in Norwid's world-view. Lisiecka, it will be recalled, assigns these elements a secondary, modifying role in the system of Hegelianism. Elżbieta Feliksiak in criticizing Lisiecka's view cites the following statement from the verse "Królestwo", which she says, "will dispute the Hegelian concept of truth"<sup>324</sup>) and of the historical process, one might add: "— Prawda? — nie jest przeciwieństw mikstura..."<sup>325</sup>) (— Truth? — is not a mixture of opposites...). Indeed, Lisiecka seems to find little evidence for the operation of the Hegelian dialectic in Norwid's writings. George Gömöri has recently taken exception to the notion of "World-Spirit" as being alien to Norwid's views.<sup>326</sup>) There is no need, after all, to turn to Hegel to account for the prominence of history as a theme in Norwid's writings. Certainly Polish Romanticism provides a strong precedent. Augustine, too, provides a precedent; Maritain has called Augustine's philosophy of history "one of the most precious jewels of Augustinianism". Finally, if the dualistic interpretation of Norwid's view of reality is an inadequate framework for analyzing his creativity, then Hegelian "monism" could only offer an even less satisfactory ontological

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324) Elżbieta FELIKSIĄK, "Norwid i Vico", *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, 3 (1963), 24.

325) *Dzieła zebrane* I, p. 598.

326) George GÖMÖRI, "The Poet and Hero: Genesis and Analysis of Norwid's *Bema Pamięci Żałobny Rapsod*", *California Slavic Studies*, Vol. IV (1967), 146.

framework. To the extent that one emphasized the dualism of matter and spirit in Hegelianism,<sup>327)</sup> then the same shortcomings, with which the prevailing dualism is charged, would be applicable here as well.

Besides failing to account for the three levels of reality in Norwid's lyrics presented in this study, the chief difficulty with either the dualistic and, of course, a monistic approach is that neither of these positions provide an adequate framework for interpreting certain important aspects of Norwid's writings. This is the case especially with the Crucifixion, probably the most frequent image in Norwid's poetry. If for Augustine, the Crucifixion is the model of human life, one can go further and call it the measure of all things for Norwid. Any intersection of vertical and horizontal forms an image of the cross which Norwid perceives everywhere in the world. The intersection of horizontal and vertical represents for Norwid the fused incongruities within man of what Augustine terms the "mutable" and "immutable". Man is thus made in the likeness of Christ since He is made of fused human and divine natures. Man's moral life is also patterned on that of the Savior, for man, in Norwid's restatement of Luke 9:23, must pick up his own cross daily and follow in the footsteps of Christ. Through the concept of the Mystical Body of Christ, man participates in the central event in history, the Crucifixion, and thereby experiences a reality outside the flux of time. In the lives of all human beings the Crucifixion is repeated endlessly, but is always part of *the* event in history for "it has a human face", as Norwid says, because the sufferings of man and Christ are one. All men who participate in *the* event through the bloodless sacrifice of the Eternal Mass, are members of an eternal society. Those who do not are trapped in the flux of time and suffer eternal death (*śmierć*) as opposed to members of the eternal society who experience a decease (*zgon*), which is the beginning of eternal life. The cross, as in the poem "Krzyż i dziecko" (Cross and Child), is the gateway to the eternal through the middle way of Christ. Norwid is careful to reject an orientation solely to the other world, like Krasieński's, as fruitless "strivings in advance for the Kingdom of God". The way of Christ of finding the intersection of the horizontal and vertical, gave Norwid an orientation to the eternal, while maintaining responsibility for the events of this life.

Yet for the fusion of mutable and immutable, or for the vertical and horizontal to intersect, one must posit a middle rank of being on which this fusion or intersection takes place. This mid-rank is the dimension on which the intermingling of the ethical opposition of the Celestial and terrestrial societies occurs. This type of opposition has been here interpreted as the key to the dualism of theme and structure in Norwid's work; this dualism itself supposes the existence of three levels of reality. And Norwid can be said to seek this fusion or intersection of vertical and horizontal not merely for participation in art, but without exaggeration, in all things. Norwid values the parable precisely because it encompasses truth plus the drama of life. He rejects German philosophy for encompassing only one dimension of reality; science likewise is rejected for encompassing only the lowest level of reality. It is the philosophy of St. Paul that encompasses both the province of transcen-

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327) See, for example, J. LOEWENBERG, "Introduction", pp. XXXiff; also J. Sibree, tr., "Introduction to the Philosophy of History", pp. 359, 360, in *Hegel Selections*, ed., J. Loewenberg (New York, 1929).

dentalism, plus the lowest order of reality. For Norwid, the nation also represents a fusion of spirit and matter, thus all nations have a special role to play in history. In opposition to the exclusiveness of Polish Messianism, for all of his deep love of Poland, for Norwid "every fatherland is the promised land". Art, the word, and work ("with the sweat of the brow") all function on the middle rank since each represents a fusion of matter and spirit on the pattern of the Cross. Throughout his life Norwid was keenly aware of the necessity of the middle way of fusion of spirit and matter, as this letter of 1853 to Maria Trębicka makes clear:

*Truth is here never embraced in its entirety by knowledge, thought or by feeling alone — not-whole truth however is not truth, and therefore here, that is, on this planet, truth can be embraced only by thought, feeling and life together — hence for truth itself the material moment is necessary.*

By seeking the middle way, the intersection of the horizontal and vertical, the way of the cross, Norwid avoided the excesses and onesidedness of transcendentalism, positivism, and Polish Messianism, much as Augustine in his time avoided the excesses of Neo-Platonic mysticism. This is the reason Norwid was able to remain in all things the "temperate mystic", one of the more apt clichés associated with his name.

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AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF THE EARLY LITERARY WORK  
OF STEFAN ŻEROMSKI, ITS CULTURAL BACKGROUND AND  
ITS CRITICAL RECEPTION IN POLAND,

*presented for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
at the University of London,  
School of Slavonic and East European Studies  
which was granted in 1965.*

Introduction.

The literary fate of Stefan Żeromski in Poland has few parallels. He had a rare talent for arousing conflicting feelings and for stirring controversies. He was widely read, extravagantly praised and vehemently criticised. And yet today the range and the quality of his appeal may seem out of proportion with his actual achievement.

This raises a question: what was Żeromski's literary achievement? In order to answer it one will have to reexamine his work and to reassess its value. This is a difficult task since Żeromski's work has always been emotionally charged. Great caution was needed not to be taken in by Żeromski's charm and not to be repelled by his many weaknesses. A distance in time has made it possible to judge him impartially, to look upon him with certain detachment, sadly missing in most of his early critics. The passing of two generations has placed him in a historical perspective, his work is no longer topical but it is an interesting phenomenon deserving attention of literary historians and critics.

Żeromski was one of few writers to achieve almost instantly the rank of the "national bard". His work was regarded as a testimony to the nation's glorious past and to its sad present. It interpreted the present and tried to evoke the future. In the truly romantic fashion it praised the virtuous and chastised the philistines, it admonished and it encouraged, for the time being it performed a function of the national bible. As its author Żeromski acquired unique prestige and influence, unmatched by anyone in Poland in the 20th century, he was acclaimed as "the heart of hearts" and the "living conscience of his nation". As such he became a legend, an expression of a national dream of heroism and self-sacrifice.

With the passage of time this legend lost its lustre. Soon after his death a systematic action was started to debunk Żeromski and to

destroy his legend. The tide of literary popularity was followed by the ebb, the literary giant was reduced to human size.

Only now perhaps, when the creators and the destroyers of Żeromski's legend are equally silent, the time has come for a scholarly approach. Much in this field has already been done by gifted scholars, such as S. Adamczewski, whose pre-war study of Żeromski's style still remains unsurpassed. But there is room for more research. Since the war some new material has been discovered (Żeromski's diary) making it possible to view Żeromski in a new light. Żeromski's bibliography has been compiled in Poland by the members of the Institute of the Literary Research. This bibliography is a mine of information on critical material related to Żeromski which has been virtually inaccessible before.

The object of the present study is to throw some light on the formative years in Żeromski's career (1882-1900), to describe his early life, the gradual shaping of his talent and his early impact upon his readers. Some attempt will be made to reveal the hidden springs of Żeromski's art — to define his indebtedness to other writers in Poland and abroad. Although Żeromski's kinship with Russian and French writers was often hinted at, no systematic study of these relationships was undertaken so far.

It is hoped that this study, even in its modest scope, will contribute something distinctive to our knowledge of Stefan Żeromski and his times, that it will throw some light upon a turbulent epoch in which many ideas were born and many literary reputations were made and destroyed. Żeromski's reputation has outlived its times but will it last? What are the permanent aspects of his literary contribution? What is his place among Polish and European writers? These are some of the questions which this study will try to answer.

Throughout this study Polish primary and secondary sources were used, some of which could only be obtained in Poland. This was especially true of the articles in the Polish press, which were scattered throughout several Polish libraries. These articles would not have been found if the author had not been given the assistance of J. Kądziała, the editor of Żeromski's diary. Żeromski's diary itself with Kądziała's annotations was an invaluable source of information with regard to Żeromski's early life and his literary interests. Second to Żeromski's work itself, this was the most important source used. Żeromski's work was taken from the recently published full edition prepared by Prof. S. Pigoń. Only in a few cases were other editions used, as, for instance, in the case of *Snobizm i postęp* which was not included in Pigoń's edition. The late Prof. Pigoń has kindly given access to his private collection of Żeromski's letters. Numerous quotations were taken from this collection, others came from the monumental chronological biography of Żeromski recently published in Poland (S. Kasztelowicz and S. Eile, *Stefan Żeromski, Kalendarz życia i twórczości*). This work has made it possible to eliminate most of the painstaking and often fruitless research into the past. The data taken from there can be regarded as reliable.

Apart from J. Kądziała, S. Eile and the late Professor S. Pigoń, the author is indebted to Professor H. Markiewicz and Professor K. Wyka for general bibliographical information related to this period. The author is also grateful to Professor J. Krzyżanowski for general advice regarding this study and to Doctor J. Pietrkiewicz for supervision.

Finally, the author wishes to thank the Ford Foundation, without whose financial assistance this study could not have been undertaken.

## Chapter One

Stefan Żeromski was born in 1864 on a country estate in the district of Kielce. Both the date and the place of his birth were memorable in the history of Poland because of the suppression of the Polish uprising of 1863. Żeromski's family was involved in it and suffered on account of it,<sup>1)</sup> in particular since the last rebel troops were crushed in the close neighbourhood, in the *Świętokrzyskie* mountains. The memory of these events lingered on. Already in his childhood young Stefan heard many tales about the men who had the courage to fight, although their cause was lost.<sup>2)</sup> Later in life, he reproduced these tales in books, he gave them a new lease of life, immortality perhaps. But in his youth he was torn by conflicting feelings. How was he to respond to these tales? They appealed to his imagination and feelings but rationally he could not accept them. It took Żeromski many years to resolve this conflict. In the early stage he accepted the view of Antoni Gustaw Bem, his teacher in Kielce, who thought that Poland had no chance of recovering independence and that the best use had to be made of the existing conditions.<sup>3)</sup> This meant the acceptance of the Russian rule with its despotism, backwardness and the emphasis upon the russification of Poles. With the best will in the world it was impossible to accept such a rule for long.

Early in life, Żeromski rebelled against positivism, against its complacency and minimalism. He came to the conclusion that the nation, deprived of liberty, had no chance of normal growth.

A nation lives, creates and works — he wrote in the diary, in 1887 — when it is filled with a desire for freedom and nurtured on all levels by an outpouring of love for the fatherland. One only dies under a yoke.<sup>4)</sup>

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1) Żeromski's uncle and his two cousins took part in the fighting. His father supplied the rebels with provisions and was arrested twice. He was released on payment of a substantial sum of money, raised by his wife. The family never fully recovered from this financial blow.

2) Żeromski often refers to these family tales in the diary. In 1888, for instance, he noted: "Aunt Janowa is a walking memoir of an era — from 1830 to 1863. From her tales one could write an epic of the gentry. You listen to this tale and people that are more realistic than those in novels move before your eyes..., people that are somehow different and do not fit in with the standards by which our contemporaries have learned to measure everything". *Dzienniki*, vol. 3, p. 137. See Appendix N. 1. Żeromski used the tales of Aunt Janowa in *Rozdzióbę nas kruki, wrony...*, *Wierna rzeka* and *Uroda życia*.

3) In 1883 Żeromski still shared Bem's views: "Only in Russian socialism — he wrote in the diary — do I see the happiness of this country and the salvation of this country. Any foolish, in the complete sense of the word "foolish", thoughts about uprisings that have as their aim the restoration of freedom to our country, I think, will lead to the country's destruction". *Dzienniki*, vol. 1, p. 148. See Appendix N. 2.

4) *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 410. See Appendix N. 3.

A thirst for freedom and a deep attachment to his native land were the motivating forces in Żeromski's life. This thirst for freedom is easily understood. Anyone familiar with the history of post-partitioned Poland will be able to picture the state of mind of an adolescent, who was forced to express his thoughts in a foreign language and who could not study the history of his nation, nor its best literary works.<sup>5)</sup> It is no wonder that he was suffocating and that, together with others, he questioned the necessity of accepting these conditions.

It is easily overlooked, though, that Żeromski's thirst for freedom was not exclusively of a political nature. Since early youth he desired freedom from the dogma of religion.<sup>6)</sup> In that again he was not isolated. Atheism was spreading fast in the universities and secondary schools. Atheistic leanings went hand in hand with socialist sentiments. Like many others, Żeromski had his share of both. His socialism and his atheism left permanent traces on his mental make-up. Religion was dismissed by him but it left a void. In one of the introspective passages of the diary Żeromski made the existence of this void quite clear:

I want to point out — he confessed — that although I have killed all the religion within me and destroyed all possible ties, not having any family at all, I wish to remain with some kind of goal.... At times the entire intellect is so in need of prayer and boundless rapture, of the soul's quiet whispering with someone unknown, with some heart beyond the senses. For me, this heart, this great unknown shall be... a god that is visible, a tangible religion and a secular life — my fatherland.<sup>7)</sup>

The substitution of patriotism for religion was not an uncommon occurrence.<sup>8)</sup> Several decades before the Polish romantics had initiated the messianic cult of Poland — the "Christ of the nations".<sup>9)</sup> Unfortunately, in Żeromski's case this substitution was not wholly satisfactory. In spite of his love for Poland Żeromski often experienced despondent moods<sup>10)</sup> in which nothing made sense and life itself seemed a senseless and cruel game. These moods he described with great force in such stories as *Słaczka* and such novels as *Ludzie bezdomni*.

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5) The political indoctrination carried out at the secondary schools in the central part of Poland was described by Żeromski in his autobiographical novel *Szyfowe prace*. He also described there the students' ways of counteracting the russification.

6) The first traces of atheism appear in the diary in 1884: "What is happening to me? — Żeromski noted there with alarm — I do not pray even once and I am more and more concerned with irony. A terrible spectre threatens me — atheism". *Dzienniki*, vol. 1, p. 228. See Appendix N. 4. Later he ceased to regard atheism as a "terrifying phantom".

7) *Dzienniki*, vol. 2, p. 14. See Appendix N. 5.

8) Many writers underwent a similar spiritual crisis. Jan Kasprówicz, a poet, expressed his religious disillusionment in *Hymny*. But in contrast to Żeromski Kasprówicz eventually returned to religion.

9) The poets responsible for this cult were Adam Mickiewicz, Zygmunt Krasiński and Juliusz Słowacki.

10) Żeromski's despondent moods were very often described in the diary: "I have learned to laugh — he noted once — with the kind of laughter that has not even a spark of gaiety, laughter that is a million times sadder than tears. Hunger can, after all, be borne and I would not even mention it, if it were not for the fact that terrible loneliness and suicide are connected with it". *Dzienniki*, vol. 2, p. 220. See Appendix N. 6.

Żeromski's love for his country dated back to the ways of his childhood, when as a boy he roamed freely and admired the beauty of the hilly landscape, the fir forests and the swift streams of *Kielecczyzna*.<sup>11)</sup> But his devotion was not restricted to this part of Poland only. Early in life, as a private tutor, he became acquainted with other regions. He spent a considerable time on the country estates in *Podlasie*; he lived for a while in Warsaw and in Cracow. A little later he discovered Zakopane and last, but not least, the Polish sea, which he described in his book, *Wiatr od morza*. The best pages in his diary and in his novels were addressed to nature. He had a pantheistic feeling for nature, he longed to be submerged in it:

I live like a wild animal — he wrote in this mood — I do not want to know about anything or to fight for anything. I want to merge with nature.<sup>12)</sup>

Sometimes he addressed nature in a biblical tone:

I love no one. I love only you, O wonderful native land. Be blessed, O land that was created for us, so that you may support the weakness of our souls...<sup>13)</sup>

He was at his best, however, when he did not preach but confined himself to description of nature. He revealed then a Chekhovian gift of conveying mood through portrayal of nature. Many such descriptions are found in the diary:

I live like a caterpillar, like a small worm among the leaves. No sooner do I open my eyes in the morning, than I am struck by clusters of leaves and waving branches. They conceal not only the horizon but also the sky. The sun enters only stealthily and the blueness of the sky allows itself to be seen at times, when some cloud of branches or a heap of leaves moves to one side for a moment. The swaying of the clusters of branches immensely rich in leaves, when the tops of the trees bend towards each other and embrace, the silent but passionate rustling, the creaking of the branches, the entire daily activity of the park is wonderful and indescribable. And yet, in its majesty there is a still greater silence.<sup>14)</sup>

*Gorączka pisania* (a desire, literally, "fever" to write) was another of Żeromski's passions. Next to his country he loved literature best, it provided him with an outlet for his suppressed feelings, it took the place of the missing family and friends, it gave him a purpose in life. Żeromski's attitude to literature will be discussed later, here one should emphasise the emotional nature of this attachment. In this, as in everything else, Żeromski knew no bounds:

Art gives the only boundless and endless satisfaction possible on earth — he wrote in 1887 — It is an unearthly light, an ecstasy without bounds.<sup>15)</sup>

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11) Żeromski left a beautiful account of these trips in *Puszcza jodłowa*.

12) *Dzienniki*, vol. 3, p. 358. See Appendix N. 7.

13) *Ibid.*, p. 359. See Appendix N. 8.

14) *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 361. See Appendix N. 9.

15) *Ibid.*, p. 233. See Appendix N. 10.

Yet, even there, in the blessed sphere of art, Żeromski was torn by conflicting emotions — hope and doubt, joy and despair. At times he doubted his gift as a writer, he felt that he could never capture the fleeting phantoms of his vision:

Why can we not retain wonderful visions — he asked — clear splendid thoughts, and marvellous images threading tangibly through mind and heart? Ah! art, the ideal stenographer, cannot create nor render everything!... O God of Mercy, allow me to write everything that I feel!<sup>16)</sup>

Was this prayer ever granted? Could it have been granted? It seems certain that no one can express everything he wishes to. It should be observed that Żeromski wished to express everything he "felt", not everything he thought. He was aware of the emotional character of his "muse" and, unknowingly perhaps, helped to create a legend about his *serce nienasycone*<sup>17)</sup> and *czujące wiedzenie*.<sup>18)</sup>

The object of his pity (apart from his country) were "the insulted and the injured" — to borrow the title of Dostoevsky's novel. Even though Żeromski was a member of the gentry, he received no inheritance and, early in life, he experienced poverty and hunger. His experiences in Warsaw, in particular, (described in the diary)<sup>19)</sup> made him very sensitive to the problems of the poor. The "philanthropic" attitude (which made him akin to Turgenev, Dostoevsky and Chekhov) was to remain his lasting feature throughout his life. In literature he described the poorest of the poor, such as a dying peasant in the story *Cokolwiek się zdarzy, niech uderza we mnie*. In life, he actively participated in social movements such as *Światło* whose aim was to educate the Polish peasants in the central part of Poland. In spite of chronic illness (tuberculosis) and hard financial conditions, Żeromski was very active in *Światło*. He organised a series of lectures in Nałęczów and raised funds for the village nursery, run by his step-daughter.<sup>20)</sup>

Żeromski's interest in the peasants was already revealed in the diary. He described there many instances of peasants' exploitation which he used later as the basis for his stories.<sup>21)</sup> His early stories are comparable to Turgenev's *Sportsman's Sketches*. They all voice a sad truth (often unrecognised in Żeromski's Poland) that the peasant rights were still unrespected (in spite of the abolition of serfdom) and that

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16) *Ibid.*, p. 436. See Appendix N. 11.

17) *Serce nienasycone* (The insatiate heart) was the title of Stanisław Adamczewski's study, devoted to Żeromski.

18) *Czujące wiedzenie* (a loving wisdom — the term is untranslatable) was used first by Antoni Potocki in his article *O czującym wiedzeniu Żeromskiego*.

19) Żeromski's life in Warsaw during his veterinary studies is described in vol. 2 of the diary. The striking passage about the sad laughter (quoted in footnote 10) belongs to this period.

20) This is only one instance of Żeromski's social and cultural activities. Because of them he was placed on the "black" list of the Tsarist police. The police file on Żeromski has been discovered and described by a Soviet slavist, V.V. VITT in her study *Stephan Żeromsky*, Moskva, 1961, (in Russian).

21) The artistic transformation of the material contained in the diary is discussed in chapter 7.

few members of the upper classes regarded peasants as Polish citizens of equal standing.

The selfishness and the awkwardness of the Polish gentry made Żeromski shudder:

Oh! gentry, Polish gentry! — he exclaimed in the diary — What opinions I sometimes hear!... Not one of the members of the gentry known to me has yet expressed an opinion in which a peasant would mean as much as a Pole.<sup>22)</sup>

And yet, in spite of his great compassion for the poor, Żeromski did not identify himself with them. Throughout his life he remained an interested outsider, a "fellow-traveller" of the socialist movement, estranged from the masses and from his own class and belonging to a narrow circle of writers and thinkers, composed of such men as Stanisław Witkiewicz, Wacław Sieroszewski, Gustaw Daniłowski and others. In spite of his literary success, in spite of the great devotion to his family and friends, Żeromski was basically a lonely man. He could have repeated again and again what he once said in the diary:

As Bem says, we walk over the earthen clods of life barefoot. How we walk is less important than our destination. The goal is missing, the goal, the goal! There is that infernal disbelief that a person does not know whether he was created for a purpose or merely created aimlessly. That fact kills.<sup>23)</sup>

In a sense, all of Żeromski's principal characters followed this path, the path of the lonely searchers for the meaning of life. Doctor Judym in *Ludzie bezdomni* tried to find meaning in the service of the poor, Krzysztof Cedro and Rafał Olbromski in *Popioły* — in the service of the nation. But they all failed for they could never fully justify their lives even to themselves. Żeromski's suffering intellectuals, like Korzecki in *Ludzie bezdomni*, or Prince Gintułt in *Popioły*, are reminiscent of Tolstoy's characters, such as Prince Andrey in *War and Peace*. They are lonely, consumed by doubts as to the validity of their efforts and unable to find answers to their questions in any ready-made system, be it religion or political theory. Żeromski himself shared these qualities — his outlook upon life was eclectic, it was composed of bits and pieces taken from different philosophical systems, it lacked consistency and uniformity. Żeromski was aware of this flaw in his mental make-up:

In order to follow any kind of banner — he confessed in the diary — one must have enough education to choose that very banner from among many others. My philosophy is eclectic: I take what I like. All I want is freedom of thought.<sup>24)</sup>

If Żeromski's critics had realised this, if they had perceived that he was basically a non-party man, many unnecessary and painful controversies would have been avoided. Unfortunately, throughout his life, Żeromski was repeatedly labelled as belonging to a certain group. At the beginning of his literary career he was described, with some justification, as a

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22) *Dzienniki*, vol. 2, p. 199. See Appendix N. 12.

23) *Ibid.*, p. 204. See Appendix N. 13.

24) *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 331. See Appendix N. 14.

radical. After 1905, the revolutionaries were disappointed in him. He was labelled then as a "reactionary" and as a supporter of the Polish National Democracy. Towards the end of his life, after the publication of the novel *Przedwiośnie*, he was accused of communism. It is no wonder that all his life Żeromski feared critics, even though he was on good terms with some of them.

Żeromski's love of freedom, hatred of political oppression, sensitivity to social conflicts and a pantheistic feeling for nature provided him with themes for his literary work. From the point of view of dominant themes and the general mood his work is singularly uniform. Later novels elaborate the themes already to be found in the early ones. The manner of presentation undergoes some changes; it passes from the relative simplicity of the early stories to the baroque stylizations of epics (e.g. *Duma o hetmanie*) to return again to the early simplicity in his last novel *Przedwiośnie*. The interest wavers between contemporary scene and historical epochs such as the early 19th century, or Slavic pre-history (depicted for instance in *Powieść o Włgierzu Udałym*). But, regardless of setting, man is always in the centre of the picture, his love and fears, his heroic exploits and his failures, his victories and defeats. This man succeeds in being at the same time a historical hero and a human being, with capacity for heroism and for brutality, neither good nor bad, neither totally praiseworthy, nor totally contemptible. Żeromski's main contribution to Polish literature was the creation of this hero, a successor to the Romantic heroes and yet essentially conceived on a new realistic scale. In doctor Obarecki (from *Siłaczka*), in doctor Judym (from *Ludzie bezdomni*) Polish literature received worthy successors to Romantic heroes. In the following chapters it will be shown how these characters first emerged in Żeromski's writings and how they were received by the public, a little tired by then of the "positivist" heroes of Orzeszkowa and Prus.

## Chapter Two

Żeromski's literary career began in 1895, when he published his two collections of short stories in book form, entitled *Rozdzióbili nas kruki, wrony* and *Opowiadania*. But most of these stories were already known to the Polish public, for they had been published previously in literary magazines. Since they were controversial and touched upon the vital issues of contemporary life, they were quickly noticed and they evoked a considerable response. A literary debate in the weekly *Głos* on the life of the intelligentsia in the provinces, provoked by *Siłaczka* in 1891 can be regarded as the starting point of the literary criticism dealing with Żeromski. However, if this account were started in 1891, one would have to leave out the story of Żeromski's youthful attempts to have his work published and of his first encounters with literary men. This fascinating story is recorded in detail in Żeromski's diary, covering the years 1882-1891. It does not often happen that a literary historian can learn about the author's early experiences from the author himself. Even though such accounts must be accepted with a grain of salt, it would be unwise not to make use of them.



In 1882 Żeromski was eighteen. He passed with difficulty into the fifth form of the secondary school in Kielce. His progress in learning was hindered by his literary exploits. "On his school desk, or rather under it"<sup>25)</sup> he wrote copiously, — poems, novels and dramas. In his diary he lists not less than eighteen literary projects, started or completed that year. Some of the titles will give an indication as to the range of the topics covered and the literary temperament of the young author e.g. *Spowiedź zbrodniaarza*, *Dwie ofiary*, *Rzeź Humanśka*, *Syn banity*, etc.<sup>26)</sup> Young Stefan had a predilection for romantic and sensational themes and an interest in historical topics. His prose was not preserved — so the earliest specimen of his style is to be found in the diary — but his poems survived, thanks to the fact that they were nearly all copied into the diary. They were all imitative, as pointed out by Wacław Borowy in his comments on Żeromski's diary.<sup>27)</sup> Antoni Gustaw Bem, Żeromski's Polish teacher, was right, when he said:

The samples of verse are very weak. However, in narrative you have found your element. Sir, you have a talent for story writing.<sup>28)</sup>

It can be claimed that Bem was Żeromski's first "literary critic". His part in helping Żeromski to develop should not be underestimated. With great patience, if not always kindly, he read Żeromski's literary work and commented on it. Żeromski was often hurt by his unsparing criticism and offended by the advice to concentrate on his school work and to leave literary work till later.<sup>29)</sup> The fact that Żeromski failed to get his matriculation indicates that Bem's advice was justified. Later in life (in 1916) Żeromski paid tribute to "the master of his youth and the never-forgotten spiritual benefactor".<sup>30)</sup>

As a graduate of Warsaw's *Szkoła Główna* and a confirmed "positivist" Bem imbued Żeromski with a positivistic spirit. In due course Żeromski was to turn away from positivism, but for the time being this influence was beneficial. In its consequence he turned away from historical themes towards contemporary life. Even though he retained interest in emotional and morbid subjects (as is amply shown by his short stories),<sup>31)</sup> he

25) Wacław Borowy Ed. *Stefan Żeromski, Elegie i inne pisma literackie*. Warszawa, 1928, p. 190, "O czystość i poprawność języka", originally pub. in 1916. In this article Żeromski referred to his school experiences: "Piles of lyric poems, long poems, tragedies that were not shorter, as well as short stories were written at my desk at school, or rather under it. The master of my younger years, a spiritual benefactor that will never be forgotten, searched patiently and gave criticism cruelly". See Appendix N. 15.

26) *Dzienniki*, vol. 1, pp. 99-100.

27) Wacław, Borowy, *O dziennikach młodzieńczych Żeromskiego (1882-1883)*, Wrocław, 1950.

28) *Dzienniki*, vol. 1, p. 157. See Appendix N. 16.

29) In the entry for Sept. 15, 1882 one reads: "Everyone gives the same advice. Both my dear professor [Bem], Mr. Koczanowicz and finally that good-hearted old man [Gregorowicz] ... But not to write... no, I have no strength! Where should I put those golden dreams, those divine moments. Only then do I forget that I am human. I forget about the sufferings that constantly torment me, and about everything else. I myself do not know then what I am!" *Dzienniki*, vol. 1, p. 64. See Appendix N. 17.

30) *Op. cit.* in Footnote N. 25.

31) Żeromski's predilection for morbid subjects is shown in such stories as, for example, *Tabu*, describing the experiences of a wife, whose husband was insane, or *Rozdzióbą nas kruki, wrony*, describing the death of a lonely rebel of 1863.

changed the manner of presentation. This change and its consequences are discussed elsewhere. Obviously many factors contributed to it — Żeromski's growing awareness of the current literary trends, such as naturalism, his interest in social and cultural problems and his maturing outlook. But Bem's influence and guidance were of great importance.

Żeromski's first work to appear in print was his poem *Piosnka rolnika*, published by a weekly *Przyjaciół Dzieci* in 1882. It runs as follows:

Burn, burn, old earth!  
Give birth to me, mother, give birth!  
Here is my measure of wheat,  
Return it with an increase, return it!  
Perhaps, my dear earth,  
You will give me thorns and brambles...  
However, bravely, in the name of God! —  
I begin to plough you...<sup>32)</sup>

One can discern in this poem faint echoes of Maria Konopnicka, whom Żeromski knew and admired, but otherwise there is nothing in it to indicate that its author would rise to prominence. For Żeromski the fact that his poem was published meant a great deal.

This answer pleases me immensely — he wrote in the diary referring to the editor's letter in *Przyjaciół Dzieci* — This was one of the happiest days of my unhappy life.<sup>33)</sup>

Jan Kanty Gregorowicz, the editor of *Przyjaciół Dzieci* and *Tygodnik Mów i Powieści*, was the first journalist with whom Żeromski had "professional dealings". His letters to Żeromski are interesting for the light they throw on the quality of his work, as well as the nature of journalistic demands. In one of them he stressed the fact that Żeromski was talented, but his work was immature, in another he approved of the style of Żeromski's dramatic sketch *Barbara Giżanka*, but he found its contents too provoking. The most interesting reply appeared in no. 38 of *Tygodnik Mów i Powieści* (1882). It referred to Żeromski's poem *Anioł stróż*. The editor found this poem "unnatural". His comment is worth quoting in full:

To Mr. Stefan Ż. There are no really glaring objections with respect to the form of these poetic works. However, form will not take the place of that which gives worth to every written work. For example, in the small poem *The Guardian Angel*, the angel stands over a sleeping child in a cradle. The child, although it is still very small, already dreams of toys, flowers, the bearing of adversity and how God rewards him for this. Is this natural? Similar illustrations are found in other poems. This is an indication of rather immature feelings in the author. He cannot confine his thoughts with the shackles of deliberation, which takes its ascendancy only with time and strengthened by wisdom, speaks to the reader in harmonic order.<sup>34)</sup>

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32) *Kalendarz*, p. 49. Quoted from the photographic reproduction of the poem, taken from n. 32 of *Przyjaciół Dzieci*, 1882. On the reproduction the date mistakenly given as 1892. See Appendix N. 18.

33) *Dzienniki*, vol. 1, p. 47. See Appendix N. 19.

34) *Kalendarz*, p. 27. See Appendix N. 20.

This is a typically positivistic criticism, based on the assumption that literature should be life-like. It is probable that Bem's evaluation of this poem would have been similar.

In 1886 Żeromski left secondary school and went to Warsaw. But he did not stay there long. Because of financial difficulties he had to give up his veterinary studies and he accepted a teaching job in the country. During the following years, as a private tutor, he wandered from one household to another. The story of these years, recorded in the diary, makes a better novel than perhaps anything Żeromski ever wrote. He was lonely and embittered, sick and homeless, but at the same time he was endowed with a unique opportunity to observe life in different social settings, with its splendour and squalour. All his future work was to be based on these observations. Cut off from the main cultural centres (Warsaw and Cracow) and deprived of the company of his intellectual equals, he had to rely on his own resources. He read and wrote avidly, but until 1891 he published little.

In 1887 he sent his dramatic sketch *Dla jutra* to Aleksander Świętochowski, the leading positivist critic and the editor of *Prawda*. Świętochowski was quick to discern the romantic tendencies in the young author. His reply was sarcastic:

Dear Sir. I completely fail to understand the ideas in your piece. The heroine states in one instance that she has sacrificed herself for her parents and in a second instance, for the future. What does this wife of Wallenrod intend to do? Which blade should one strike? Coming from her lips, all this seems to be a mere cliché... The form of your work is painstaking and very beautiful in spots. However the balast of scientific terminology weighs it down unnecessarily. Helen becomes highly comical when she protects herself by means of Comte.<sup>35)</sup>

It should be noted that both Gregorowicz and Świętochowski were favourably impressed by Żeromski's style and that they both objected to the romantic undercurrents discernible in his work, the lack of "balance between his emotions and his reason". This lack of balance could only partially be attributed to the author's immaturity. The times were changing. A new generation of writers and critics was to appear on the scene, more romantically inclined than Żeromski ever was, namely the "modernists" (labelled also as the "decadents" or the "aesthetes"), writers like Przybyszewski, popularly referred to as *Młoda Polska* group. Żeromski's relation to this group was ambivalent. He shared some of their characteristics. He also loved pathos, he was also interested in extreme emotional states, such as enthusiasm and despair. He also had certain weakness for melodramatic effects. But he differed from them in his aesthetic credo, in his concept of art. He did not believe in "art for art's sake". His approach was more utilitarian. Art, in his view, had to perform a cultural and social role.

In his early literary sketches Żeromski still oscillated between romanticism in crude form and naturalism conceived as a portrayal of life in its physiological aspect. It is possible that his romantic pieces, such as the sketch *Dla jutra* were ridiculous and that his editors (e.g. Świętochowski) were justified in rejecting them. But Żeromski was deeply hurt. He did not agree with Świętochowski's assertion that his

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35) *Dzienniki*, vol. 2, p. 81. See Appendix N. 21.

sketch lacked a "central idea". Świętochowski implied that the lesson to be drawn from the story was not obvious enough (his insistence that there should have been a lesson was typically "positivist"). Żeromski was not convinced and voiced his disagreement in the diary:

Świętochowski takes exception to the fact that he completely does not understand the ideas in my piece. He could not understand them because there are no ideas or statements in the piece... The work is objective, lacking in tendentiousness and successful. I will put it away until later. I myself see that it has a certain balast of terminology. However, I wrote it for *Prawda* and I had to say what I was like in the work.<sup>36)</sup>

Żeromski's new attempt to have his work published was also unsuccessful. Adam Wiślicki, the editor of the influential *Przegląd Tygodniowy* rejected his naturalistic story *Z teki obiektywisty* (1887). He admitted that the story was objective but he found its realism gruesome and he asked reproachfully: "Czemu młodzi, zabierający się do pióra, lubują się bezpożytecznie w brudach?"<sup>37)</sup> Żeromski's reply was indignant:

Why are young people delighted with filth? — he wrote in the diary — I could say a great deal from my point of view, a great deal. Sometimes a man who is in pain delights in filth.... Filth is reproduced because it is necessary to reproduce it. Filth demands it, because if filth exists in a given era and becomes a huge piece of the life of the nation, then literature, which gives a picture of life, must recreate everything and thus reproduce filth also.<sup>38)</sup>

It is significant that even though Żeromski had so far hardly published anything, in the criticism of his rejected work all the basic notes had been struck — on the one hand the objection that the idealism of his principal characters was unconvincing (cf. Świętochowski's attack on Helena), on the other — the accusation that he delighted in morbid and painful subjects (cf. Wiślicki's criticism, quoted above). These two notes were to be repeated intermittently, with varying emphasis, by all his future critics, who found it hard to get reconciled to the dual nature of Żeromski's work — its romanticism and its realism.

Fortunately Żeromski was not easily discouraged and in spite of his disappointments he continued to write and rewrite his stories. In 1887 and 1888 several new projects were mentioned in the diary, such as the story *U drzwi obłądu* and the novel *Sity*.<sup>39)</sup> The first of these was rejected by Gregorowicz and by Świętochowski. The second was most probably never finished. Kindled by his enthusiasm and the growing need to express himself in writing, the young author moved on to new projects:

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36) *Ibid.*, p. 82. See Appendix N. 22.

37) *Ibid.*, p. 128.

38) *Ibid.*, p. 128. See Appendix N. 23.

39) *U drzwi obłądu* was mentioned in several entries in June 1887. On June 20, for example, Żeromski wrote: "I spent all day writing my pathological study entitled *At the Doors of Madness*. It fills me with inexpressible delight. At times I run around the room like a madman, tearing my hair and crying. Oh! this is neither objectivism nor a study — it is poetry..." *Dzienniki*, vol. 2, p. 230. See Appendix N. 24.

Thousands of thoughts — he wrote in October, 1888 — or rather images and not thoughts move along. At that point it is easiest for me to envelop the entirety of my works: *Mętów*, (sic), *The Forerunner*, *We*, *In the Name of Philosophy*... Oh! to write this, to be in a state to write it!<sup>40)</sup>

Till 1889, however, he produced no notable work. His youthful poems, novels and dramas, important as they were in the history of his literary development, were too immature to be representative. In 1889 Żeromski wrote three stories entitled *Z dziennika*, of which the second at least equals his best work. The three stories were: *Psie prawo*, *Zapomnienie* and *List miłosny*. The earliest reference to these stories is found in the diary, in the entry for June 6th, 1889:

I have been writing some sketch about rural life — one reads there — entitled *A Dog's Law* for perhaps two weeks now. I rewrite it, correct it and again find it highly silly. However, it entirely deserve this.<sup>41)</sup>

Eleven days later he wrote:

I write something, tear it up, throw it out of the window and again write the same thing. *A Dog's Law* and *The Love Letter* are two sketches that await publication. I work on *Oblivion* at night. It could be beautiful if I wrote it more calmly.<sup>42)</sup>

These stories were sent to *Głos*, a progressive weekly with a strong anti-aristocratic bias. Since at that time Żeromski was employed by an aristocratic family (at Oleśnica), he had to keep this venture a secret. Even the simple task of posting the stories presented difficulties:

I have written — we read in the diary — three sketches for *Głos* under the general title "From a Diary". I cannot send them because I cannot take them to the post office myself. I do not want anyone to know that I am writing or that I have dealings with *Głos*.<sup>43)</sup>

Before one considers whether Żeromski's caution was not excessive, it would be worth while to throw a glance at the history of Żeromski's relations with *Głos*. *Głos* was first launched in 1886 and, because of its socialistic colouring immediately found a following among the radically-minded students. Żeromski was one of the few who refused to support it. The reasons for this refusal can be only briefly outlined here. They are linked with Żeromski's political views and with his activity in the secret circle of the Warsaw University students. In this circle two wings were sharply differentiated: the "national" and the "international" socialists (these terms are self-explanatory). The latter were slowly gravitating towards marxism. Żeromski belonged to the former and had no sympathy for the latter. The animosity between the two eventually caused a rift in the organization. Żeromski suspected that the "internationalists" were backed by the editorial board of *Głos*. He also felt that *Głos* maintained contact with the Russian socialists and that therefore it was not to be trusted. In reality *Głos* was sharply divided; some of its members, like

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40) *Dzienniki*, vol. 3, p. 206. See Appendix N. 25.

41) *Ibid.*, p. 366. See Appendix N. 26.

42) *Ibid.*, p. 368. See Appendix N. 27.

43) *Ibid.*, p. 369. See Appendix N. 28.

Ludwik Krzywicki, were definitely pro-marxist, while others, like the editor Jan Ludwik Popławski, were later to form the core of the Polish National Democratic Party. With such different views the paper found it difficult to maintain balance; it was often hesitant, sometimes inconsistent. Żeromski quickly spotted this weakness of *Głos*:

There is — he wrote in 1887 — no strength or thought in that establishment. There must also be many foolish things... I will stay with Świętochowski. When I read *Prawda*, I have more strength and I greater will to live.<sup>44)</sup>

On another occasion he observed:

(*Głos*) In the prospectus, it called itself a progressive periodical. It proclaimed that it "wanted to subordinate the interests of social classes to the interest of the people". Fine, wonderful, very wonderful. What has it shown up until now? Not one fact... It has done nothing.<sup>45)</sup>

It is probable that if Świętochowski had been more favourably disposed towards Żeromski, the latter would never have become involved with *Głos*.

In 1887 a provincial daily, *Gazeta Kielecka*, published Żeromski's political invective *Echa krakowskie*, directed against the *Stańczyk* faction, in particular Count Stanisław Tarnowski. This article attracted the editorial board of *Głos*. The young author was asked to contribute regularly to the paper. Żeromski was pleased, but not completely won over. The accounts of his dealings with *Głos* are very reserved, at times openly hostile, as for example the description of his first meeting with the editorial board (in 1889),<sup>46)</sup> or the account of his political discussion with the editor (in 1890), which Żeromski found painful ("I came out ill, very ill". "Wyszedłem chory, bardzo chory...").<sup>47)</sup> In spite of the fact that this relationship was never smooth, Żeromski had good reasons to be grateful to *Głos*. His association with *Głos* marked a turning point in his literary career. Most of his stories were published there and since the paper was widely read, the young author was quickly noticed by the public.

The first story to appear in *Głos* was *Psie prawo*. It is a half-humorous, half-bitter anecdote, in the manner of early Prus, or early Chekhov, describing the adventures of two gentlemen who were nearly drowned while crossing a river. They were rescued by peasants, warmed

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44) *Dzienniki*, vol. 2, p. 191. See Appendix N. 29.

45) *Ibid.*, p. 106. See Appendix N. 30.

46) Żeromski described his first meeting with the editorial board of *Głos* in the entry for Sept. 24, 1889: "At five o'clock in the afternoon I had a meeting with the editor of *Głos*, Mr. Potocki. Gods! My sketches were judged favourably and accepted. They will be published, but only before Christmas. Besides, I can see the editor at any time with any article that is mainly literary or in the form of a sketch, 'in the style of Taine or Brandes' as the editor scoffingly put it. The editor is popular and asks questions about one's pocket-book. Do you have means of satisfying your hunger or do you want to 'live by the pen'?... Our relations are still coldly polite, since the director does not know my principles". *Dzienniki*, vol. 3, p. 404. See Appendix N. 31.

47) This discussion is to be found on pp. 421-422 of vol. 3 of *Dzienniki*. It concerned the religious and political situation in *Podlasie*, an eastern province of Poland. Żeromski thought that the preservation of national and religious awareness among the peasants there was the most important task, while the editor of *Głos* maintained that even more important was the spreading of socialism, even if it meant simultaneous russianization. Żeromski was deeply hurt by such an unpatriotic attitude and dismayed by the editor's anti-semitic bias.

and revived in a peasant's hut. The main theme of the story is the lack of gratitude on the part of the rescued. They do not feel grateful, for after all it was the peasant's duty — their "dog's obligation" — to save their lives. The story is humanitarian, for it claims on behalf of the peasants the right to human treatment (peasants are not dogs and should be treated like humans). The narrative is vivid and devoid of cheap sentimentality. The narrator's irony is pleasant and refreshing, but at times it seems strained, as if he went against his feelings to appear so calm (this was one of the devices constantly used by Żeromski, cf. his treatment of Raduski and Judym).<sup>48)</sup>

The other story *Zapomnienie*, marks an advance in the selection of the material and in the manner of its presentation. It would be out of place to examine in detail its purely literary qualities. It should be noted, though, that Żeromski himself was aware of its merits, for it was included in all the editions of his collected stories and in the first full edition of his work.<sup>49)</sup> It was not by chance that he called it "śliczna nowela *Zapomnienie*" — first in the diary<sup>50)</sup> and then in a letter to his friend, Walery Karwański, whom he begged "to rescue my beautiful story *Oblivion* from the damned *Głos*"<sup>51)</sup> (*Zapomnienie* was not "rescued", for it appeared in *Głos* in the following year).

The main theme of the story is the inhuman attitude of the gentry to the peasants. It is no longer a joking anecdote with a serious intent, but a vivid and masterful presentation of man's cruelty to man, equalled only by his cruelty to animals. The brutal treatment of the peasant who is beaten up for his theft is paralleled by a scene in which the village children thoughtlessly kill young crows. The grief of the peasants, who has lost his son, is compared to the grief of the mother-crow, who tries in vain to protect her young. The narrator's conclusion is rather unexpected and may spoil the story for a sensitive reader:

"I envied Obala and the crow. Both would forget quickly. What would have extinguished their infernal, groundless, cruel, unconscious pain, if they had spent this night alone in their simple nests, if it were not for the godly, wonderful, kind-hearted and best of the laws of nature - the wise law of oblivion?"<sup>52)</sup>

It is significant that in spite of his humanitarianism, Żeromski regarded the emotional make-up of the peasant as not basically different from the bird's. He envied them, for they would both forget, while he wouldn't be able to... This is an unwarranted assumption, and though one

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48) Jan Raduski in *Promień* and Doctor Judym in *Ludzie bezdomni* are both portrayed with frequent touches of irony, as if the author tried to hide his sympathy and admiration for them.

49) Prof. S. Pigoń gives a detailed account of the various editions of *Zapomnienie* in his full edition of Żeromski's work, *Dziela*, vols. 1-3 (Warszawa, 1956-1957).

50) See footnote n. 42.

51) Żeromski refers to this letter in the entry dated March 6, 1890: "I asked Wacek in a letter to go and pick up my wonderful novella *Oblivion* from the infernal *Głos* and to send it to *Ognisko*. The devil knows whether anything will come of it". *Dzienniki* vol. 3, p. 432. See Appendix N. 32.

52) *Dziela*, vol. 2, p. 78. See Appendix N. 33.

recognises the healing qualities of time, one may feel that parents, regardless of their status, never forget the children they have lost.

The sequence *Z dziennika* was not favourably received by the censors. Because of its radicalism Żeromski was labelled as "suspect" (*neblagodiozhny*). He was informed of this by Józef Hłasko, the secretary of *Głos*:

He said — we read in the entry for Jan. 20, 1890, — that he, Mr. Hłasko, in the name of the publisher, begged me for further collaboration and that the censor had not passed the second piece entitled *The Love Letter* in its entirety. He said that the censor had noted me down as a rebellious writer and that just the third sketch *Oblivion* would perhaps be placed in *Głos* if there was a new censor. Such cuts were made in the first sketch *A Dog's Law*, that almost everything was formally cut out.<sup>53)</sup>

The present-day reader of Żeromski's prose should bear in mind the restrictive impact of the censorship. This varied from district to district but, on the whole, only in the Austrian part of Poland did writers enjoy a degree of freedom. In *Kongresówka* the conditions were always bad, sometimes impossible.<sup>54)</sup> Writers had to disguise their thoughts in such a way that they would be palatable to the censors but comprehensible to the readers. Some, like Zenon Przesmycki, used a special code,<sup>55)</sup> others used historical settings of symbolical significance.<sup>56)</sup> Occasionally the meaning was veiled so thickly (as in Żeromski's *Ananke*), that only well-informed readers could see the point of the story.

*Psie prawo* and *Zapomnienie* were published in *Głos*, the first in 1889, the second in 1891. Between these dates Żeromski had several articles and stories published mostly in *Głos*.<sup>57)</sup> The most important of them, *Słaczka*, portrayed the "narodnik" movement in Poland.<sup>58)</sup> Its two principal characters devoted their life to the service of the people — Paweł Obarecki as a country doctor and Stanisława Bzowska as a teacher in the village school. But while Doctor Obarecki soon gave up his lofty ideals and joined the ranks of the local "philistines", Miss Bzowska persevered and carried on her work in total seclusion. The doctor found her on her death-bed and recognised in her the girl he had adored during

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53) *Dzienniki*, vol. 3, p. 422. See Appendix N. 34.

54) See also chapter 1 of the second part.

55) Zenon Przesmycki's special code was based on the use of general terms to denote specific political concepts, such as "*samoistność*" instead of "*niepodległość*". A very interesting light on this procedure is thrown by Zygmunt Sarnecki in his letter to Przesmycki, dated Oct. 11, 1890: "For Heaven's sake, avoid words that do not suit the requirements of censorship. You cannot imagine how wildly harsh they are at present towards expressions that are unpleasant to them. They are bigoted and reactionary to the point of absurdity, these people whom I remember as being progressive. Although it is very clear, the Polish language allows a thought to be expressed better by circumlocution and thus saves it from the scissors of the censor". (Biblioteka Narodowa, manuscript n. 2858, k. 20). See Appendix N. 35.

56) One of the examples of the use of the symbolic setting was the Trilogy of Henryk Sienkiewicz, where historical events were given contemporary significance.

57) *Niedobitek* was published in *Nowa Reforma* in the summer of 1890; a review of Aleksander Mańkowski's novel, *Hrabia August, notatki i wrażenia* appeared in *Głos* in the autumn of 1890. In Jan. 1891, *Głos* published the three stories: *Po Sedanie*, *Zie przecucie*, and *Pokusa*. In Feb. 1891, *Głos* published the ethnographical study *Mękalę* and a letter from *Nałęczów*.

58) This term is not to be taken literally as the equivalent of the movement in Russia.



his student days. In horror and despair he tried to save her life, but it was too late. Miss Bzowska died as she had lived, unknown and unappreciated, while Obarecki, in spite of the shock, soon became submerged in the slime of his everyday life. The poignancy of the story, intensified through its tragic ending, the vivid and depressing pictures of provincial life, made a powerful impression on the readers.

Shortly after the appearance of *Sitaczka* in *Głos* — wrote Antoni Potocki in *Tydzień* — a polemic began about its hero Dr. Obarecki from Obrzydlówek. The editors received many letters from remote areas of the provinces, in which regular and chance readers either criticized Obarecki or rated against their own Obrzydlówek's, that is Kozenice, Grójec, Kutno, or any other Pacanów. Among the young travelling intelligentsia from the universities, Obrzydlówek became a synonym for remote provinces and Dr. Obarecki became a nickname for the average "pioneer of civilization" who sets out with ideas and aims to take up a position in Obrzydlówek.<sup>59)</sup>

It is to Żeromski's credit that this story aroused so much feeling. The public realised that Obarecki was more than an individual, he was a symbol, in the same way as Obrzydlówek was more than a town, it stood for any provincial town. Żeromski realised that the "typicality" of Obarecki was an asset:

In today's issue of *Głos* — he wrote in the diary — there is an anonymous article that is a reply to the first letter written by Zygmunt Wasilewski.<sup>60)</sup> Again there is talk about Obarecki. It follows that Obarecki is a real type. As such, he can put me on my feet. I should only create several others to join him...<sup>61)</sup>

Unfortunately many of Żeromski's future characters, like Raduski and Judym, were variations on the same theme, rather than significant modifications. Żeromski's ability to respond to different psychological types was limited; this affected the range of his creativeness. His characters can be divided into several categories. They are all, as shrewdly observed by Karol Irzykowski,<sup>62)</sup> emanations of the author's self. It is

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59) Quoted from *Kalendarz*, p. 95. The following articles came out in *Głos* in 1891, dealing with the issues raised by *Sitaczka*:

1) WASILEWSKI Z.: "Z listów do przyjaciela na prowincji", nos. 32-36, 42.

2) Przyjaciół z prowincji: "Suwałki", n. 36.

3) Kobieta z Obrzydlówka: "Młodzież inteligentna na prowincji", n. 42.

4) L.R.: "Jeszcze o inteligencji prowincjonalnej", n. 46.

5) Kobieta z Obrzydlówka: "Kobieta inteligentna w Obrzydlówku", n. 47.

Unfortunately these articles are not obtainable in Poland, therefore our knowledge of the controversy is restricted to the information given in the recently published bibliography of *Głos* — *Głos 1886-1899, Bibliografia zawartości*, Wrocław, 1955. See Appendix N. 36.

60) See footnote N. 59.

61) *Dzienniki*, vol. 3, p. 481. See Appendix N. 37.

62) KAROL IRZYKOWSKI in his book *Czyn i słowo* — pub. in Lwów, 1913 — maintained that the principal characters of Żeromski were in fact his mouthpieces: "The characters of Żeromski have, let us say, a broken bottom. A pipe is put in this place that leads to the reservoir of the author. For this reason Rafał in *Popioły*, who in his inner life is a plain youngster, good for wars and love affairs, in addition feels, loves and dreams as if he were a poet of genius".

significant that in the first controversy around Żeromski's work, the public (including the critics), discussed not so much the work as the public issues raised by it. This was to remain a lasting feature of all the literary disputes related to Żeromski. His work was so topical that its more permanent features tended to be overlooked.

With *Siłaczka* Żeromski's reputation was made. From then on his work was in demand and his literary status was established. But the success did not affect Żeromski's own estimate of his work. He still regarded it as inferior:

Why do you write — he wrote to his friend, Karwasiński — such nonsense on account of those novellas! I know that, with the exception of *Ananke*, they all qualify as worthless trash...<sup>63)</sup>

Since *Ananke* was so exceptional in the author's opinion, it deserves some mention. It is a very condensed narrative, describing the crisis in the family of a provincial postmaster in the eastern part of Poland. The nature of this crisis and its causes can be only understood by those familiar with the history of the period. The postmaster was so poor that the only way to improve his finances was either theft, or else conversion to the Greek Orthodox faith. He chose the latter, but his wife refused to reconcile herself to this fact and left him with their nine children. This step was hardly justified, but one cannot fail to be moved by the description of the husband's grief.

In 1892 Żeromski left Poland for a lengthy tour of Europe. His life as a private tutor came to an end then, and also his bachelor years. During this tour he discontinued his diary. He retained his habit, though, of jotting down his thoughts in tiny booklets, but the diary proper was replaced by his letters to Oktawia Rodziewicz, his fiancée.

### Chapter Three

The early phase of Żeromski's literary evolution was described in the preceding chapter. The material used included the pronouncements of Żeromski's first critics and his own comments, expressed in his diary. Unfortunately, the diary, an invaluable source of first-hand information, was discontinued on the eve of Żeromski's marriage to Oktawia Rodziewicz. Żeromski's letters to Oktawia only partially replace the diary, for they cover short periods only, in this case from September, 1891 to May, 1892. During this time Żeromski went for his first trip abroad, stopping in Vienna, Zurich, Munich and Prague. On his way back he stopped in Zakopane, where he met Stanisław Witkiewicz,<sup>64)</sup> a prominent painter and critic. Żeromski was profoundly influenced by Witkiewicz, even

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63) KALENDARZ, p. 97. This letter is dated Sept. 3, 1891.

64) Stanisław Witkiewicz (1851-1915). Painter and critic. A propagator of impressionism in art. His critical articles were published in a collection *Sztuka i krytyka u nas* (1891). His other works include studies devoted to Juliusz Kossak and Jan Matejko, and two collections of sketches, describing the Tatra mountains: *Na przełęczy* (1891) and *Z Tatr* (1907).

though he did not always agree with him and, on the whole, was very fond of the older artist.

Without a doubt — he wrote to Oktawia in April, 1892 — Mr. W. and I are two people that most resemble each other in this world. This, you must admit, bothers me, since I am a million times a zero and he has gained publicity and fame through the very same thing that is within me... He even writes in the same way as I do... and since I am writing later and have fewer things to write about, I may be called an imitator although I am absolutely not. I am beginning to like Mr. W. because he is a person who comes from the same world as I do, from the same whirl of impatience. However he is ill and good. He was poor and lived like a dog...<sup>65)</sup>

In this revealing passage the reader will find not only a picture of Żeromski's relationship with Witkiewicz but also a summary of Żeromski's views on poverty, with its destructive and its redeeming qualities, — "poverty, which brings humiliations and which teaches men how to take them in a philosophical spirit". One should note the expression (referring to Witkiewicz) — "a man of the same world, of the same whirl of impatience". It describes best the hidden springs of Żeromski's art, his dissatisfaction with the world and his reforming zeal.

Żeromski's reservations as to Witkiewicz's artistic views and methods were voiced in the same letter to Oktawia:

I do not know how these violet furrows in the snow are formed... There were never any blue furrows in the snow and there will never be any in nature. Therefore they should never appear in the imagery of a realist.<sup>66)</sup>

It is a paradox that Żeromski, a great master of stylization, did not favour it in painting. Along side with sensitivity and receptiveness there was a conservative streak in him, which made him unable to accept a new theory fully, whether it concerned art or politics. He was a modernist not entirely divorced from positivism, in the same way as he was a half-hearted socialist, imbued with socialist ideas, but unable to identify himself completely with the movement. His attitude to nature illustrates this point — he admired it and was unusually sensitive to its phenomena, but he could not dissociate it from the world of men. For this reason he did not understand Witkiewicz's treatment of nature in his paintings:

The reproduction of nature — he wrote to Oktawia in another letter from Zakopane — replaces everything. The goal of an artist is to convey truth in an image. But if the artist places a man against the background of nature and in this way places silent nature herself on a secondary plane, then he should establish a connection between the man and nature in some way.<sup>67)</sup>

In his prose Żeromski presented nature as essentially related to the world of men. Had he been capable of modern detachment, his work

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65) Letter dated April 28th, 1892. See Appendix N. 40.

66) *Ibid.* See Appendix N. 41.

67) *Ibid.*, this letter was dated May 4th, 1892. See Appendix N. 42.

would not have dated so much. On the other hand, his childlike, passionate attitude should be appreciated for its own sake. It was a better world, in which men believed that their thoughts and feelings were reflected in nature.

From October, 1892 till August, 1896 Żeromski lived with Oktawia in Rapperswil,<sup>68)</sup> Switzerland, where he worked as a librarian in the Polish Museum. These were fruitful years, devoted to creative work and to many cultural tasks. They were also hard years, for he struggled with recurring illness and with the ill-will and ignorance of his superior. But in this struggle he was no longer unassisted. Oktawia, (whom he portrayed as Joasia in *Ludzie bezdomni*) was his faithful partner and assistant. She must have been a woman of exceptional qualities, all her acquaintances testified to that. Bolesław Prus,<sup>69)</sup> a famous writer, was one of her friends and admirers. Żeromski's marriage to Oktawia was encouraged by Prus, even though he had some doubts as to the young man's prospects. During the first years of their married life Prus was extremely helpful. In Nov. 1892 he offered his assistance in the publication of Żeromski's stories. Since he was a well-established writer, his assistance meant a great deal. No less valuable was his criticism of the stories. In a letter sent to Rapperswil, Prus expressed his appreciation and gave Żeromski a "piece of fatherly advice":

I liked — he wrote to Oktawia — the stories of Mr. Stefan Ż. very much. Using the words of the critics the author has a great talent but he lacks experience. I find imagery and feeling there and figurative language but he seems to write without definite topic, just under the influence of some impression. This may be only a stage in his development. His best story is *A Strong Woman* but *Oblivion* is also good. Each piece has beautiful and moving parts. However, he has no control over the subject-matter, no topics and no original thoughts.<sup>70)</sup>

What Prus meant by the lack of subject-matter will become clear when his verdict is compared with the first reviews. Many critics shared his view that the stories were too fragmentary, without the backbone of a solid artistic topic. They did not realise that, in his neglect of narrative interest, and in his concentration on introspection, Żeromski was in tune with his times. He was at his worst where he tried to build a strong narrative sequence, based on incident, as in *Dzieje grzechu* (1908). His talent was primarily lyric. He was true to himself when he simply conveyed his impressions of people and situations.

Even though, for the time being, Żeromski failed to bring out a book of his own (the efforts of Prus were evidently unsuccessful), he continued to publish his stories. Most of them were published in *Głos*:

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68) Żeromski's experiences in Rapperswil were used by him as background material for *Ludzie bezdomni*. He referred to them more directly in his pamphlet *O przyszłość Rapperswilu*, published in 1911.

69) Prus portrayed Oktawia as Madzia in *Emancypantki*. Madzia was later described by Prof. Aleksander Brückner, as *ideał pięknej duszy kobiecej, ani domyślającej się swej świętości, swego altruizmu, płynącego nie z wyrozumienia, ale z serca*. An interesting portrait of Oktawia, in her later years, was left by Wacław Borowy in a sketch *Pani Oktawia Żeromska* published in W. Borowy, *O Żeromskim*, Warszawa, 1964.

70) Quoted in *Kalendarz*, p. 118. This letter was dated December 14th, 1892. See Appendix N. 43.

*Niedziela* and *Zmierzch* in 1892. *Oko za oko* in 1893, and *Doktor Piotr* in 1894. Simultaneously he published three stories in the Austrian and Prussian part of Poland: *Do swego Boga* and *Poganin* came out in the Cracovian *Nowa Reforma* in 1892, *Mogila* — in *Przegląd Poznański* in 1894. The first two stories described the religious oppression of the peasants in eastern Poland who were forced to renounce Catholicism for the Greek Orthodox faith. *Mogila* told the story of a young Pole, Maurycy Zych, who served as a volunteer in the Russian army, stationed in Poland. These three stories were to form the core of a future collection, entitled *Rozdzióbią nas kruki, wrony*. The covering title was taken from a story, which was first published in *Przegląd Poznański* in 1894, and which was included in this collection. It described the lonely death of an 1863 rebel, overtaken and killed by the Russian cavalry. The grim aftermath of his death — the crows circling over his body and trying to get at the flesh of his still living horse — justified the ominous title (taken from a rebel song). And yet its final message was not pessimistic, even though *ze świata szła noc, rozpacz i śmierć*,<sup>71)</sup> one could feel that this lonely effort, so unheroic in its heroism, was not wasted.

In the spring of 1895 T. Paprocki and Co. in Warsaw published the first collection of Żeromski's short stories, *Opowiadania*. It included: *Zapomnienie*, *Doktor Piotr*, *Cokolwiek się zdarzy, niech uderza we mnie*, *Ananke*, *Zmierzch*, *Złe przeczucie*, *Po Sedanie*, *Pokusa*, *Siłaczka*, *Oko za oko*, *Niedziela* and *Z Dziennika*. They dealt with suffering, death, guilt and moral obligation. Only a few, such as *Oko za oko*, *Pokusa* and *Niedziela* could be described as love stories, with the reservation that in neither was love presented as a source of bliss, but rather as a Tolstoyan carnal passion.

In spite of the fact that the author of *Opowiadania* was a newcomer to literature and that the literary market then was flooded with similar productions, the response of the critics was lively and quick. They sensed in the young author a strong personality and a major talent.

Mr. Żeromski — wrote Antoni Lange in *Przegląd Tygodniowy* —<sup>72)</sup> developed and moulded himself. For this reason the first characteristic that strikes us is his great independence... Mr. Żeromski has his own specific point of view and he looks at society from this viewpoint. His society is a world that is broken and turned upside down. Nothing here is in its place; everything is in motion and nothing is stable. Everything, it seems, has changed its place. (...) Notwithstanding many deficiencies in Mr. Żeromski we find a wealth of talent.<sup>73)</sup>

Lange's review compares favourably with others, it is well-phrased and balanced, neither excessively critical nor over-enthusiastic.

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71) *Dziela*, vol. 1, p. 60.

72) Antoni Lange (1861-1929). Pseud.: Napierski, A. Wrzesień. Poet, critic, translator and playwright. His more important works were: *Pogrzeb Shelley'a* (1890), *Poezje* (1895-1898), *Ostatni zbiór poezji* (1931). Plays: *Wenedzi* (1909), *Atylla* (1910), and a collection of articles *Pochodnie w mroku* (1927).

73) Antoni LANGE, "St. Żeromski *Opowiadania*", *Przegląd Tygodniowy*, Warszawa, 1895, n. 37. See Appendix N. 44.

Another intelligent review was written by Wiktor Gomulicki<sup>74)</sup> for *Kraj* (a Polish periodical published in St. Petersburg). Gomulicki described vividly his first reaction to the book of the unknown author:

Again we have a volume of novellas? (...) Without excessive eagerness we reach for a book whose cover mentions some twelve small works. If only the name appearing on the cover were well known, solid and "spoke for itself"! "Stefan Żeromski" we read — *Tales* — and that is all.<sup>75)</sup>

In spite of his initial reserve Gomulicki was soon won over by this book.

The impressions that we receive from the *Tales* of Mr. Stefan Żeromski — he concluded — are very strong. They affect not only our thoughts but also our emotions. One generalization can be drawn from the *Tales*: the fact that people who react strongly to intellectual stimuli are, under normal circumstances, sensitive to moral phenomena.<sup>76)</sup>

The last might have been true in the case of Żeromski but it certainly cannot be taken as a statement of fact. Moral sensitivity does not imply a strong intellect and vice versa. It would be better if it did. But it was typical for the men of Żeromski's generation that they tended to see a moral side to every problem. For this reason criticism of Żeromski was predominantly moralistic. He was praised as a good judge of human nature and, sometimes, accused of distorting the picture by putting a greater emphasis on its darker aspects.

Such was the view of Konstancja Morawska:<sup>77)</sup>

And what of the fact — she wrote in the Catholic *Przegląd Polski* — that this masterful hand spreads before us the most beautiful pictures of nature, if whenever a man appears on the scene he is always poor or stupid, angry or unhappy. (...) It is a pity to waste talent on such images that are humiliating for mankind.<sup>78)</sup>

Morawska did not realise that Żeromski's pessimism was an integral part of his personality and not a consciously adopted attitude.

Similar views were expressed by Wacław Karczewski,<sup>79)</sup> a much more important critic than Morawska, writing for the respectable, if somewhat old-fashioned, *Biblioteka Warszawska*.

A certain biting, grating irony — Karczewski wrote — and a clearly subjective nature is shown in the work of this young author (...) Certain unnecessary accentuations and certain heaviness and brutality in the sketching is detrimental to the artistic and literary side of these works. However, this is all caused by a lack of time a temporary shortcoming

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74) Wiktor Gomulicki (1851-1919). *Pseud.* Fantazy. Poet and novelist. His more important works: Verse: *Pieśń o Gdańsku* (1900), *Biały sztandar* (1906). Novels: *Cudna mieszcza* (1897), *Miecz i łokieć* (1903). Stories: *Nowele* (1890), *Opowiadania o starej Warszawie* (1900-1909).

75)-76) Wiktor GOMULICKI, "Książka i dziennik" (Mozaika literacka), *Kraj*, St. Petersburg, 1895, n. 38, p. 4-5. See Appendix N. 45 a. 46.

77) No information has been found on Konstancja Morawska.

78) N. (Konstancja Morawska), "Opowiadania przez Stefana Żeromskiego", *Przegląd Polski*, Kraków, 1896, vol. 119, p. 716. See Appendix N. 47.

79) Wacław Karczewski (1855-1912). *Pseud.* Marian Jasieńczyk. Novelist, playwright and critic (of minor importance). His published work: a play *Lena* (1885), a novel *W Wielgiem* (1898).

that is even today redeemed a hundredfold by an honest sincere love of "that of the self" which can be seen at each step through the false pessimism and causticity that appears at times...<sup>80)</sup>

It should be noted that, for Karczewski, too, Żeromski's pessimism was not genuine. He regarded it as a passing stage — something of which one could be cured — and he sincerely wished that Żeromski would be cured. In his review, he tried to be objective so he carefully emphasised Żeromski's good points, such as his love for his country.

Less objective was the priest J. Badeni<sup>81)</sup> writing for the Cracovian *Przegląd Powszechny*. In his opinion, Żeromski simply lacked talent.

Has the author never in his life met or does he believe he will never meet — he asked — a man who is rational and good-hearted. Oh! Then he has the right to put on dark glasses, wrap himself up in the dark mist of melancholy and intone the hymn of doubt, particularly about his own novelistic talent!<sup>82)</sup>

In the same review Badeni discussed Żeromski's second collection of stories, *Rozdzióbą nas kruki, wrony...*, published under the pseudonym of Maurycy Zych. Badeni did not know that Zych was Żeromski's pseudonym and, in spite of the striking similarities, he failed to identify the two books as belonging to the same author. This resulted in an amusing disparity of judgement — he praised Zych, even though he besought him to have more faith and to be charitable. Such mistakes were common at the time, when so many writers had to use pseudonyms to publish their politically incriminating work.

Morawska and Badeni are representatives of the conservative critics, who were, on the whole, reserved towards Żeromski. The progressive critics, on the other hand, were enthusiastic and greeted Żeromski as their spokesman:

The author of the *Tales* — wrote Władysław Jabłonowski<sup>83)</sup> in the most prominent cultural weekly *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* — was not acknowledged by the applause of our public and entered contemporary literature without noise and publicity, with the same earnestness and dignity as Dygasiński, Kł. Junosza, Ostoja and others. He entered the literary field on account of his talent.<sup>84)</sup>

Jabłonowski observed that Żeromski's perception was "vertical" and not "horizontal", that he was interested in miniature sections of life rather than in its vast expanses.

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80) W. KARCZEWSKI, "Opowiadania pana Stefana Żeromskiego", *Biblioteka Warszawska*, 1896, vol. 1, p. 165. See Appendix N. 48.

81) No information has been found on Jan Badeni. He should not be confused with Stanisław Badeni, a politician in Cracow.

82) Jan BADENI, "Opowiadania", *Przegląd Powszechny*, Kraków, 1896, vol. 49, pp. 285-286. See Appendix N. 49.

83) Władysław Jabłonowski (1866-1956). Critic and novelist. Active in politics. He should not be confused with Aleksander, the poet. His more important works include: *Dusza poety*, *Amiel*, *Wśród obcych*, *Dookoła sfinksów*, *Z ojczyzny Danta*, *W zatoce śmierci*.

84-86) Władysław JABŁONOWSKI, "Stefan Żeromski, *Opowiadania*", *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, Warszawa, 1896, n. 5, p. 100. See Appendix N. 50, 51 a. 52.

The talent of Żeromski — he continued — does not like to spread over a large area in a thin layer. Rather, it probes deeply into every sphere...<sup>85)</sup>

One can only wish that this had remained true during the whole of Żeromski's literary career. Unfortunately, in later years, he widened his scope and tried to portray men against a vast historical canvas (in *Popioły* — for example). Jabłonowski was one of the few to pay some attention to Żeromski's literary technique.

The *Tales* — in his opinion — have excellent finishing touches and form a harmonic and artistic whole.<sup>86)</sup>

Jabłonowski should be contrasted with a critic signing himself Dr. Cz., who wrote in *Przegląd Poznański*:

With respect to their outer form, Żeromski's sketches cannot completely satisfy a demanding reader. In these sketches we can sense a certain striving for effect and originality, and here and there a certain pathos that cannot be justified. We are also struck by the unusual concentration of adjectives and the deliberately created distance between the adjectives and their corresponding nouns...<sup>87)</sup>

Dr. Cz. was sufficiently sensitive to notice the influence of Turgenev upon Żeromski's style.

The most interesting, perhaps, is the article of Antoni Potocki,<sup>88)</sup> a very talented, though rather affected critic, who later became an ardent admirer of Żeromski. In his article (published in *Głos*) Potocki recalled the early reception of Żeromski's stories:

I remember lively debates because of *Ananke* — he wrote — Attempts were made to find the solution to the riddle, the reason for why the wife of the post office official left her husband one morning... Even those who did not solve the riddle understood that it was rather they themselves who were slow of understanding...

Because of *Siłaczka*, the polemic and discussion has advanced from private talks to the columns of publications...

A young author whose very first works raise such deep interest and cause dozens of letters to be written to the editor, either enthusiastic or complaining against the characters in the stories, must have some very vital link with people of his time and be more contemporary than others."<sup>89)</sup>

The purpose of this study is to define the nature of Żeromski's relation to his times, to find out in what sense he was more "contemporary" than other writers. Examination of the contemporary criticism of his work should be of value here, even though, as has been shown, this

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87) Dr. Cz. "Kronika literacka", "Stefan Żeromski, *Opowiadania*", *Dziennik Poznański*, Poznań, 1895, n. 259. The author of this review has not been identified. See Appendix N. 53.

88) Antoni Potocki (1867-1939). *Pseud.* Jerzy Grot. Critic and historian of literature. Regular contributor to many periodicals, such as *Głos*, *Prawda*, *Gazeta*, *Polska*, *Biblioteka Warszawska*, *Tygodnik Literacki* and others. Potocki's most important works are: *Polska literatura współczesna* (1911-1912), *Stanisław Wyspiański* (1902), *Maria Konopnicka* (1902), *Szkice i wrażenia literackie* (1903), *Grottiger* (1907), *Portret i krajobraz angielski* (1902).

89) A.P.O. (Antoni Potocki), "St. Żeromski *Opowiadania*" *Głos*, 1895, n. 1. See Appendix N. 54.



criticism was heterogenous and uneven, and, very often, the most interesting comment could not be given for political reasons. This was particularly true in the case of the second collection of short stories, *Rozdzióbki nas kruki, wrony...* which, for political reasons, could not be reviewed at all in the Russian part of Poland. It was published by L. Zwoliński and Co. in Cracow, in the summer of 1895. Its full title in Polish ran as follows: *Rozdzióbki nas kruki, wrony... Obrazki z ziemi mogił i krzyżów (rozdzióbki being an old form on the current rozdzióbki)*. The volume was signed by Maurycy Zych and postdated 1896. This has induced some literary historians to accept 1896 as the date of its publication and created confusion, since the first reviews of the book appeared in the summer of 1895, seemingly prior to its publication. According to Żeromski the first edition numbered 2,000 copies.

This book was unusually widely read — he wrote to Jan Lorentowicz — particularly in the Kingdom (one transport carrying one thousand copies sank in a pond). However it remained in circulation for over five years.<sup>90)</sup>

The collection contained the following stories: *Rozdzióbki nas kruki, wrony...*, *Mogiła*, *Źródło*, *W siółtach niedoli*, *Poganiń*, and *Do swego Boga*. In contrast to *Opowiadania* these stories had a definite political colouring. The first one was set back in the days of the uprising of 1863, the remaining ones described the consequences of its failure. They portrayed the suffering and the moral degradation of men raised in the Russian part of Poland. These young men, Maurycy Zych in *Mogiła*, Janek All-de-Baran in *Źródło*, even Jakub Ulewicz in *W siółtach niedoli* have one feature in common — they were all born to a life of special circumstances, with greater challenges and fewer opportunities. If they were strong and brave, like Janek, they might end in prison, undaunted spiritually but exhausted physically. If they were average, like Maurycy Zych, they might have their heroic moments but, on the whole, they would tend to accept life on its basic terms. If they were weak, like Ulewicz, their existence might be meaningless and hard to bear.

In spite of its modest appearance this book was a daring attempt to portray the impact of the unsatisfactory historical environment on the individual. The present-day reader may not wholly agree with its conclusions, he may have reservations as to the objectivity of the historical portrayal in it, he may find it morbid and depressing, but he should realise that, in its own way, it was unique.

It is significant that the most enthusiastic response to the book came from Warsaw. According to the testimony of Prus the book was widely discussed there.

Dear Sirs! — Prus wrote to Oktawia Żeromska in April, 1896 — I write this letter with my ears full of phrases: Have you read Żeromski? Have you read Zych? Have you read *The Wandering Soldier*? etc. Because of this, I hasten to inform Lady Octavia that the hopes she once expressed to me in Łazienki Park have been fulfilled. Mr. Stefan is famous and famous all over Warsaw, and if he were here, I would not be able to miss dinners with Żeromski.<sup>91)</sup>

<sup>90)</sup> Quoted in *Kalendarz* (compare footnote 70), p. 129. Żeromski's letter was written in the autumn of 1908. See Appendix N. 55.

<sup>91)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134. See Appendix N. 56.

In the Austrian part of Poland the book was received as an indictment of the Russian rule.

I believe that the book written by Mr. Zych — wrote Antoni Potocki in *Tydzień* — is something more than a literary work. I consider it to be a document of our life, a document that is extremely eloquent and interesting.<sup>92)</sup>

The documentary value of the book, in his opinion, consisted in depicting and analysing the peculiarly Polish phenomenon of *ludzi, chorych na Moskali*. It was to Żeromski's credit that he was the first to perceive how this "sickness" — a repressed hatred — affected Poles in their everyday life, how it impaired their moral health and induced them to seek outlets in escapism. Only a small minority was strong enough to live, day by day, with this hatred and not to be seriously affected by it, such as for example Janek, who loved his enemies, even though he actively opposed them (it should be added, perhaps, that Janek is the least convincing of the men portrayed in the *Rozdzióbki nas kruki, wrony...* Like Prince Myshkin in Dostoevsky's *Idiot*, he is too good to be human).

For Potocki, the appearance of Żeromski's book was an indication that, at last, the Polish nation was waking from its stupor. He strongly urged the readers to give their full support to the author, who did not represent a literary group or trend, but was speaking in the name of truth:

This sort of literary current must be supported by everyone who writes. It is not a new school or a monument erected to honour the latest artistic fetish, that one must approve of in order to serve. It is a dictate stemming from the very essence of art. A work can be realistic, beautiful and important only when it is freely created.<sup>93)</sup>

Similar in tone was the review of Wilhelm Feldman,<sup>94)</sup> who later acquired fame as a critic and an apostle of the *Młoda Polska* group of poets and writers. Even though Żeromski was never identified with this group, Feldman at once sensed in him a kindred spirit. He was not deceived by Żeromski's seemingly ironic treatment of his heroes and realised that this treatment was the result of a long-acquired habit of masking his feelings.

Maurycy Zych — Feldman wrote in *Dziennik Krakowski* — is a poet with this frame of mind. As such, he is a representative of a large part of Poland under the Russian rule. His volume of stories are confessions of a man who is "sick with Russians". Moods of such people are best expressed by words which appear cold but in which nevertheless we feel

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92-93) Antoni Potocki, "Kartki ze współczesnego dziennika", *Tydzień*, Lwów, 1895, nos. 42-44. See Appendix N. 57 a. 58.

94) Wilhelm Feldman (1868-1919). Important literary historian and critic and a great champion of *Młoda Polska*. The editor of *Dziennik Krakowski* (1896-1897) and of *Krytyka* (1901-1914). His more important works are: *Piśmiennictwo polskie ostatnich lat dwudziestu* (1902), republished in 1930, as *Współczesna literatura polska, O twórczości Stanisława Wyspiańskiego i Stefana Żeromskiego* (1905), and the historical studies: *Stronnictwa i programy polityczne w Galicji* (1906), and *Dzieje polskiej myśli politycznej w okresie porzoborowym* (1914-1920).

a caustic fire. His narration is an attempt at peace and objectivity. But it is drowned out by irony and jokes aimed at himself and at the world, by contempt and the opening of his wounds.<sup>95)</sup>

Other reviews from the Austrian part of Poland were published in daily papers, such as *Dziennik Poranny*, *Głos Narodu*, *Przegląd Literacki* and *Przegląd Powszechny*. The review in the last of these was written by Jan Badeni and has already been mentioned. Others did not contribute anything distinctive to the discussion, with the possible exception of Mieczysław Offmański.<sup>96)</sup> In contrast to Potocki and Feldman, Offmański objected to the satirical portrayal of the Polish gentry in the stories.

In *In the Trap of Misery* — he wrote — we find many single scenes that touch on realism. But why in sketching the homes of the gentry does the author include features that were not and are not appropriate? Miss Teresa, the daughter of the nobleman from Radostów, is, in the fullest sense of the word, spoilt and immoral.<sup>97)</sup>

Żeromski might have replied that in this story he was drawing upon his own erotic experiences. Whether Offmański realised it or not, the morals in the country-homes were lax, for it was there that love often offered the only escape from boredom.

Offmański's comment on the final scene of *Rozdzióbią nas kruki, wrony...* betrays such an absence of poetic sensitivity that it deserves some mention:

The author ends his piece — Offmański said — with an exaggerated phrase describing the last moments of the nag in agony.<sup>98)</sup>

The same incident was presented in a different light by an anonymous reviewer of *Dziennik Polski*. In his view this scene was a masterpiece of artistic creation:

The trampling of the escaped Polish soldier by a division of the Russian cavalry, the tortured death of the wounded horse and the scene of the stripping of the corpses — all these scenes are so dreadful as if the author had blood on his pen rather than ink.<sup>99)</sup>

For an unknown reason *Rozdzióbią nas kruki, wrony...* was not reviewed at the time by any papers from the German part of Poland, such as *Dziennik Poznański*. The book was, on the other hand, quickly spotted by the Polish emigrés' press. The anonymous critic of *Wolne Polskie Słowo*, published in Geneva, gave a warm welcome to the young author and expressed faith in the nation which produced such men.

Through M. Zych — wrote — our literature gains an excellent and uncommon strength. The crows will not tear us apart as long as this nation shows this kind of strength.<sup>100)</sup>

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95) (A.) (Wilhelm Feldman), "Z nowszej literatury powieściowej, Maurycy Zych, *Rozdzióbią nas kruki, wrony...*" *Dziennik Krakowski*, Kraków, 1896, nos. 47-49. See Appendix N. 59.

96) No information has been found on Mieczysław Offmański.

97-98) M. OFFEN (Mieczysław Offmański), "*Rozdzióbią nas kruki, wrony...*", *Przegląd Literacki*, Kraków, 1896 nos. 47-49. See Appendix N. 60 a. 61.

99) "Felieton Literacki, Maurycy Zych. *Rozdzióbią nas kruki, wrony...*" *Dziennik Polski*, Lwów, 1897, n. 231. See appendix N. 62.

100) Bibliograficzne zapiski. *Wolne Polskie Słowo*, Genewa, 1895. See Appendix N. 63.

It will be noticed that in the examination of the contemporary reviews no predefined order was followed. The articles could have been grouped under several headings. One could have distinguished between the papers from Russian, Austrian and German parts of Poland. But it was observed that conservative papers from Cracow were more akin in spirit to conservative papers from Warsaw than to progressive papers from Cracow. This was an indication that, in spite of the political stratification, political and cultural movements in Poland embraced all zones, and, in this sense, the national unity was maintained. The lively reception of Żeromski in all parts of Poland testified to that.

## Chapter Four

In the autumn of 1896 Żeromski returned to Poland. In spite of the wide recognition given to his stories, his return was not as "triumphant" as one might have expected. Not only did he have difficulty in becoming established (he had to accept a position in the Zamoyski Library in Warsaw), but also no publisher was willing to accept his new work. This was to be a persistent feature of his life — even at the peak of his popularity he was not capable of turning his assets to his advantage. Like the principal characters in his novels he was an impractical enthusiast, full of ideas, but unable to put them into practice. His unrealistic plan of launching a new periodical in Kielce is an illustration of this point.<sup>101)</sup> He undoubtedly had sound ideas regarding its contents and the part it was to play in the cultural re-awakening of the provincial public, but he had no means to start it (more likely than not it would have been a failure), nor was he able to persuade the editor of the mediocre *Gazeta Kielecka* to accept his services. This unsuccessful venture took place shortly after his return from abroad. He described it in his short story *Promień*, published in *Głos* in the summer of 1897 and included in the first edition of *Utwory powieściowe*.<sup>102)</sup> It conveys Żeromski's disillusionment with the Polish community and his resolution to pursue his aims regardless of public disapproval. The story is more diffuse and sentimental than the early stories. Its narrative is interspersed with long journalistic passages, too technical to be of interest to the general reader.<sup>103)</sup> But it has its compelling scenes, such as Raduski's return to Łżawiec (Kielce). The stagnant atmosphere of the provincial town is powerfully conveyed. There is a poignant irony in the situation — the contrast between Raduski's joy on his return and his cool re-

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101) Żeromski's unsuccessful attempt to launch his own paper has been described by his biographer, Stanisław PióŹun-Nowszewski, *Stefan Żeromski, dom, dzieciństwo i młodość*. Warszawa, 1928, p. 340.

102) *Promień* was published jointly with *Utwory powieściowe* in 1898. The first edition as a book came out in 1904.

103) Many examples of ill-digested material in *Promień* can be given, such as the beginning of Chapter 4, describing in great detail the two papers in Łżawiec, one edited by Raduski and the other — by his rival.

ception. The story reveals Żeromski's ability to "step aside" and to present his own feelings with irony and detachment.

In comparison with *Promień — Syzyfowe prace*, Żeromski's first novel, is a work of the earlier period, strongly reminiscent of the diary. In fact it was written at a much earlier date (its first draft was completed in 1892),<sup>104)</sup> but it was not published until 1897. It bears all the characteristics of the early Żeromski. It is more restrained and factual than his later work, its style is less consciously laboured, it is not overweighted with heavy ornamentation. The story is told simply but suggestively with no superfluous details and no unnecessary twists. The character-drawing is vivid and convincing. Żeromski had a rare gift for portraying characters with full individual flavour. The wealth of physical observation gives them an unrepeatable individual mark. Men like the priest Wargulski

"[who] always looked out of the corner of his eye and rolled his lips in such a way that the mouth on his large shaven face looked like a straight line".<sup>105)</sup>

are immediately recognisable. Their physical appearance gives an indication of their personality as it communicates itself to the school-boy, more interested in the priest's pursed lips, or Illarion Oziersky's protruding belly, than in any phenomena related to their inner life. The same is true of the whole setting. The novel depicts a school-boy gradually discovering the perplexing problems of life. Faced with them he tries in turn different methods of adjustment — full submission to the pressures followed by an initially timid, but gradually increasing, resistance. His world — strange and unfamiliar as it seems — is essentially the eternal world of the growing child, with its mixture of threat and promise. He has to learn how to adapt himself to its dark forces. This is often painful, but life offers its own consolations — the warmth of friendship, the joy of youthful escapades, the beauty of the countryside. The world of nature is always present and in some scenes it almost overshadows the world of the humans. An illustration of its is a passage describing Marcinek's first trip home with his hopelessly sick mother:

"Pani Borowiczowa's gaze was directed towards the flaming sky. Old memories came to her from the distant boundless space of the beautiful night. The hopes of her youth flowed from her heart which already had a presentiment of the end of her dreams and of her desires and of great weariness. Now her heart was opening completely in order to accept everything that an honest person cherishes and loves. Worldly cares, daily toil, interest and trifles receded for a moment and Marcinek's mother thought and thought about many things and matters which were almost forgotten".<sup>106)</sup>

These are the supreme moments, when the human being transcends himself, when he experiences a new kind of freedom — the freedom

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104) The early draft of *Syzyfowe prace* (entitled *Wybawiciel*), was mentioned by Żeromski in his letter to B. Wysłouch, dated October 27, 1892. Żeromski asked Wysłouch to serialise his novel in *Kurier Lwowski*.

105) Stefan ŻEROMSKI, *Utwory wybrane*, Warszawa, 1961, vol. 2, *Syzyfowe prace*, p. 55. See Appendix N. 64.

106) *Ibid.*, p. 76. See Appendix N. 65.

of leaving for a moment his narrow personal world and becoming submerged in the world of nature, where he can forget his terrible predicament. Such was the mood of the dying man in *Cokolwiek się zdarzy*,<sup>107)</sup> who was able to accept his fate with a blessing. Such was the mood of Marcinek's mother, who rejoiced in the beauty of spring, even though she knew that her own days were numbered, "whose heart was wide open to everything worthy of respect", even though she realised that it would not be open for long.

This scene conveyed the absolute Christian acceptance of human fate, very rare in Żeromski. It was optimistic in spite of its tragic undertones. The same could be said of the novel as such; although the reality portrayed in it was gloomy and oppressive, the final message of the novel was hopeful. On the surface it voiced the belief that men like Radek, Zygień or Borowicz, once grown-up and hardened, would withstand any pressures without losing their identity, on the deep level it expressed faith in the meaningfulness of human existence.

It is one of the paradoxes of the history of literature that in 1897 Żeromski almost despaired of seeing this novel published. His anger and disappointment were expressed in his letter to I. Domagalski, in which he complained that *Nowa Reforma* was purposely delaying the publication of the novel.

"As for me — he wrote — I would immediately give the whole thing to the first publisher with the greatest and most sincere eagerness (...) if he would immediately print it in the papers without publishing it. But such a publisher does not exist. If I had the money I would publish it myself at my expense. But nothing can be done about it... (...) I am forced to beg for the publication of my work which at this moment would serve as an argument and render a service to the public".<sup>108)</sup>

This letter shows that Żeromski was fully conscious of the political significance of his novel and that, at the time of its publication, he attached great importance to its "civic message". This does not mean, however, that he was blind to its purely artistic qualities. Years later, in 1909, in a letter to Oktawia, he stressed the aesthetic merits of this early work — its artistic simplicity and the sincerity of its tone.

"I am very happy that this story will be published — he wrote. (The first edition of the novel in the Russian part of Poland was to come out then.) — After all the literary disputes the appearance of this story which is as simple as a children's tale will be a very happy event".<sup>109)</sup>

It will be seen that the first readers of the novel responded primarily to its political message; its charm was to be appreciated by future generations.

Despite Żeromski's doubts *Szyfowe prace* was serialised in *Nowa Reforma* in the summer and autumn of 1897. It came out as a book in the autumn of 1897, post-dated 1898. In both editions the pseudonym

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107) *Cokolwiek się zdarzy, niech uderza we mnie* is the story of a peasant, dying of tuberculosis.

108) Quoted in *Kalendarz*, p. 138. This letter was written in the winter of 1897. See Appendix N. 66.

109) *Ibid.*, p. 264. The letter was written in July, 1909. See Appendix N. 67.

of Maurycy Zych was used, with which the readers of *Rozdzióbki nas kruki, wrony...* were already familiar. Since the novel could not be officially reviewed in Warsaw, even though it was widely read and discussed there, the critical response came from critics in Cracow and Lwów. It is significant that in relation to *Szyfowe prace* the critics displayed a greater unanimity of judgement than in relation to the preceding or the following work. In contrast to the stories, this book did not offend any party feelings, either on the left or on the right, and was generally acclaimed as an exceptionally vivid document on the cultural and national oppression in the Russian-governed Poland.

Among the reviewers one comes across such writers as Jan Kasprówicz,<sup>110</sup> who was to become a well-known poet. With generosity of feeling and keen judgement Kasprówicz assigned an important place to Żeromski and predicted that his work would exercise a mounting influence, due to its excellence and to its civic character.

"I would say — he wrote in *Kurier Lwowski* in 1897 — that among the most recent short story writers Maurycy Zych is the most talented and that he can exert important influence because of his civic spirit. (...) He is an excellent observer who can seize upon objects quickly in order to present them with, perhaps, too detailed realism. He is a good psychologist who knows how to enter a man's soul and follow its hidden vibrations and transformations. Zych is also a master of form, not inferior to our greatest writers".<sup>111</sup>

Coming from a man of his stature this was an important pronouncement, not to be taken lightly by Żeromski's opponents. Kasprówicz's structural analysis of the novel revealed his sense of living literary values as opposed to the generally acclaimed but dead literary canon. He realised that the book was not a novel "sensu stricto", but it would have been narrow-minded and pedantic to discard it on these grounds.

"According to conventional aesthetic ideas *The Labours of Sisyphus* is not a novel. But what does a real artist, blessed with a divine spark, care for conventional aesthetic ideas? He writes according to his own rules not wondering whether professional classifiers would applaud him".<sup>112</sup>

Like many writers of his generation (including Żeromski) Kasprówicz thought that the artist was superior to the professional critic, whose sole task was to find a label for a work of art, to cut it down to an accepted measure without caring whether its individual qualities would be lost in this process. Such a view of literary criticism was hardly flattering but it was shared by many writers and it must be granted that in many cases it was justified.

While deeply sensitive to the aesthetic qualities of the novel Kasprówicz was too much of a Pole to overlook its patriotic sentiments. He praised Żeromski for giving in Marcin Borowicz a convincing picture of the awakening national awareness and for creating Jędrzek Radek, "a symbol of the great future of the Polish peasant". Unlike some reviewers of lesser rank, Kasprówicz responded strongly to the optimism inherent in Żeromski's presentation of reality.

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110) Jan Kasprówicz (1860-1926). An outstanding poet. By 1897 he had published: *Poezje* (1889), *Chrystus* (1890), *Z chłopskiego zagonu* (1891), *Anima lachrymans* (1894).

111-113) J. KASPROWICZ, "Szyfowe prace", *Kurier Lwowski*, 1897, n. 309. See Appendix N. 68, 69 a. 70.

"Zych was the first — he continued — to give us a full and artistically open picture of the culture of the modern Russian school on Polish soil. He infused us with the hope that the previous satanical endeavours of this school had not managed to reach the depths of the hearts of the youth although they had contaminated them on the surface. At the same time, however, in his novel he gave a warning that was directed at society, admonishing it to take more care in bringing up children who were left completely in the charge of the Zabielski's and Krestoobriadnikov's".<sup>113)</sup>

It should be noted that Kasproicz never again played the part of Żeromski's critic. The two writers were acquainted and met frequently in Zakopane and abroad. They participated in many cultural and social activities, such as the creation of the Association of Polish Writers.<sup>114)</sup> It would have been interesting to know what Kasproicz thought of Żeromski's later work, but no record is left of other critical pronouncements.

Equally interesting is the article by Stanisław Wyrzykowski,<sup>115)</sup> published in the famous Cracovian *Życie*, the periodical which exercised a profound influence under the editorship of Stanisław Przybyszewski. This review was more important than Kasproicz's for it placed the novel in the historical perspective and established its link with *Rozdzióbą nas kruki, wrony...* Wyrzykowski regarded it as Żeromski's highest achievement that he dared to tackle the painful subject of the Polish abortive uprising of 1863. It required courage to do this, since for years the subject was never mentioned. It required a greater courage to present it realistically with no minimizing and no magnifying. The same courage and objectivity, according to Wyrzykowski, was displayed in *Szyfowe prace*, describing the immediate consequences of the failure of the uprising.

Wyrzykowski's description of Żeromski's literary manner is still valid and as such is worth quoting in full:

"Zych has his own particular manner of story telling that is quite unusual. He often departs from the main thread of the story, loses himself in particulars, includes simply wonderful descriptions of nature in passing, throws in afterthoughts almost reluctantly that are filled with unexpected and arresting phrases and then suddenly comes to an episode, almost without effort, in which he concentrates all the strength of his talent, as if in fire. His best and most important strength comes out in the deep feeling permeating all his work that is restrained with difficulty".<sup>116)</sup>

The present-day reader may find Żeromski's prose too patchy, he may be unmoved by "the beautiful descriptions of nature" and may find little that is unexpected or thought-provoking in Żeromski's reflections. But if he is endowed at all with historical imagination, he will realise that in his own times Żeromski was valued precisely for such of his qualities as nowadays tend to be undervalued. History has known reversals of literary judgement and it is possible that the future reader, once again, will be spellbound by Żeromski's unquestionable talent and will shut his eyes to some of his defects.

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114) The Association of Polish Writers was founded in Zakopane, in 1909. Kasproicz was its chairman and Żeromski - his secretary.

115) Stanisław Wyrzykowski (1873-1949), poet, known mainly as translator of Nietzsche, Poe, Conrad-Korzeniowski and others.

116) St. WYRZYKOWSKI, "Maurycy Zych", *Życie*, 1897, n. 8. See Appendix N. 71.



In comparison to these two the other reviews do not warrant much attention. The most interesting, perhaps, belongs to Antoni Chołoniewski,<sup>117)</sup> writing for the daily *Dziennik Polski*, published in Lwów. Chołoniewski was moved (as Kasprowicz had been) by the gloomy atmosphere of the novel, presenting

"...some terrible atmosphere of the Russian threat, like fate, which we have been made aware of through stories, letters and newspaper articles from abstract echoes and reports".<sup>118)</sup>

In contrast to Kasprowicz and to Wyrzykowski, Chołoniewski failed to draw any encouraging moral from the story. This venture into unfamiliar and horrifying reality — to use his own phrase — was "like a subterranean trip". The traveller was relieved to be out of its ill-ventilated passages:

"After one turns the last page, it is as if a trace of a known subterranean world remained. An inexpressible oppressive stuffiness takes possession of the brain".<sup>119)</sup>

While basically selfish, this was a natural reaction. Chołoniewski sincerely pitied his less fortunate compatriots, but he was undoubtedly glad not to share their experiences. Unintentionally he displayed in full what is known in Poland as "the regional spirit" — *duch dzielnicowy*. This spirit was shared by the other reviewers, such as the priest J. Badeni and the anonymous critic in *Promień*. They were generous enough to show some interest in the life of the other provinces of Poland but not sufficiently imaginative to identify themselves with it.

In his review of *Szyfjowe prace*, published in *Tygodnik Powszechny*, the priest J. Badeni was much less outspoken than on the previous occasion,<sup>120)</sup> when he had frankly admitted that he had no sympathy for Żeromski. This time, he praised the new novel, making it quite plain, however, that it was superior to the previous work. In this manner he was able to change his views without losing face.

"...how favourably *The Labours of Sisyphus* stand out — he wrote — against that long series of "novels", "novellas", "short stories" and "tales" that forever revolve in the same circle and at the same pace. The fortunes of Marcinek Borowicz, a child of the nobility and those of Jędrzek Radek, a peasant child, represent the fortunes and the lives of the younger generation in Poland, who are being brought up (*sic*) in Russian schools. [...] How wonderful are the characters that portray elementary and secondary school teachers, [...]. They are remarkable and especially humorous except for the sad fact that they create plays and games in order to arouse a sincere Russian feeling in the hearts of the Polish schoolboys".<sup>120a)</sup>

The anonymous article in *Promień* did not contribute anything distinctive to the discussion. Once again the reviewer stressed the

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117) Antoni Chołoniewski (1872-1924), journalist and critic. Contributed regularly to *Kraj*, *Świat* and *Głos Narodu*. Left one book, *Duch dzielnicowy* (1917).

118-119) a.c. (Antoni Chołoniewski), "Notatki literackie i artystyczne". Maurycy Zych *Szyfjowe prace, powieść współczesna*", *Dziennik Polski*, Lwów, 1897, n. 291. See Appendix N. 72 a. 73.

120-120a) Jan BADENI, "Przegląd piśmiennictwa", *Przegląd Powszechny*, Kraków, 1898, vol. 59, pp. 411-412. See Appendix N. 74.

historical and social impact of the book. Very significantly he appealed to "the thoughtful reader to draw his own conclusions from this story".<sup>121)</sup>

By far the most interesting account was left by Stanisław Wasylewski in his autobiographical novel *Niezapisany stan służby* published in Warsaw, in 1937.<sup>122)</sup> Even though it does not belong to the contemporary reception it has been included, for it describes well the reaction of the youngest readers, too young to express their thoughts, when they first encountered Żeromski. These readers, "Marcineks" and "Jędreks" of the Galitsian school, were profoundly moved by the experiences of their fellow school-boys from across the border:

"We searched through the book at length many times — recalls Wasylewski — and discussed it out loud chapter by chapter. We especially discussed the part where Zygier, the new student from Warsaw, comes to Kleryków and begins to recite in class before the horrified Polish teacher: "We were not ordered to shoot..." [...]

We also studied *Reduta Ordona*. But it was recited every year, religiously, at every high school get-together in honour of the inspired writer. We were punished twice as much if the text was memorized badly. It became commonplace for us, a belaboured text, but did not break up anyone's life. We began to envy the characters. Why? Because they played cards during the lesson and we did it only during breaks? No. We completely envied them for an abundance of forbidden things, for their compulsion to fight their necessity, in general for their joy in battle with the deceitful conqueror".<sup>122)</sup>

This was a typical reaction of youth, unmindful of dangers and impatient to test its courage and strength in real life, — "to taste the joys of the struggle with a brutal aggressor". This youth was suffocated in the comparative security and stability of the Austrian part of Poland and longed for a change. In relation to these readers Żeromski's responsibility was great. He created their youthful dream for them, he taught them what to cherish and what to despise, he was for them literally "the voice of the national conscience".<sup>123)</sup> It has been repeatedly pointed out that his guidance was not always beneficial but, as a phenomenon of far-reaching and lasting influence, his case is outstanding and may be compared with the case of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky in Russia. Żeromski

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121) "Szkołnictwo polskie w zaborze rosyjskim. (Na tle powieści Zycha *Szyzjowe prace*)", *Promień*, Lwów, 1899, n. 5, pp. 119-122. The quotation runs as follows: "The social significance of this book depends, above all, on the extraordinarily accurate portrayal of the conditions in the schools of the Kingdom and secondly on the conclusions drawn from these". See Appendix N. 75.

122) Stanisław Wasylewski (1885-1953), *Pseud.* Jan Bury. A writer of historical essays. His more important works (until 1927) were: *U księżnej pani* (1918), *Na dworze króla Stasia* (1919), *W srebrnym dworku z modrzewia* (1919), *O miłości romantycznej* (1921), *Zerwana kokarda* (1927), *Bardzo przyjemne miasto* (1927). This quotation was taken from *Niezapisany stan służby*, Warszawa, 1937, pp. 44-50. See Appendix N. 76.

123) In a collective volume of reminiscences, entitled *Wspomnienia o Stefanie Żeromskim*, Warszawa, 1961, Stefania Sempołowska wrote: "I sorted my reminiscences in my mind [...] the first acquaintance with his work, the unforgettable impression this work had on my youth. At that time each new book by Żeromski was greeted as an event that was vital, since these books were not only read but their contents were also relived. These books reflected the spirit and feelings of society, of the youth of that time who were struggling for their right to a free and unrestricted life. These books moved us and incited us to fight". (See Appendix N. 77). This passage is complementary to Wasylewski's, as an illustration of the attitude of the young towards Żeromski.

did not live to see Wasylewski's memoirs. If he had, he would have been pleased.

Shortly after the publication of *Szyzyfowe prace* Żeromski brought out a new collection of stories, entitled *Utwory powieściowe*. It included *Promień*, discussed at the beginning of this chapter. According to Żeromski's own testimony,<sup>124)</sup> he used in this collection the material gathered during his travels in Switzerland. This is not quite correct, for only a few of the stories, such as the initial fragment *Na pokładzie* and *O żołnierzu tułaczu*, were the direct outcome of his observations in Switzerland. The magnificent descriptions of the Alps in the latter could not have been written if Żeromski had not seen them, even though the climbing episode in this story was based on his own experience in Zakopane.<sup>125)</sup>

The other stories, such as *Tabu* describing the tribulations of a woman whose husband was in a lunatic asylum, or *Cienie*, a portrayal of love, contaminated by sex-experience, were all based on Żeromski's experiences and observations in Poland.<sup>126)</sup> Somewhat apart stands *Legenda o bracie leśnym*, derived from a German tale. Żeromski might have come across it during his stay in Rapperswil.

Stylistically and thematically the book is a direct continuation of his preceding work *Opowiadania* and *Rozdzióbki nas kruki, wrony...* Its main themes — the opposition of good and evil, the problem of moral and social justice, of sin and retribution, running through such different stories as *Tabu* or *Legenda o bracie leśnym* — had been well-known to be an insoluble conflict between the life of virtue and the attainment of happiness, as for example presented in *Tabu*, in which the wife of the hopelessly sick man was morally obliged to reject her potential lover.

On the social level a tragic note was struck in the story of a serf turned soldier (*O żołnierzu tułaczu*), who was put to death at the instigation of his former lord. The web of existence, as seen by Żeromski, was tragically and hopelessly entangled and no easy solutions were offered. Evil seemed an inherent part of every moral and social situation. Even the seemingly idyllic relationship of the young betrothed in *Cienie* was marred by the fiancé's recollection of his love-affair during his bachelor years. And yet the final message was not of resignation and a passive submission to fate, but of perseverance, of courage and faith in the value of human achievement.

Stylistically the stories are uneven. Alongside *Tabu*, a masterpiece of artistic expression, one finds *Kara*, a trivial anecdote which sounds like one of the less inspiring pages in the diary. A certain hesitancy was displayed in the handling of historical material in *O żołnierzu tułaczu*. This story is more incoherent and shapeless than the stories describing

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124) In a letter to L. Méyet, dated September 21st, 1897, Żeromski wrote about *Utwory powieściowe*: "At present I am giving a volume of stories to the censor in which I have grouped material from Switzerland". (Quoted in *Kalendarz*, p. 141). See Appendix N. 78.

125) This experience was described by Żeromski in a letter to Oktawia, dated June 16th, 1892. While he was going along a narrow path, suddenly... "[The path] broke off. [...] When I looked down, I experienced the fear of space. I was so numb, that I could not move from the spot". (Prof. Pigoń's collection). See Appendix N. 79.

126) The use of the autobiographical material in these stories will be discussed in chapter 7.

contemporary life. An excessive use of historical detail blurs the main outline. The reader is not sure what the story is really about — a brilliant military exploit or the pitiful fate of the two Polish soldiers.<sup>127)</sup> The narrator is carried away by his topic and forgets what he is aiming at, so that the climax of the story comes unexpectedly, more like an afterthought than as the logical conclusion.

The same unsteady handling of the material may be observed in *Promień*, in which the various parts of the story are imperfectly blended. This was to remain Żeromski's lasting defect, most conspicuous in his larger works, such as the epic *Popioły*.<sup>128)</sup> He was successful in overcoming it in only a few of his novels, such as *Wierna rzeka*,<sup>129)</sup> which is compact and contains no ill-digest material. His work, by and large, is a mosaic rather than a fusion, and for this reason it seldom achieves the perfect harmony of truly great art. But, judged as fragments, it is often excellent and has never been surpassed in Polish fiction.

*Utwory powieściowe* was published by Gebethner and Wolff in Warsaw, in July, 1898. The following stories had previously been published in periodicals: *O żołnierzu tułaczem* and *Tabu* — in *Głos* in 1896, *Legenda o bracie leśnym* — in *Nowa Reforma* in 1895 (it was originally entitled *W puszczy* and signed: Maurycy Zych), *Cienie* came out in *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* in 1898. This last story caused Żeromski considerable annoyance, since the editor of *Tygodnik* carelessly supplied the publishers with the wrong copy. The story was printed with many errors and the publishers refused to reprint it on the grounds that this would have involved unnecessary costs. Oktawia pleaded on behalf of her husband, who was at that time sick and immobile in Zakopane, but her pleadings had no effect.

This episode is mentioned since it throws interesting light on the relationship of publishers and writers in the 19th century Poland. Many publishers were dishonest and unscrupulous in their dealings with writers. They exploited them financially and did not respect their wishes. On the other hand it should be remembered that their professional life was not easy — their financial existence was uncertain and they were constantly at the mercy of censors, who were entitled to suppress a book or a periodical at the slightest excuse. On the whole, publishing was not a paying concern.<sup>130)</sup>

The critical response to *Utwory powieściowe* was wide and, on the whole, favourable. The critics objected to the dark colouring of the stories and their despondent mood, but they were deeply impressed by the author's sensitivity in the portrayal of human character, by his ability

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127) At the beginning of the story *O żołnierzu tułaczem* it seems certain that its action will centre around general Gudín and captain Le Gras. For several pages the two Polish soldiers are not even mentioned.

128) *Popioły* is a very loosely constructed epic novel about the Napoleonic campaigns. It was published in 1904, translated into English in 1928.

129) *Wierna rzeka* owes its compactness to the fact that it deals with one set of people, on one Polish estate, during the uprising of 1863. The novel was published in 1912, it was translated into English in 1943.

130) The history of *Głos* and of the Cracovian *Życie* show how difficult it was to sponsor a periodical.

to bring out hidden feelings, buried deep inside and very seldom coming to the surface.

"The author possesses a rich palette — wrote Piotr Chmielowski<sup>131)</sup> in *Pogląd na Świat* in 1900 — consisting of both light and dismal colours. He knows how to display them in the right places. Where necessary he is not afraid to use coarse words that one would not hear in a parlour. However, he portrays feelings that are stifled best, those feelings that are suppressed in the soul by a strong will and are only expressed by glances and gestures".<sup>132)</sup>

In this article the old historian of Polish literature had shown, once again, that he was capable of penetrating critical insight. He justly emphasised the complexity and depth of Żeromski's vision, cutting across different layers of life, where every point has its counterpoint and where it was impossible to distinguish between man's emotional and social life, his preoccupation with himself and his interest in the world at large.

Another description of Żeromski's art comes from Artur Górski,<sup>133)</sup> a prominent critic of the *Młoda Polska* group, writing for the famous *Życie*.

"Żeromski most strongly reflects — he wrote — the rationale of the feelings of all society. From the time they were at their best, the time of enthusiasm and faith in the power of good and the order of things, these feelings changed to a mood of painful irony. (...) However, besides this philosophical and pessimist outlook, Żeromski also has the overly-sensitive soul of a Slav. The Byronic outlook of a "world with flaws" permeates his heart. He criticized the world with his heart and places it before the tribunal of feelings. He tears open his own wounds and scoffs at his own pain. When his heart is being torn apart at the sight of so much wickedness, his face tries to retain a peaceful look or takes on an ironic smile".<sup>134)</sup>

This description contains unfortunate imagery, often repeated in the criticism on Żeromski. In this case it is derived from the key-image of "the bleeding heart". "His heart" — to repeat Górski's phrase — "was torn to pieces at the sight of so much wickedness". Similar images, more or less worn-out, were used constantly by nearly all critics, as, for instance, Stanisław Adamczewski, who called his study of Żeromski

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131) Piotr Chmielowski (1848-1904). Distinguished historian of literature and critic. Graduate of Warsaw's *Szkoła Główna*. Contributed regularly to *Przegląd Tygodniowy* (1867-1872), *Opiekun Domowy* (1872-1876), and to *Ateneum* (after 1876). His major works were: *Nasi powieściopisarze* (1887-1895), *Współcześni poeci polscy* (1895), *Najnowsze prądy w poezji naszej* (1901), *Nasza literatura dramatyczna* (1895), *Dramat polski doby najnowszej* (1902), *Zarys literatury z ostatnich lat szesnastu* (1881), *Historia literatury polskiej* (vol. 1-6). (1900), *Dzieje krytyki literackiej w Polsce* (1902), *Metodyka historii literatury polskiej* (1900), *Stylistyka polska* (1903).

132) Piotr CHMIEŁOWSKI, "Beletrystyka nasza z roku zeszłego", *Pogląd na Świat*, Kraków, 1900, n. 4, p. 79. See Appendix N. 80.

133) Artur Górski (1870-1959), *Pseud. Quasimodo*, prominent writer and critic, representative of the *Młoda Polska* group. Published: collections of articles, *Ku czemu Polska szła* (1918), *Na nowym progu* (1918), *Głosy o ludziach i ideach* (1931), a book about Mickiewicz, *Monsalvat* (1908), a collection of stories, *Przed dniem* and two plays.

134) A.G. (Artur Górski), "Utwory powieściowe Żeromskiego", *Życie*, Kraków, 1898, nos. 38-39. See Appendix N. 81.

*Serce nienasycone*.<sup>135)</sup> While it cannot be denied that in Żeromski the emotions prevailed over the intellect, it must be pointed out that the constant emphasis on the emotional aspect of his creation did him more harm than good. His emotions were often described in ludicrous terms and in the end they appeared to many as ludicrous themselves.

Another figure of speech, illustrating the accepted critical usage is found in the review of Władysław Jabłonowski, published in *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*.

"When I read the works of Żeromski, I always have the same impression as if I were outside on a dismal autumn day and it made me recall old disharmonies and unforgettable cares, as if I were standing behind the coffin of someone dear whose memory left a great wake of regret and unhappiness in my soul".<sup>136)</sup>

This description is suggestive but, unfortunately, Jabłonowski was not the only one to use the "day and night" imagery. Władysław Bukowiński,<sup>137)</sup> *Prawda's* regular reviewer, used similar imagery to describe his impressions:

"...as we read the novels, at times it seems to us that we are making a long journey into the stormy autumn night with the rain splashing and the wind whistling ominously, towards a goal that looms somewhere in the dark".<sup>138)</sup>

Cases of elaborate, sometimes extravagant imagery are by no means uncommon. The exuberance of phrasing, the far-fetched comparisons are baroque in character. Unfortunately, "the sunny days" of literature, or "the stormy seas" of literary experience, are encountered too often and it cannot be stated strongly enough how tiresome they are. In contrast to them even malicious pin-pricks or torrents of abuse seem refreshing. And yet such was the practice of the day.

More interesting than the general criticism of Żeromski are the specific comments on the individual stories. These, for obvious reasons, are more precise and to-the-point than general remarks, and display more clearly the critic's individual bias. In this respect the most revealing are the comments on the tragic ending of *O żołnierzu tułacz*, namely the execution of Matus Pulut. Many critics felt that this end was artistically unnecessary and historically unjustifiable.

"The tragic ending of this story — wrote Piotr Chmielowski<sup>139)</sup> — is both, unexpected and improbable".

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135) Stanisław ADAMCZEWSKI, *Serce nienasycone*, Warszawa, 1930.

136) Wł. JABŁONOWSKI, "Stefan Żeromski, Utwory powieściowe", *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, Warszawa, 1898, n. 42, p. 836. See Appendix N. 82.

137) Władysław Bukowiński (1871-1927), *Pseud. Selim. Poet and journalist. Published several volumes of poetry, Z marzeń życia, Nowy zeszyt, Na greckiej fali, Echa, Na przełomie.*

138) Władysław BUKOWIŃSKI, "Literatura polska", *Prawda*, Warszawa, 1898, n. 44, pp. 524-525. See Appendix N. 83.

139) Piotr CHMIEŁOWSKI, "Z nowelistyki, Stefan Żeromski", *Kurier Codzienny*, Warszawa, 1899, n. 34, p. 1. See Appendix N. 84.

According to Teodor Jeske-Choiński,<sup>140)</sup> well-known for his conservative views, this end spoiled the story".

The events portrayed in *The Wandering Soldier* — he wrote in his review, published in *Głos Narodu* — are interesting and, at times, moving. If only the author had not drifted off in the end by falling into the abyss of improbability.<sup>141)</sup>

Stanisław Schnür-Pepłowski,<sup>142)</sup> a more radically-minded critic, did not agree with either of the two:

The sad fate of the old soldier — he wrote in *Gazeta Narodowa* — lost after his return to his country because of small-town Philistines and the instigations of the inhuman country gentleman, arouses a feeling of depression, moreover since it is not devoid of probability.<sup>143)</sup>

Similar in character was the discussion of *Tabu* and *Promień*. Widely divergent views were expressed and some very startling interpretations were offered, such as, for example, Aleksander Smaczniński's<sup>144)</sup> interpretation of the wife's behaviour in *Tabu*. According to him, taboo, in the story, did not refer to the wife's possible love for her new admirer. She was not a taboo to him, but to her husband in his condition:

...she would have given him everything — we read in *Tygodnik Mód i Powieści* — but not herself, in his regression to an animal state.<sup>145)</sup>

It is improbable that Żeromski had this in mind when he chose the title for his story, even though he did mention the wife's repulsion at the sexual advances of her husband during her visit in the hospital. This, however, was to bring out the contrast between the two men — one in a state of mental deterioration, in which only the animal aspect of his being seemed alive, and the other in full mental and emotional power, able to give and to take love, but precluded from it by the legal and moral bond.

Not less surprising is Choiński's remark that the stories *nużq, a nawet nudzą*.<sup>146)</sup> Why, for instance, — to paraphrase his comments — are the passengers sad on board the Swiss steamer? Or why does the

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140) Teodor Jeske-Choiński (1854-1920), Journalist, novelist. His works include: *Gasnące słońce*, *Ostatni Rzymianin*, *Tiara i korona*, *O mitrę gospodarską*, *Demon odrodzenia*, *Błyskawice*, *Jakobini*, *Terror*, *Trubaдуrowie*.

141) Ch. (Teodor Jeske-Choiński), "Z literatury powieściowej", *Głos Narodu*, Kraków, 1899, n. 58. See Appendix N. 85.

142) Stanisław Schnür-Pepłowski (1859-1900). Journalist and a writer of historical studies, such as: *Teatr polski we Lwowie* (1889), *Kościuszkowskie czasy* (1895), *Polacy i Węgrzy* (1896), *Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła: historia legionów polskich* (1897), *Krwawa karta* (1896), *Opowieści historyczne* (1899), *Szkice historyczne* (1900), *Obrazy z przeszłości Galicji i Krakowa* (1896).

143) Stanisław Schnür-Pepłowski, "Z chwili", *Gazeta Narodowa*, Lwów, 1898, n. 255, p. 1. See Appendix N. 86.

144) No information has been obtained on Aleksander Smaczniński.

145) S. (Aleksander Smaczniński), "Utwory powieściowe Stefana Żeromskiego", *Tygodnik Mód i Powieści*, Warszawa, 1898, nos. 43-45. See Appendix N. 87.

146-147) T. JESKE-CHOIŃSKI, *op. cit.* See Appendix N. 88.

hero of *Cienie* recall his former mistress during the walk with his fiancée?

These comments make it plain that the demands of literature on the average reader were in many cases too high. The early readers of Żeromski were still used to the old type of story, in which one was never left in doubt as to the author's intentions, and reality was conveniently portrayed in black and white so as to avoid any confusion. The complexity of Żeromski's vision, the discordant notes struck by him, were beyond their comprehension. Instead of admitting their own inadequacy the readers put the blame on the author:

"I get the impression that Mr. Żeromski wavers and wanders after his talent"

— concluded Jeske-Choiński, while he might have said that he himself wavered in his appreciation of Żeromski.<sup>147)</sup>

"Mr. Żeromski writes bravely but not always clearly"

— Chmielowski added with some justification, even though, at present, Żeromski's thought seems lucid enough and does not need clarifying.<sup>148)</sup>

These pronouncements should be contrasted with the enthusiastic view of Jan Zakrzewski, expressed in *Gazeta Polska*. For him Żeromski was the embodiment of everything fine and good in Polish literature.

"Give me more Żeromskis, — he said — more *Taboos* and *Shadows* and I will understand what literature should be.<sup>150)</sup> ... for I do not see any other talent that is equal among young Polish authors, one that is as strong or that has such vivid and deep feeling of sad and dark reality. There is never any dissonance between this reality and the human ideal in general ... that is presented in such a decisive way..."<sup>151)</sup>

According to Zakrzewski,<sup>149)</sup> Żeromski was unique among young Polish authors.

The striking individuality of Żeromski was also emphasised by Władysław Bukowiński:

"Stefan Żeromski — he wrote in *Prawda* — has a distinct position among our novel and short story writers. The remarkable artistic individualism of this writer does not allow us to find a close relationship between him and other writers of contemporary literature. But some kind of spiritual affinity undoubtedly links him to Kasprowicz".<sup>152)</sup>

Was there really a spiritual kinship between Kasprowicz and Żeromski? The two writers were preoccupied with problems of a moral nature, they both shared a tragic conception of life, but beyond that there is little in common. Kasprowicz's work has more universal appeal, Żeromski's is inextricably bound up with his own time and place.

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148) P. CHMIEŁOWSKI, *op. cit.* in footnote 139. See Appendix N. 89.

149) Jan Zakrzewski, writer and critic. His works: *Czasopiśmiennictwo polskie na emigracji* (1907), *Ananke*, dramat (1901), *Literatura powszechna*. Part 1. *Literatury starożytne* (1916).

150-151) Jan ZAKRZEWSKI, *Literatura, Gazeta Polska*, Warszawa, 1898, n. 95, p. 1-2. See Appendix N. 90.

152) W. BUKOWIŃSKI, *op. cit.* See Appendix N. 91.



Within the limits of one chapter it has not been possible to give a detailed account of all the reviews under consideration. Some, of necessity, have been treated more cursorily than others. But, on the whole, it is hoped that, by now, the main lines of the early criticism of Żeromski have become clear and one can distinguish some individual voices, like the kindly voice of P. Chmielowski, speaking for the positivist school, the shrill voice of Jeske-Choiński and the somewhat affected tone of Żeromski's admirers — J. Zakrzewski and W. Jabłonowski.

On the whole, this criticism is emotional, rather than intellectual. It reveals a weakness of judgement as compared to the vehemence of feeling. Its redeeming quality is its boundless and, sometimes, naive respect for literature, viewed as a platform for public debates on political and social issues, rather than as the domain of pure aesthetics.

## Chapter Five

By 1898 Żeromski's literary reputation was made. He was generally recognised as an outstanding writer. His work was widely read and discussed; some of it had been translated into Russian.<sup>153)</sup> Encouraged by his success Żeromski decided to undertake literary production on a larger scale — to introduce new topics and to enlarge his form. Abandoning temporarily the restrictive form of the short story he planned two novels; one describing contemporary life in Poland and another — devoted to the Napoleonic campaigns. The first of these grew into *Ludzie bezdomni*, the second into *Popioły*.

Żeromski would have been wiser if he had concentrated on one novel at a time, instead of working on two simultaneously, especially since both were planned as vast panoramas of social and political life, with a multitude of characters and quickly changing scenes. But he was pressed by financial needs and, perhaps, by a feeling so often present in dangerously-ill men that he might not live long. He still worked in the library; his novels, therefore, were written in his spare time and during his illnesses. In spite of the unfavourable circumstances he worked on them with great zeal. His attention to detail was excessive at times. In the case of *Ludzie bezdomni* he was drawing on his own observations, reproducing the settings and characters he knew, but, even there, he did not hesitate to ask for help if he felt that his memory was insufficient. In 1897, for example, he wrote to Jan Lorentowicz in Paris asking him for a description of the "Château rouge" — a shelter for the poor. He had visited it himself during his stay in Paris but he felt that he did not remember it well enough. Lorentowicz evidently supplied him with the description, for it forms part of doctor Judym's speech in the novel.<sup>154)</sup> It may be felt today that such insistence on verisimilitude in

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153) The first stories translated into Russian were *Doktor Piotr*, *Z Dziennika*, *Siłaczka*, *Zapomnienie*, *Niedziela*, *Tabu* and *Pokusa*. They appeared in Russian periodicals as early as 1896. *Ludzie bezdomni* was serialised in *Zhizn*, vol. 5-12, in 1900.

154) The description of the "Château rouge" is to be found in the chapter entitled *Mrzonki* on pp. 64-66 of STEFAN ŻEROMSKI, *Dzieła*, vol. 3, *Ludzie bezdomni*, Warszawa, 1956.

a novel is misplaced and unnecessarily complicates the writer's task, but it should be remembered that Żeromski followed to the letter the positivist belief in the cognitive value of art. His novels were to inform, not merely to entertain. For this reason they had to be carefully prepared. *Popioły*, as a historical novel, demanded a much more extensive preparation and it is known that Żeromski devoured volumes of histories and memoirs related to his period. Contrary to contemporary belief, he was also a painstaking stylist, continuously perfecting the language of his novels. The rough drafts of his work show numerous corrections and insertions.<sup>155)</sup>

Wacław Borowy left an interesting account of Żeromski's life during this time:

At that time Pani Oktawia was expecting a child and Żeromski was writing a great deal. (He was working on many things at once, among them *The Exiles* for which he already had a publisher). Sieroszewski urged him to work (the profits were to be used to pay the costs of Pani Oktawia's illness) and said that if Żeromski delayed his work, he himself would finish the novel, if only to get the money on time.<sup>156)</sup>

Wacław Sieroszewski,<sup>157)</sup> a prominent young writer, was one of Żeromski's closest friends at that time. It is fortunate, however, that Żeromski completed his novel without his help, for the results of joint efforts in literature are seldom successful. The novel was brought to final completion in Zakopane, in the summer of 1899. It is interesting that Żeromski did not believe in its success, even though he recognised its value.

I absolutely must finish this novel — he wrote to Oktawia from Zakopane — Its fate will be interesting. It will not be recognized by the youth, that I know, but it has its own value.<sup>158)</sup>

In another letter he commented on his attitude towards this novel:

My life is so strange now. I am writing something that I am indifferent to, something that was once the story of my life. But that which fulfills me completely is somewhere far away.<sup>159)</sup>

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155) Prof. S. PIGOŃ in his book *Z ogniw życia i literatury* (Warszawa, 1961) devoted one chapter to the study of Żeromski's technique. He compared several early drafts of a fragment in *Popioły* and observed that, on the whole, Żeromski tried to make his descriptions more concrete. He also tried to replace words of common usage by striking and unusual epithets. The study of the manuscripts yielded another interesting insight into Żeromski's "work-shop". Here it may be best to quote Prof. Pigoń: "When looking at the drafts, we notice one more detail [...]. The writer's impetus lessens as his work becomes laboured and his inventive powers become weaker. The beginning stages of the work are accurate and there are only a few things that are crossed out. However, as the work nears its end, the author is less and less pleased with what he wrote as a first draft". (See Appendix No. 92). — These are valuable observations which may explain why the final portions of Żeromski's novels are, so often, unsatisfactory.

156) W. BOROWY, "Z rozmów i listów o Żeromskim", *Życie i Myśl*, 1951, no. 3-4, p. 365. See Appendix No. 93.

157) Żeromski met Wacław Sieroszewski in 1898. They both took part in the literary evenings arranged by the radical intelligentsia in Warsaw.

158-159) Both letters were written in Zakopane in September, 1899. See Appendix No. 94 a. 95.

This presumably did not mean that he had lost interest in his work. He might have had in mind his newly-born son, who was *gdzieś daleko* and whom he had not yet seen.

*Ludzie bezdomni* was published in the autumn of 1899 by Br. Natanson. The first edition numbered 2,500, the second came out in the spring 1900.

With *Ludzie bezdomni* the early phase of Żeromski's literary career reached its culmination. His subsequent work, such as *Dzieje grzechu* and the lyrical epics marked a departure from his earlier style. *Ludzie bezdomni* was still typical of the early period. On the thematical level it continued the line started in the "social" stories, such as *Zapomnienie* and *Psie prawo*. It stressed the inequality of social classes in Poland, the great gap between peasants and landowners and between labour and management. Żeromski had always been class conscious in a particularly bitter and emotional manner. His readers remembered the portraits of peasants in his short story *Zmierzch* and in *Zapomnienie*. But only in *Ludzie bezdomni* did Żeromski display a full panorama of city and country proletariat.<sup>160</sup> The descriptions of the inhabitants of *ulica Krochmalna* or of the miners in *Zagłębie*<sup>161</sup> in their vividness and truthfulness had no precedents in Polish fiction. The tendency so far had been to idealise the lower classes in the manner of Maria Konopnicka or to gloss over social conflicts thus creating an illusion of a united nation.

Żeromski was the first to show how deep was the gap between the administrators of Cisy and the villagers. To men like Krzywosąd, for instance, the landscape mattered more than the health of villagers, while the villagers were too weak to defend themselves.<sup>162</sup> Not one Judym, but many like him, were needed to bridge this gap. Judym's failure to win his battle with Krzywosąd and his forced retreat were an indication that isolated efforts were bound to fail. Judym's *szewska pasja* and Joasia's compassion for the poor were not enough to improve social conditions even in one place like Cisy. An organized effort was

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160) In *Zapomnienie* (as in *Psie prawo*) peasants still remained in the background, in *Zmierzch* they were presented in bare outline, their picture was still shadowy. Only in *Ludzie bezdomni* in the portrait of Wiktor, Judym's brother, members of lower classes came to the foreground. Wiktor, the labourer, as a fully developed character, is a novelty in Polish fiction. He contrasts with Judym and complements him. Judym has a divided personality. He has received external polish, he is an educated man, and yet deep inside he feels kinship with Wiktor, he is still a member of lower classes, slightly ashamed of his origin.

161) The description of *Ulica Krochmalna* starts on p. 35. A cigarette factory is described on pages 43-46. Judym's trip to the mine is to be found in the chapter *Glikauf!* (*op. cit.*). In all these descriptions Żeromski stressed the realities of life in slum areas — the poverty and dirt, the sweat of toil, the unrelieved suffering of the weak and the sick. This was a life without future, a never-ending sequence of empty nights and days. Men like Wiktor had at least some aims which they tried to achieve (for political reasons Żeromski could not be specific about those aims) but the majority worked and suffered hopelessly.

162) Cisy in the novel (like Nałęczów in reality) was renowned for its picturesque pools. It was Judym's contention that they were the breeding grounds for malaria and therefore had to be drained. But the administrators of Cisy would not hear of that. Moreover, Krzywosąd, the head administrator and Judym's hated opponent, ordered peasants to empty the pools into the river so as to clean them. This had polluted water which peasants used for drinking purposes. On discovering this Judym flew into a rage and threw Krzywosąd into the pool. This act was a result of Judym's violent temper which he usually checked (Judym called it his *szewska pasja* — literally a "shoemakers rage"). In punishment Judym was dismissed and had to leave Cisy. It is believed that this episode echoes Żeromski's conflict with Włodzimierz Rużycki, in the Polish museum in Rapperswil. (This conflict is described by S. EILE in *Kalendarz*, p. 116).

needed since the battle would not be easy. Enlightened and well-meaning men like Judym had to fight with selfish and narrow-minded upper classes. In this fight they could not expect much help from passive and ignorant lower classes. Both, upper and lower classes, had to be reeducated by men like Judym. This seems to be the hidden message of the novel on the social level.

On the moral level the novel presented a problem of conflicting needs — a need to serve a higher cause and a need to find personal happiness. In Żeromski's times these needs often clashed and compromise was not easily achieved. Either Judym was to marry Joasia and settle down to the life of a philistine abandoning his search for higher causes or he was to abandon Joasia and remain homeless. After much inner struggle he chose the second alternative. Żeromski's readers were already familiar with conflicts of this type. The wife of an insane man in *Tabu* remained loyal to him and rejected a chance to live a happier life with a normal man. Żeromski's readers often objected to his "unnecessary" cruelty. And yet these lessons in self-denial and self-sacrifice were well-timed. The example of Judym was to serve as a guiding light to all those who followed into his footsteps.

Structurally the novel was a "hybrid". Dramatic episodes, group scenes and passages of pure reflection (like many pages in Joanna's diary) were interspersed with beautiful descriptions of nature. In these descriptions Żeromski's readers saw again the landscape presented in the early stories, the open fields and the dreamy forests of Polish countryside. The contrast to these was provided in urban descriptions, in particular of slum areas in Warsaw and Paris.

All these descriptions were based on the author's own observations. Cisy was modelled on Nałęczów, a health resort, in which Żeromski lived as a tutor and where he met Oktawia. The mining district was modelled on Dąbrowa Górnicza in Silesia where Żeromski spent some time in the summer of 1897.

Not only the settings but also the characters in the novel had real prototypes. Joanna was a portrait of Oktawia, Żeromski's wife. Judym can be regarded as Żeromski's alter ego. Other characters in the story were partially modelled on the administrators of Nałęczów and on the men Żeromski had met during his stay in Rapperswil. Because of its autobiographical background the novel seemed authentic, its story was lifelike, every-day and yet dramatic. No wonder that readers were deeply moved.

The public response to *Ludzie bezdomni* was wide and varied. None of Żeromski's other works were so widely and passionately discussed. In fact, very few novels in Poland ever created such a stir. In this respect the novel was comparable to the favourite Polish classics, such as Henryk Sienkiewicz's *Ogniem i mieczem* and Bolesław Prus' *Emancypantki*. Many critics testified to the novel's spectacular success.

When *the Exiles* appeared a few days ago — wrote Zygmunt Sarnecki<sup>163</sup>) in *Głos Narodu* — people rushed to read Żeromski with almost the same feverish interest with which they earlier read *With Fire and Sword*,

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163) Zygmunt Sarnecki (1837-1922). Pseudonyms: Radost, Orgon. Writer and critic. Editor of the Cracovian *Świat*. His own works include: plays — *Zemsta pani hrabiny* (1867), *Febris aurea* (1869) and *Uroczę oczy* (1893), stories — *Różni ludzie* (1883), *Owale i profile* (1884) and others.

*The Emancipators* and *By the Niemen*. Suddenly a flood of contradictory opinions disturbed the usual calm in our literary atmosphere. In the opinion of some the novel was ranked as a masterpiece. Others undermined its value through ironic comments and even through their disregard.<sup>164)</sup>

According to Jan Sten,<sup>165)</sup> the critics in Warsaw displayed a strong bias and a narrow "parochialism" in their attitude to the novel.

In the Warsaw press — he wrote in the Cracovian *Krytyka*<sup>165)</sup> — the novel caused lively polemics and hard-fought arguments. However, these were petty arguments, political and moral antagonism rather than aesthetic controversies.<sup>166)</sup>

For the sake of truth it should be added that the "narrowly parochial spirit" prevailed everywhere. The novel was judged as if it were a social treatise. An undue emphasis was laid on its "message", which was interpreted according to the critic's own beliefs. But the public was not very impressed either by derogatory criticism, or by extravagant praise. It continued to read the novel.

The fortunes of Żeromski's last work are unusual — wrote T. Sob.<sup>167)</sup> in *Tydzień* — Critics find many faults in the work, raise many objections, and in most cases finish up with enraptured remarks. The public, however, disregard the first comments and do not listen to the second. They snatch up the book. Thus, *The Exiles* remains as a novelistic sensation in the literary world.

It was fortunate indeed that the public did not pay attention to the critics, for if it had, it would have been greatly confused. This body of criticism was uneven, disjointed and often self-contradictory. Some of it was decidedly beneath the acceptable level, and in any literary study, other than a historical one, it would have been discarded.

The article by Novus,<sup>168)</sup> published in the anti-Semitic *Rola* is a sample of criticism at its worst. It is irresponsible, scurrilous and ill-mannered. According to its author, in *Ludzie bezdomni* Żeromski portrayed a "perverted decadent":

...the main hero, Doctor Judym, is a maniac, a psychopath and a perverted decadent. He is a candidate for a mental hospital.<sup>169)</sup>

This unattractive character is shown against the uninspiring background:

...the depiction of all these places is extremely boring. This is particularly due to the fact that the author attempts to adopt an effective modernistic

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164) Z.S. (Zygmunt Sarnecki), "Z literatury swojej i obcej". *Głos Narodu*, Kraków, 1900, no. 142, pp. 4-5. See Appendix No. 96.

165-166) Jan Sten, *Pseud.* (Ludwik Bruner) (1871-1913). Poet, critic and professor of chemistry at the University of Cracow. His articles were published mainly in *Krytyka*. See Appendix No. 97. J. St. (Jan Sten), "Sprawozdania", *Krytyka*, Kraków, 1900, vol. 1, pp. 297-298.

167) T. Sob. has been identified as Tadeusz Sobolewski. See Appendix No. 98. T. Sob. (Tadeusz Sobolewski), "Z pism i książek", *Tydzień*, Lwów, 1900, no. 12, p. 96.

168) Novus was obviously a pseudonym. The author has not been identified.

169-171) Novus, "Kwiaty i chwasty. Gawęda literacka", *Rola*, Warszawa, 1900, no. 20. See Appendix No. 99, 100 a. 101.

style that shows a great deal of the spirit of the "naked soul" but is actually an over-abundance of empty-sounding words.<sup>170)</sup>

The reviewer unmasks himself, when he finally accuses Żeromski of belonging to the pro-Semitic clique:

Gracious readers! How do you like this altruistic writer, this member of the Peasant Party, this mouthpiece for oppressed beggars, who, at the same time, steps forth as a protector of the Jews...<sup>171)</sup>

This line of attack was fortunately not adopted by anyone else, but a number of critics felt that the novel was Żeromski's "artistic suicide".

In *The Exiles* Żeromski simply committed artistic suicide — wrote Stanisław Pieńkowski<sup>172)</sup> in *Strumień* — These people are common, lead mediocre lives and are portrayed externally in grey tones. [...] They are so steeped in actuality that the conclusion of the story becomes a dull moral, suspended in the clouds.<sup>173)</sup>

Stanisław Pieńkowski motivated his condemnation of the novel:

The photographic method of approach, the lack of perspective, the loose structure, the incompetent use of language that is tainted with jargon, the incapability to create moods [...], the lack of any synthesis [...] all this leads to the fact, that even from the point of view of the degeneration of this type of literature, *The Exiles* is the weakest and most ungainly of Żeromski's works.<sup>174)</sup>

Some of Pieńkowski's objections are justifiable, but others are wide of the mark. No one would agree with him today that Żeromski's representation of reality was "photographic", any more than that he could not convey moods. But it must be admitted that the structure of his novels was indeed faulty. It is known that Żeromski was deeply hurt by Pieńkowski's verdict.

While Pieńkowski objected to Żeromski's "tendentiousness", Cezary Jellenta<sup>175)</sup> basically approved of it, but he felt that the tendency was obscured by the subtleties of the psychological portrayal:

Żeromski's fault — he wrote in *Głos* — does not lie in the fact that his piece is packed again and again with ideas, but on the contrary in the fact that his original and supra-social tendentiousness, his passion for altruism and the hatred and mercy of Judym from time to time takes on too smooth a manner and becomes too ornamental.<sup>176)</sup>

It is true that there was a discrepancy in Judym (and perhaps in Żeromski) between his consciously-adopted aims and his subconscious attitudes, which were a heritage of the past. But no one today would

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172) Stanisław Pieńkowski. Poet, journalist and critic. Contributed to numerous periodicals. Published a book *Maski życia*.

173-174) St. PIEŃKOWSKI, "Z powodu *Ludzi bezdomnych* Żeromskiego", *Strumień*, Warszawa, 1900, no. 2. See Appendix No. 102 a. 103.

175) Cezary Jellenta, pseud. (Napoleon Hirszbard) (1861-1935). Journalist and critic. Contributed articles to *Ateneum*, *Głos*, *Niwa*, *Prawda* and *Przegląd Tygodniowy*. Edited *Ateneum* during the years 1903-1905.

176) Cezary JELLENTA, "Krytyka naukowa i literacka", St. Żeromski "*Ludzie bezdomni*". *Głos*, Warszawa, 1900, no. 17, pp. 269-271. See Appendix No. 104.

prefer Judym to be more consistent. Consistency was appropriate in the heroic epic but not in the realistic novel, striving to describe human nature as "it really is".

Jellenta, unwittingly perhaps, voiced the ever-present human need to have everything clear-cut and neatly arranged, in easily comprehensible schemes. Żeromski had a perception of fluid values and of the ever-changing reality in which nothing was constant. This had disturbed him and he tried, not very successfully perhaps, to find the absolute ideal. But, deep inside, he realised that such a quest was doomed to failure. This accounts for his tragic outlook. Żeromski was more modern than Jellenta in this respect.

Władysław Kozicki,<sup>177)</sup> like Jellenta, felt that the picture of the social life presented in the novel was too ambiguous. He would have preferred a "black and white" picture, with each social class distinctly portrayed, the proletariat as well as the capitalists:

...characters from the capitalist world and from the so-called intelligentsia, and thus the ordinary disgusting exploiter [...] and the old-fashioned man with aristocratic traditions in his blood, who feels that all is not going according to the will of God.<sup>178)</sup>

Somewhat surprisingly, this brings to mind "socialist realism" with its plea to portray the exploiters and the exploited. The starting points of Jellenta's and Kozicki's reasoning were similar, even though each of them took a different course. Both insisted on the clear-cut, schematic portrayal of reality.

All the critics were primarily preoccupied with the social aspect of the novel, its truthfulness and its significance, but while some recognised merely its documentary value, others did not hesitate to assign it a high rank in the hierarchy of Polish literature. Marian Kwiryn<sup>179)</sup> represented the former, Maria Łopuszańska<sup>180)</sup> the latter.

In *The Exiles* society has gained a valuable work, — wrote Kwiryn in *Dziennik Poznański* — not in a literary and artistic sense, but in the field of the "document humain". This work will please our contemporaries and also coming generations.<sup>181)</sup>

To Maria Łopuszańska the novel was not only the "document humain", but also an outstanding work of art.

It seems to me — she wrote in the Cracovian *Pogląd na Świat* — that the author solved the problem of whether a novel that was "social" in the fullest sense of the word could be a realistic and lasting work of art at the same time. [...]

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177) Władysław Kozicki (pseud. Andrzej Piotr Lubicz). Writer and historian of art. Published several historical studies, such as *Św. Sebastian*, *Michał Anioł*, *Wolne duchy*, a play *W gaju Akademosa*, poems, critical essays and a novel, *Ziemia*.

178) Władysław Kozicki, "W pomroce prometejskich cieni (Z powodu *Ludzi bezdomnych* Żeromskiego)". *Tygodnik Narodowy*, Lwów, 1900, no. 54-56. See Appendix No. 105.

179) Marian Kwiryn, (pseud. Włodzimierz Raszewski). A journalist in Poznań. Marian Kwiryn, "Szkice z Warszawy", *Dziennik Poznański*, Poznań, 1900.

180) Maria Łopuszańska. A journalist in Cracow.

181) Maria Łopuszańska, "*Ludzie bezdomni* Stefana Żeromskiego", *Pogląd na Świat*, Kraków, 1900, no. 6, pp. 128-133. See Appendix No. 106.

The form of the work, although it departs from all the rules and makes no attempt at originality, is, nevertheless, original, whimsical and full of surprises, like life itself.<sup>182)</sup>

Łopuszańska displayed in her article a sensitivity and a flexibility which are indispensable in good criticism. Unfortunately the majority of Polish critics were not endowed with these qualities even the outstanding critics, like Ignacy Matuszewski,<sup>183)</sup> did not give this novel its due. Matuszewski's review, published in *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, is rather disappointing. Like Łopuszańska, Matuszewski tried to solve the crucial problem, whether or not a social novel could attain a high level of artistic achievement. This was followed by a lengthy analysis of the social causes of "homelessness". Finally, Matuszewski discussed the virtues and faults of Żeromski's highly emotional manner. It might have been better, he thought, if Żeromski:

...instead of pouring out his feelings so that they would be apparent, he should have channelled them somewhat into the artistic organization of the work. The novel would then have acquired uniformity and consistency. However, who can tell whether such harmony and regularity would not have masked the depth of feeling.<sup>184)</sup>

Several critics tried to establish Żeromski's literary genealogy. The priest Jan Pawelski,<sup>185)</sup> writing for *Przegląd Powszechny*, linked him with Ibsen. According to Pawelski Żeromski shared with Ibsen a partiality for dramatic effects, enhanced by the use of symbols, such as the split pine-tree in the scene of Judym's parting with Joanna. Pawelski felt that, on the whole, Ibsen's influence upon Żeromski was not beneficial, that "Ibsenism" should not be transplanted to Poland.

Zygmunt Sarnecki (already mentioned here) gave Żeromski several literary ancestors, such as Emile Zola, Paul Bourget and Maurice Maeterlinck. Sarnecki felt that the novel was an imperfect blend of discordant elements, each derived from a different writer.

The man who was considered to be the only writer capable of establishing a new direction in literature — he wrote in *Głos Narodu* — is an involuntary prisoner of many previous literary trends, both recent and out of date. He begins his work in the naturalistic style of Zola, falls, from time to time, into the analytical style of Bourget, paints his landscapes according to the symbolic and impressionistic methods of Maeterlinck, creates moods similar to those of Ibsen and lastly adopts the artificial and colourful style of Przybyszewski from time to time, which, in contrast to the previous methods, expresses thoughts that are essentially subjective, honest and far-reaching.<sup>186)</sup>

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182) Ignacy Matuszewski (1858-1919). One of the outstanding critics of his time. He started his career as a positivist; eventually he became a leading theoretician of modernism. In the years 1898-1907 he edited *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, an influential literary weekly. His outstanding critical work is *Słowacki i nowa sztuka* (1901). See Appendix No. 107.

183) Ignacy MATUSZEWSKI, "Powieść społeczna i formuły estetyczne. ('Z powieści Żeromskiego *Ludzie bezdomni*')," *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, Warszawa, 1900, no. 6, pp. 102-103; no. 7, pp. 122-123.

184) The priest Jan PAWELSKI, "Przegląd piśmiennictwa. Z piśmiennictwa krajowego. Z nowych powieści. Stefan Żeromski *Ludzie bezdomni*", *Przegląd Powszechny*, Kraków, 1900, vol. 65, pp. 439-445. See Appendix No. 108.

185) See Footnote no. 161.

186) Information on Antoni Potocki has been given in chapter 3. See Appendix No. 109.



Sarnecki's analysis, shrewd as it is, cannot be taken at its face value, otherwise one would have to assume that Żeromski was nothing but a skilled imitator. But it should be noted that Sarnecki's line of approach was valuable, since it meant a shift from a social to an aesthetic examination of the novel.

Perhaps the most intelligent analysis of Żeromski's literary manner came from Antoni Potocki.<sup>187)</sup> In his article, entitled "Concerning Żeromski's sensitive awareness" (*O czującym wiedzeniu Żeromskiego*), Potocki tried to define the essence of Żeromski's art. He felt that its uniqueness was due to the fact that Żeromski had an intuitive understanding of reality, that his perception of reality was emotional, and not rational. This had determined his choice of subjects and of style. Żeromski tried to "infect" his readers with his mood, the incidents being of secondary importance. In *Ludzie bezdomni* — wrote Potocki — Żeromski

...very clearly set a novel of narration against a novel of mood where the type of composition is such that the central point is not the sequence and development of events, but the mood of the author. The type of language used is also interconnected with this method of composition. It is a language that expresses extremely direct feelings, a language of the living word.

Żeromski's "feeling knowledge" which in works of a certain category replaces the so-called plasticity and picturesque manner of writing, is an expression of a heightening in the tension of the human soul. [...]...<sup>188)</sup>

This account would not be complete if it were restricted to the contemporary material only. Much more revealing are the reminiscences of those for whom Żeromski's novel was a revelation, a guiding light, almost a bible. The students, the young men and women, active in the secret political and cultural organizations, found in this novel an expression of their innermost thoughts, secret dreams and doubts:

*The Exiles* — wrote Stanisław Posner<sup>189)</sup> in *Wspomnienia o Żeromskim* — This generation does not understand and cannot understand the impression this novel has made. It was not just a great and beautiful book. It was a gospel and literally a "bearer of good tidings". It was a feat! Every member of the Polish Socialist Party saw in this book an account of his life and his dream, "the road lit by moonlight" that leads through the marshes of present-day community life. We not only read the book, but drank it all in, like a pilgrim that is tired of his wanderings drinks spring water.<sup>190)</sup>

Janina Mortkowicz, wife of a well-known publisher with whom Żeromski was very friendly, described how her mother sent this book to her

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187) A. POTOCKI, "O 'czującym wiedzeniu' Żeromskiego", *Biblioteka Warszawska*, Warszawa, 1900, vol. 1, p. 357.

188) Stanisław Posner (1870-1930). Writer and lawyer. He published a number of studies of social and political nature. See Appendix No. 110.

189) St. POSNER, "Stefan Żeromski. Charakterystyka w świetle wspomnień", Warszawa, 1926 (republished in the symposium of reminiscences, *Wspomnienia o Stefanie Żeromskim*, Warszawa, 1961, pp. 121-122).

190) Janina MORTKOWICZOWA, "Moje wspomnienia o Stefanie Żeromskim", *Ibid.*, p. 188. See Appendix No. 111.

brother, who was imprisoned in the "citadel" (Warsaw's political prison). Her mother wrote to him:

Son, I am sending you the new book *The Exiles* of which everyone speaks with delight. Give me your opinion.<sup>191)</sup>

This simple letter tells more about the popularity of this novel than all the reviews.

Not all the political prisoners expressed their opinion about the book (not all of them read it), but one at least did. He was Marian Abramowicz,<sup>192)</sup> a well-known radical, who was exiled to Siberia. He sent Żeromski his photograph with a simple but moving inscription:

Many thanks and best wishes from the exiles for *The Exiles*.

Żeromski was deeply touched.

In my life as a writer — he said — this was the most glorious "review" and the most important prize.<sup>193)</sup>

It has been shown that the reception of *Ludzie bezdomni* did not differ basically from the reception of Żeromski's other work. It was more animated and varied, but fundamentally the same notes were struck, the same errors were committed. An undue stress was put on the social significance of the novel, which led to an almost total neglect of its artistic qualities. Critical judgements were extreme and unbalanced — some proclaimed that the novel was a "masterpiece", others rejected it — while a better-balanced view would have been more appropriate. Many articles contained lengthy summaries of the plot, which seem superfluous, in view of the fact that the book was accessible to anyone. Many critics were guilty of platitudes, of over-generalised statements which covered up the absence of original critical thought. This criticism was notable for its unprofessional manner — it was emotional, irresponsible and often flat. But it was stimulated by a genuine feeling for literature, valued primarily as a political and social weapon, but at least respected and loved.

## Chapter Six

In the preceding chapters Żeromski's life during the years 1882-1900 has been outlined. Step by step we have seen young Żeromski grow and mature, perfect his judgement and develop his literary talent. His diary was a mirror to this development. It recorded the respective phases in Żeromski's growth, it reflected his moods and showed his interests. Without the diary the study of the early period in Żeromski's career would have been difficult.

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191) Żeromski met Marian Abramowicz in Zurich in 1892. Years after he remembered him as "olbrzym o klasycznych kształtach i regularnych, ślicznych rysach twarzy, ozdobionej łagodnym nieustępliwym uśmiechem" (Stefan Żeromski, *Wspomnienia. Pisma*, Edited by S. Pigoń, Warszawa, 1951, p. 30). See Appendix No. 112.

192-193) *Ibid.*, p. 39. See Appendix No. 113 a. 114.

Żeromski's work, published during this period, grew out of his diary. A comparison of the diary with this work will be undertaken in the second part of this study. Now the time has come to define Żeromski's literary achievement during this phase and to outline his subsequent career.

During the early phase Żeromski established himself as a young novelist with radical tendencies. At that time his leftist sympathies had not been questioned yet.<sup>194</sup>) In the popular opinion he was associated with the progressive weekly *Głos*. He was warmly received by the progressive critics in the three zones of Poland. Conservative critics were reserved towards him but even they recognised him as a young promising writer. The instant success, the popularity of his work with his readers and the applause of the critics (including such renowned critics as Piotr Chmielowski and Antoni Potocki) convinced Żeromski that literature was his field. From then on he devoted his energy to literary work.

On the other hand the disparity of critical judgements confused and bewildered him. In the chorus of voices, mingling praise with reproach, it was hard to hear what was worth hearing. Even an impartial observer finds this body of criticism disjointed and confusing. It can be imagined how confused Żeromski must have been when he read the early reviews.

The redeeming quality of this criticism was its respect for literature (if not for writers). Writers were passionately blamed and praised only because so much was expected of them. They were given a unique part in the life of the nation and they were aware of it. The greatness of the writer's vocation in Poland, the many demands that a writer had to face, at times must have weighed heavily on young Stefan Żeromski. Being a writer was more than a profession, it was a vocation, a calling.

But Żeromski never complained. Only later in life he wished for Polish literature to have a freer life, less burdened with civic duties.<sup>195</sup>) Żeromski's own work, as has been shown, was always civic minded. But it was also inspired by high artistic canons. Żeromski wished to be not only a Polish writer but also a writer worthy to be placed beside the great European masters, Zola and Turgenev. In a sense being a good Polish writer was not synonymous with being a good writer. Żeromski aspired to be both. It will be seen whether he succeeded in this.

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194) After the publication of *Róża* in 1909 Żeromski was attacked by the progressive critics. They accused him of presenting in *Róża* a caricature of the revolutionary movement in Poland. Żeromski himself described these attacks in a letter to Stanisław Witkiewicz (March 17th, 1910): "Thank you for the good words about *Róża*, a work that incensed all the groups against me, beginning with the National Democrats and including the Social Democrats, the Polish Socialist Party splinter group and even the Warsaw progressives. It ended with my being accused of being a panegyrist of the splinter group, which is angry with me because I "abused" it. There is no literary criticism in Poland at this time. The old critics who were ruled by the earlier precept of "critical honesty" have died or become silent. The young critics belong to different parties and criticise their political opponents". See Appendix No. 115.

195) He expressed his thoughts on the status of literature in Poland in a letter written to A. Górski on February 8th, 1913: ".... I would like to write an article, or rather a work, to be placed in a monthly review, entitled "The Imprisonment of Art in Poland". In this work I want to give the reasons and causes for the enslavement of our art which has been encumbered with political and social obligations for a long time". See Appendix No. 116.

As far as we know Żeromski had never written this article but he expressed some of his thoughts on the status of literature in Poland in his lecture *Literatura a życie polskie*, delivered in Zakopane in 1915.

It is customary to divide Żeromski's life into three periods: the early one, from 1882 to 1900, the middle period from 1900 to 1919, during which Żeromski supposedly moved towards the *Młoda Polska* group and the last period from 1920 till Żeromski's death in 1925 during which he returned to the relative simplicity of his early work. But this division is to a large extent arbitrary. If clarity and simplicity are the main criteria it must be remembered that *Wierna rzeka*, the simplest of Żeromski's novels, was written in the middle period (it was published in 1912). *Wiatr od morza*, on the other hand, with its heavily stylized descriptive prose, full of archaisms and neologisms, is to be found among his late work (it was published in 1922). It is obvious that Żeromski's literary career could also be divided into two periods, pre-1918 and post-1918, for instance. One could find justification for all kinds of divisions but the fact remains that his work is not easily split either on stylistic or on thematical level.

In spite of its diversity it was singularly uniform in tone and in general design. On the thematical level it introduced painful and embarrassing issues, such as the uprising of 1863. It brought into light what has been hidden so far, or purposefully minimized — class conflicts in the Polish society, the deep antagonism between the Polish peasant and the Polish landowner (as shown in *Zapomnienie*), or the estrangement of the city proletariat from the intelligentsia (as shown in *Ludzie bezdomni* and in *Walka z szatanem*). No one so far had the courage to tackle these subjects with the same force. In the national and social sphere Żeromski was a veil-lifter and a destroyer of popular taboos.

He was also a path-finder in another field — that of psychology. Both, in his early and late work, he left memorable portraits of men and women. Even though, as general character studies, they were not fully developed and not entirely convincing, they were memorable as types. Judym and Nienaskis, Joannas and Ksenias became as well known in Poland as Skrzetuski, Zagłoba and Kmicic had been,<sup>196</sup> they became a common property. But in contrast to the characters of Sienkiewicz they were complex and not easily understood. Żeromski was a great master in portraying ambivalent emotional states, his characters were sometimes enigmatic, their behaviour was not easily reduced to a rational pattern. Żeromski was one of the first Polish writers who had some understanding of the irrationality of human nature. Why did Judym leave Joasia, why did Cezary Baryka march against Belweder? These questions could not be answered with certainty.

The uniformity of Żeromski's work on the thematical level becomes evident if one compares the themes of the early and late work. The story of uprising of 1863, introduced first in *Rozdzióbią nas kruki, wrony...* (1895) is to be found again in *Wierna rzeka* (1912). The Napoleonic campaigns which inspired *Powieść o żołnierzu tułaczku* (1896) received a full treatment in *Popioły* (1904). Some of Żeromski's novels and stories form fictitious family chronicles. A son of Rafał Olbromski, (*Popioły*) is seen in a short fragment *Wszystko i nic* (1919) and then in a short

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196) Doctor Judym and Joanna Podborska were the heroes of *Ludzie bezdomni* (discussed in chapter 5). Ryszard Nienaski and Ksenia Granowska appeared in the trilogy *Walka z szatanem* (mentioned in chapter 6). Skrzetuski, Zagłoba and Kmicic are some of the favourite characters in Henryk Sienkiewicz's trilogy (*Ogniem i mieczem*, *Potop* and *Pan Wołodyjowski*). (For a comparison of Sienkiewicz's and Żeromski's characters consult chapter 8).

dramatic episode in *Wierna rzeka* (1912) in which we see his heroic death. A story of the Rozłuckis, father and son, is presented in *Echa leśne* (1905) and *Uroda życia* (1912). Jan Rozłucki, the father of Piotr, is executed by his own uncle, a Russian general, for his participation in the uprising. This execution is described in *Echa leśne*. The story of Piotr, of his russification and of his gradual recovery of his Polish identity, is presented in *Uroda życia*. The dramatic episode in which Piotr finds the grave of his father, Jan, is reminiscent of a similar episode in *Mogila*. The theme of the loss and recovery of the Polish identity is often met in Żeromski's work. We have seen the gradual transformation of Marcin Borowicz in *Szyzyfowe prace* (1896), we will see it again in Cezary Baryka in *Przedwiośnie* (1925).

In the course of his life Żeromski changed some of his views but he remained basically interested in the same problems and his interests were inevitably reflected in his literary work. One can only admire the wide range of his interests (wishing at the same time that, instead of spreading his efforts, he concentrated on certain themes and certain epochs, studying them in depth). He was interested in history (especially in the nineteenth century and Slavic prehistory). He admired the scientific progress and placed almost naive hope in scientific discoveries. He loved art and literature. He was a keen traveller, always observant and always ready to absorb whatever was new and worth learning. And all his observations and reflections on his varied reading found their way into his literary work.

It is no wonder that on the structural level his works were literary "hybrids". He mixed freely different genres and modes, novel, essay and reportage, lyric and epic. He did not hesitate to break his narratives so as to insert long digressions on topics far removed from the main line of the narrative. The result was patchiness, incongruity, loss of balance and baroque heaviness of parts outweighing the whole.

It has been shown that an attempt to divide Żeromski's work along chronological lines is futile because this work is uniform in form and content. Another division equally often met in Polish criticism taken as its basis the subject matter. Żeromski's historical novels are distinguished from his novels of "contemporary life". The first group, including *Popioły*, *Wierna rzeka* and others, is supposed to deal with themes of national significance such as the recovery of national independence. The second group, comprising *Ludzie bezdomni*, *Dzieje grzechu*, *Walka z szatanem* and *Przedwiośnie* is supposed to be "socially orientated" dealing with conflicts of social and moral nature.

And yet, if one takes a closer look at Żeromski's novels, it becomes apparent that this division is equally superficial. His historical novels are no less "socially orientated" than his novels of contemporary life. Let us recall Michcik's brutal treatment as shown in *Popioły*, or the attitude of Odrowąż's mother towards Salomea Brynicka, as described in *Wierna rzeka*. On the other hand, *Przedwiośnie* is not less historical than *Popioły*. Żeromski was very sensitive to historical events in his own times. In a sense his work can be regarded as a commentary upon his own times. All his life he was deeply interested in contemporary events, the past and present are not easily distinguishable in his work. He had a tendency to transfer contemporary conflicts into the past, to "see" the present in the past and the past in the present. Therefore

any distinction between his historical and non-historical novels is largely superficial.

Another distinction is often made with more justification; Żeromski's works are classified according to their form. Even though most of his novels are "hybrids", made up of fictional and nonfictional elements, fictional elements usually predominate. Not only *Wierna rzeka* but also *Popioły* are novels with fully developed plots. Most of Żeromski's stories are novels in embryo form, which could be easily expanded.<sup>197)</sup> On the other hand some of his novels could be easily split into stories.<sup>198)</sup> This is what is meant by Żeromski's loose structure, "the open form" of his novels. Only *Wierna rzeka* has dramatically tight structure.

Żeromski's "lyrical epics", such as *Sen o chlebie* (1916) and *Wisła* (1918) form a group apart. They are different in structure from the stories and novels. They can be regarded as poetic essays on one theme. They have no characters and no plot in the usual sense. In Żeromski they mark a transition from prose to poetry, from fiction to non-fiction. They were a result of his search for new forms of artistic expression. His most ambitious attempt along this line was *Wiatr od morza* (1922), a series of episodes devoted to Pomerania, both in historical and pre-historical times. In *Wiatr od morza* and in *Wisła* we see a characteristic transfer of interest from the people to their land. The land is no longer in the background. It is a unifying factor. Men come and go, their existence is transitory, their work is anonymous, their lives hardly leave any traces, but the land remains. In these two works not men but the land, Pomerania and the Vistula, are in the centre of the picture. Żeromski's "lyrical epics" were not as popular with his readers as his fiction.

Of Żeromski's total literary output his artistic prose (including fiction and "lyrical epics") is more valuable than his dramas. Some of his dramas, as for instance *Róża* (1909) were distinctly undramatical. *Róża* could be described as a novel in the form of a drama. *Biała rękawiczka* (1921) was not worthy of Żeromski. It was decidedly below the level of his other work. *Uciekła mi przepióreczka* (1924) is the only play in Żeromski's repertoire which has survived the test of time. But even this play strikes one as not entirely convincing and rather naive.

Żeromski's journalistic prose is mainly of biographical and historical interest. But it should be stressed that in his occasional press pronouncements Żeromski played a very positive part. He only entered the public platform when he had a positive contribution to make. He never engaged in futile political polemics. In *Projekt Akademii Literatury Polskiej* (1918) he laid foundations for the establishment of the Academy of Polish literature, in *Organizacja inteligencji zawodowej* he advocated the formation of professional unions among intelligentsia. Some of his projects were utopian, in some of them he did not take sufficiently into account the conditions existing in Poland, but he always took a positive approach — he tried to shape new forms of human relationship based on cooperation and tolerance.

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197) *Wierna rzeka*, for instance, can be regarded as an enlargement of the theme introduced first in the short story *Rozdzióbą nas kruki, wrony* — the failure of the uprising of 1863 and its bloody aftermath.

198) Rafał and Helena episode in *Popioły*, for example, can be regarded as a complete love story and could be easily taken out of the novel. There are many such episodes in Żeromski's novels.

Żeromski's total literary output for the years 1900-1925 is impressive. A chronological list of Żeromski's more important works (enclosed at the end of this study) allows one to compare the output for respective years. One can see, for instance, that Żeromski's productivity in the field of fiction was enormous. The two volume set *Dzieje grzechu*, published in 1908, was followed four years later by *Uroda życia* (1912) and *Wierna rzeka* (1912). The trilogy *Walka z szatanem* was published during the years 1916-1919. A longer gap in novel writing is found between the years 1920 and 1924. During this time Żeromski was writing plays. *Ponad śnieg bielszym się stanę* was published in 1920, *Biała rękawiczka* in 1921, *Turoń* in 1923 and *Uciekła mi przepióreczka* in 1924.

Żeromski's literary output is even more impressive if one remembers that he was never a healthy man. Periodically he had to undergo intensive treatments, he often wrote in bed (he dictated when he was too weak to write), he was on the verge of dying more than once. Even though since the publication of *Popioły* in 1904 his literary work earned him his living, he was not a wealthy man. His life was never financially stable. On the emotional level he had many problems to face. His life was turbulent and dramatic. His second marriage which was never made fully legitimate (Oktawia refused to give him a divorce), the death of his beloved son and the birth of his daughter Monika were some of the most dramatic incidents of his later life. It is amazing that in spite of his many problems Żeromski never slackened in his literary productivity. Apart from personal drama there were other crises to face, the First World War and the Bolshevik invasion of 1920. All these events were registered in Żeromski's work.

The Polish public grew accustomed to this. Żeromski's novels were always met with lively interest. The public was eager to find what Żeromski had to say, what standpoint he took this time, what he was trying to prove. As in the early period Żeromski's work had its enthusiasts and its opponents (and the opponents were much more vocal). Two of Żeromski's novels, *Dzieje grzechu* (1908) and *Przedwiośnie* (1925) aroused a storm in the Polish press. The vehemence of journalistic attacks, the fury with which Żeromski's work was literally torn to pieces, were unparalleled by anything that happened before, or since. Żeromski withstood these attacks but they had left many scars. All his life he was hostile towards his critics and with years this hostility grew. Towards the end of his life of all Polish critics he only had respect for Matuszewski and Irzykowski.

According to Isaak Deutscher, who visited Żeromski shortly before his death, this is what Żeromski said about Polish critics:

Criticism is somethings that is not too well accepted and all the more since we have not had critics since the death of Matuszewski (who, however, was far from the ideal of criticism). Among the people dealing indirectly with criticism, I value Irzykowski who also did not understand *Before the Spring*. However, what can I do about the existing muddle. In the opinions of Rostworowski and Pusłowski, I am a Bolshevik. Others call me a reactionary. A meeting of all-Polish students is publishing some resolution directed against me. In Russia, six editions of *Before the Spring* have appeared. The radical Leftists still consider me as a conservative.<sup>199)</sup>

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199) I. DEUTSCHER, "Rozmowa z Żeromskim", *Nasz Przegląd*, 1925, no. 320. This conversation took place few days before Żeromski's death. See Appendix No. 117.

This interesting statement draws attention to several facts, namely that Żeromski assigned the highest place among Polish critics to Ignacy Matuszewski. He had high regard for Karol Irzykowski as well, but, for unknown reasons, he regarded his critical activity as incidental. Finally, Żeromski was well aware of the political nature of the critical attacks upon him and was bitterly amused by the disparity of judgements upon him.

The critical response to Żeromski's later literary work cannot be possibly discussed within the limits of one chapter. Stanisław Eile, the author of the often quoted *Kalendarz*, has published a book, *Legenda Żeromskiego* (Warsaw, 1965), devoted entirely to this subject. In this book Eile discusses in detail Żeromski's critical reception in Poland during the years 1892-1926. His study is objective and well documented. It is stronger on the historical and weaker on the evaluative side since Eile very seldom makes evaluative statements with reference either to Żeromski or to his critics.

While no detailed description of Żeromski's literary reception is possible, it may be worth-while to throw a glance at the critical pronouncements on Żeromski left by the three outstanding Polish critics, two of whom at least Żeromski admired, namely Ignacy Matuszewski, Karol Irzykowski and Stanisław Brzozowski. These three critics were already referred to in the preceding chapters. They all responded to Żeromski in one way or another. Irzykowski was most reserved, Matuszewski was most enthusiastic.

The publication of *Popioły* in 1904 was the occasion upon which these three critics made their pronouncements. Irzykowski's assessment of *Popioły* was most severe. He described Żeromski as *wirtuoz okrucieństwa* and *reprezentant... kultury byczości*.<sup>200</sup> Obviously Żeromski's admiration for physical fitness and strength, clearly displayed in his portrait of Rafał Olbromski, was not approved of by Irzykowski. Moreover, Irzykowski sensed in Żeromski a certain superficiality.

As for Mr. Żeromski, I am of the opinion that, despite the masterful way with which he has grasped the material (remarkable in our time), he has not mastered the decisive points of the matter or, at best, has kept part of the truth for himself. I think that Żeromski is satisfied with the first outpouring of his blood. This blood is honest and his own, but has turned to paint too soon [...].

[Żeromski] is always able to transcend a pattern, but he is satisfied, for example, with the first sense of shame in the human soul, with the first feeling shown in an unusual way, with the externals of life as long as they are gloomy. He knows that the lack of a halo can in fact be the best halo. He creates glorious scenes, moods and turns of phrase. The author knows how to shock, alarm and arouse emotion in the reader. However, this constitutes writing for effect, an effect that, in the future, will lose its emotive power, when its mechanical nature is discovered.<sup>201</sup>

The full meaning of this statement is apparent to those, who are familiar with Irzykowski's views. In a sense it is unfair to take a critical statement out of its context. This is particularly true in the case of Irzykowski whose statements always allowed for the variety of interpretations. In this case it is clear what Irzykowski meant by "writing for

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200-201) K. Irzykowski, "Glossy do współczesnej literatury polskiej", *Głos*, 1905, no. 10, reprinted in *Czyn i słowo*, Lwów, 1913. See Appendix No. 118.



effect" (*pisanie na wrażenia*) but one could question his general critical intention. Did he want Żeromski to go beyond "the first layer" (*pierwsza warstwa życia*)?

Irzykowski objected to emotional effectiveness of Żeromski's work as opposed to its intellectual weakness. With the passion of a true critic he exposed the "mechanism" of Żeromski's art, certain of his "tricks" which were not in keeping with the general high quality of his art. Irzykowski's criticism of the way in which Żeromski handled his principal characters, his famous pronouncement on *charaktery z wybitym dnem* has been quoted already in one of the preceding chapters. In this pronouncement he accused Żeromski of identifying too strongly with his characters, of endowing them with his own sensibility at the expense of the psychological verisimilitude.<sup>202)</sup>

On the whole, Irzykowski thought that Żeromski at times forced "his muse" to serve certain ends and that in this process he departed from the rules of the strictly realistic presentation. He falsified the emotional make-up of Rafał Olbromski in *Popioły* and of Ewa Niepołomska in *Dzieje grzechu*. His novel, *Uroda życia*, instead of exhorting and admonishing the nation, flattered it. This was not Żeromski's intention:

The tendency of Żeromski's last novel — Irzykowski wrote in his critical book, *Czyn i słowo* (1913) — is chivalrous and pedagogical. It calls for correction and toughness. But its technique is such that it pulls at the heart strings. Besides the desire to admonish the nation, there is a flattery of the nation.<sup>203)</sup>

This pronouncement is very typical for Irzykowski. Even the choice of phrases such as *technika rozmazgaja t.j. chwytą za serce* is significant. Irzykowski was exceptional among Poles in his distrust of feelings and his refusal to display them in public.

Gradually Irzykowski became reconciled to Żeromski. When Żeromski was widely attacked on account of his last novel, *Przedwiośnie*, Irzykowski came to his defense. In his view Żeromski in this novel *wyrósł ponad swoją własną formę* and he showed that he was *najlepszy reprezentant swego stylu*<sup>204)</sup> (by that time Żeromski was widely imitated).<sup>205)</sup>

When Żeromski died Irzykowski assigned him a surprisingly prominent place among Polish and European writers:

Żeromski belongs [...] not only to the group of national writers, but also to those writers that are labelled separately by critics as demonic. Among these we have Dostoevsky, Strindberg, Kleist and Beethoven in music. But Żeromski's demonism was so deeply hidden and well amalgamated with his outdated positivism and civic feeling etc., that, in a way, it burst forth like lava.<sup>206)</sup>

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202) The full quotation is to be found in chapter 2, footnote 38.

203) K. IRZYKOWSKI, "Burzliwa rzeka rzeczy", *Wiadomości Literackie*, 1925, no. 1. See Appendix No. 119.

204) The writers deeply indebted to Żeromski were: Maria Jehanne Wielopolska (1884-1940), Gustaw Daniłowski (1872-1927), Andrzej Strug, pseud. (Tadeusz Gałeczki) (1871-1937). A detailed analysis of this debt and a general discussion of Żeromski's impact upon younger Polish writers are to be found in J. KRZYŻANOWSKI, *Neoromantyzm polski*, 1890-1918, Warsaw, 1963.

205-206) K. IRZYKOWSKI, "Demoniczność w twórczości Żeromskiego", *Wiadomości Literackie*, 1925, no. 51. See Appendix No. 120.

*Demoniczność* is not a term one would expect Irzykowski to use in any context. Evidently in spite of his rationality and matter of factness Irzykowski had certain kinship with the *Młoda Polska* group.

Ignacy Matuszewski's assessment of *Ludzie bezdomni* has been discussed in chapter 5. In contrast to Irzykowski Matuszewski almost wholeheartedly approved of Żeromski. In his review of *Popioły* he described the novel as *poemat epiczno-liryczny* and as *symfonia poetyczna*<sup>207)</sup> drawing the attention of readers to the musical quality of Żeromski's prose. (It is interesting and probably coincidental that Brzozowski too referred to *Popioły* as *przedziwne symfonie*).<sup>208)</sup> Even *Dzieje grzechu* met with Matuszewski's approval.<sup>209)</sup>

While Matuszewski consistently applied aesthetic criteria in judging Żeromski, Stanisław Brzozowski, the third critic we have mentioned, evaluated his work on the moral and intellectual basis. In *Legenda Młodej Polski* (1910) he discussed in detail Żeromski's contribution to the Polish prose. He objected to Żeromski's morbid states of mind, reflected in his literary works, to his unhealthy attitudes. Most of all he condemned the "cult of suffering" supposedly propagated by Żeromski.

Żeromski is not in any state to conquer this lack of will, since, instead of thoughts, he accepts sentimental delusion. The cult of suffering has this very danger within it: in the place of the tragic fighting against fate, it substitutes the resistance of vice versus thought. This is revealed as suffering.<sup>210)</sup>

Brzozowski, like Irzykowski and unlike Matuszewski, blamed Żeromski for insufficient thought-content. In his view Żeromski supported his arguments by emotionally charged illustrations rather than by logical proofs.

There is a lack of free definitive thought in Żeromski's intellectual make-up. [...] This is seen in all the questions posed in his works. All the answers are imposed and mental activity is crowded into a subconscious and masterless world.<sup>211)</sup>

If a writer's reputation is to be judged in terms of the quantity of the critical response, Żeromski's success in Poland had no parallels, but if the quality of the criticism is to be considered this success becomes questionable. It is true that Żeromski's work was stimulating but as had been observed by Irzykowski and Brzozowski, the stimulation it provided was largely of emotional nature. Intellectually it was less provocative. It aroused many controversies but these were largely practical, concerned with everyday life of a nation, reflected in literature.

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207) I. MATUSZEWSKI, "Żeromski i *Popioły*", *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, 1904, nos. 20-23.

208) S. BRZozowski, "St. Żeromski", *Głos*, 1904, nos. 11-20.

209) According to Matuszewski *Dzieje grzechu* as a novel cannot meet with indifference, it is bound to evoke extreme emotional response, acceptance or rejection. Matuszewski's assessment of the novel is to be found in his article "Żeromski i *Dzieje grzechu*", published in *Sfinks*, 1908, vol. 1 and 2.

210) S. BRZozowski, *Legenda Młodej Polski*, Warsaw, 1937, pp. 337-348. See Appendix No. 121.

211) *Ibid*, p. 331. See Appendix No. 122.

Purely aesthetic problems were seldom discussed. Can Żeromski be held responsible for the kind of critical response his work evoked?

It must be remembered that Polish criticism has never ranked highly if compared with the literary production. On the other hand, the civic commitment of Polish literature had made it open to attacks and assessments on extra-aesthetic grounds. If Żeromski was less involved with contemporary issues he would not have been subjected to so many attacks, but, at the same time, his work would have lost some of its immediate appeal.

## Chapter Seven

In the preceding part the beginning of Żeromski's literary career has been described in its external aspect. Some account has been given of his life and of the conditions in which he worked, as well as of his relationship with other writers and critics. His early works and the first reviews devoted to them have been examined in detail.

It is now time to consider the "genetics" of Żeromski's art — to define, if possible, the sources of his inspiration in literature and in life. This subject is elusive, for it does not involve facts and finished products but the dynamics of art. The area of investigation here is, at the same time, more restricted and less clearly defined. And yet the results of this investigation may be more rewarding, for they will bear upon literature as such and not upon any external factors. A work of literature will be viewed here as a living entity, composed of heterogeneous elements. An attempt will be made to define each of them and to observe how they are interrelated. It will be found that in Żeromski's work these elements are not always well integrated. A minute analysis of some of his early works will show the intermingling of fact and fiction in them, the interplay of local and foreign influence.

Throughout this part emphasis will be put on the "how" and not the "what" of the creative process. In the discussion of Żeromski's use of autobiographical material, for instance, it will be shown how he selected it and how he transformed it to obtain the desired effects. In the discussion of the literary influences acting upon him it will be pointed out to what extent he was indebted to his literary masters and how he absorbed the lessons learnt from them.

Because of the fluidity of this subject and its complexity one cannot hope either to cover it completely or to arrive at indisputable conclusions. At best one may obtain a better understanding of Żeromski's work and of its hidden "mechanisms".

In the use of autobiographical material several stages may be observed:

1. The autobiographical material may be transposed into the literary work without substantial changes, apart from the necessity to compress and to select.
2. The autobiographical material may be partially used. The author may choose an unfamiliar setting — imaginary or historical — but he will endow some of his characters with his own thoughts and feelings.

Or he may take an autobiographical setting but modify it so as to obtain unexpected effects. In both cases the creative process is made more complex through the intermingling of fact and fiction.

3. Finally, a totally fictitious setting may be used, which, however, will have a bearing upon the political or moral problems of the day. No literary work is completely unrelated to its author's life and times, even though this relationship may be of a very complex nature. No literary work is either exclusively fictitious or exclusively autobiographical. In literature fact and fiction are intermingled in varying proportions.

Żeromski's youthful literary projects were either autobiographical or historical. In both cases invention played some part but the fictitious element was not conspicuous. Żeromski was like a portrait painter taking his models from life and reserving for himself the right of interpretation. In *Powieść bez tytułu*, conceived in 1882, he wished to portray the life of a poet:

In it I would like to portray the fortunes of a poet — he noted in the diary on October 10th, 1882 — In some way, I would like to put all my hopes about the future into one novelistic whole. But I will not succeed. Nothing is left of hopes and dreams when one writes them down on paper, just as a butterfly dies when the dust is rubbed from its wings.<sup>212)</sup>

It will be observed that the autobiographical basis of the story was potential, not actual. The story was projected into the future, Żeromski wanted to depict in it "his dream about the future". No wonder that on paper its colours tended "to fade". Żeromski learnt to express himself vividly only when he decided to deal with the immediate present or the immediate past. But that came later. During his school days his art had an escapist character, it took him far into the future or far into the past.

Żeromski's youthful "escapades into the past" provided him with an outlet for his secret ambitions. In 1883 he planned a dramatic trilogy devoted to the three rebels — Nicolas di Rienzi, Girolamo Savonarola and Jan Hus.

All three of these characters — he wrote in the diary on Jan. 25th, 1883 — have one goal and all their actions agree with my manner of thinking. They are all seeking great and noble improvements in the welfare and morality of society and all are destroyed by the hand of fate.<sup>213)</sup>

It will be noticed that the subjects for the trilogy were chosen by Żeromski on the basis of strict analogy. There were obvious affinities in the aims and the fate of the three heroes. Further — "their actions corresponded to Żeromski's own mode of thinking" — he was able to identify himself with them, he saw in their lives the realisation of his dreams. The historical trilogy, if completed, would therefore have been in a sense no less personal than *Powieść bez tytułu*. Neither of these early works exists, but even this scanty knowledge of them helps to recreate the way in which Żeromski's art gradually took its shape, and enables to trace its hidden springs.

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212) *Dzienniki*, vol. 1, p. 77. Żeromski's *Powieść bez tytułu* was undoubtedly inspired by J.I. Kraszewski's novel of the same title, which impressed Żeromski deeply (see also Chapter 8). See Appendix N. 123.

213) *Ibid.*, p. 120. See Appendix No. 124.

One of these springs was Żeromski's passion for self-revelation, for scrupulous and uncondescending self-analysis. It engendered in the diary numerous introspective passages of great psychological interest and gave rise to new literary projects. In November 1886 Żeromski started a novel about himself under the significant title *Romantyk realizmu*. In this novel he wished to portray:

...that ineffective positivist, the Hamlet of today. I myself am like this and see many men of the same type around me. From these portraits which I study with such interest, portraits that nourish my intellectual being and incite me, I want, as I say, to create an ineffective type of man who is lost to society. [...] I am in despair when I think this type of mine may not come out clearly, not clearly enough so that every man would recognize himself in this type.<sup>214)</sup>

It will be noticed that Żeromski's interest in himself was no longer purely egocentric. He no longer viewed himself as a unique human being facing an anonymous world (as he undoubtedly did in *Powieść bez tytułu*). He regarded himself now as a representative of his generation, a contemporary Hamlet, a social misfit. His perception of himself had become social, his outlook had widened. His portrayal of life, even though still based on his own experiences (for example his love-affair with Helena) was to be all-embracing, so that every one of his readers could find himself portrayed in his work.

Żeromski's love for Helena, his aunt, was one of the most dramatic experiences of his life. He described their relationship in practically all his literary projects. It formed the core of *Robotnicy* (1887) and of a story entitled *Z teki obiektywisty* (1887). In 1888 he planned a story which was to depict the end of this affair (Żeromski's affair had not been ended yet). In this story Helena's lover was to provoke her husband to a duel and to kill him. Such an end clearly illustrates the wish-fulfilment function of literature.

Żeromski's newly-awakened social sense manifested itself in the fusion of the erotic and social elements (in *Robotnicy* for instance) and in the more genuine interest in others. In 1888 he planned a novel *Męty* based on factual material (not autobiographical, though) and genuinely devoted to the depiction of other people's lives. They were his cousin Józef Trepka and his mistress Jadwiga Jasieńska. Apart from love interest the story was to have a bearing on social and moral problems. It was to describe:

...the battle of Pani Jadwiga with this decaying family in order to take possession of the property. In the course of the action, I want to make it clear that this fight does not occur among other social classes. I wish to show that a woman must fall back for the sake of convention.<sup>215)</sup>

From self-centred themes Żeromski was gradually moving towards themes of a wider social significance. He had matured and his perception of reality had become more objective. But he was never to attain full objectivity. His art was to remain self-inspired and self-centred, only his conception of the self had widened.

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214) *Ibid.*, vol 2, p. 17. See Appendix No. 125.

215) *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 213. See Appendix No. 126.

This becomes apparent if his published work is examined. The stories included in the collections *Opowiadania*, *Rozdzióbki nas kruki, wrony...* and *Utwory powieściowe*, are either autobiographical or deal with themes personally meaningful to Żeromski. The degree of personal involvement is high in both cases and it affects the choice of the material and its artistic transformation. The extent of the transformation varies; in some cases, like *Psie prawo*, the autobiographical material is presented almost in "raw form". The original incident forming the basis of this story is to be found in volume 3 of the diary, on pages 301-4. If the story is compared with the diary, it will be found that it reproduces faithfully what had actually happened. Even some of the expressions used in the diary are repeated literally in the story. A minor change has been introduced in the sequence of events. According to the diary, the accident happened on the way back from a social gathering. In the story it is moved forward — the squires are nearly drowned on the way but this does not prevent them from getting there eventually. More important modifications of the original material are discovered if the diary is compared with the two versions of the story — the first published in *Głos*<sup>216</sup>) and the second used when first issued in book form and adopted ever since by the editors of Żeromski's work. The original climax of the story was the brutal remark of the squire referring to his peasant's duty — his "dog's obligation" — to come to his help. This climax was left out in the final version and the title of the story had therefore to be changed. It was changed to "Under a Feather Quilt" (*Pod pierzyną*). It seems likely that Żeromski introduced this change under the pressure of the censors. Professor Pigoń believes that he did it for artistic reasons.

*Psie prawo* is an example of simple assimilation of the autobiographical material. This type of assimilation would correspond to the "first stage", as defined in the beginning of this chapter. Most of the other stories reach the "second stage"; they are artistically more advanced. In some of them the autobiographical material is not easily discernible. One should not be misled here by appearances. As in so many fictions, the stories told in the first person are not necessarily autobiographical. *Po Sedanie*, for instance, sounds like a page from the diary of a soldier mortally wounded in battle. Żeromski had no military experiences and he was never wounded. The story is an example of fiction presented against historical background. It is not subjective, though first-person narrative is used in it. On the other hand *W sidłach niedoli* is strongly autobiographical (as indicated by volume 3 of the diary, in particular p. 213), but it is told in the third person.

In most cases the stories represent a skilful blend of fictitious and autobiographical elements. In *Cokolwiek się zdarzy* a peasant is endowed with the experiences Żeromski underwent in illnesses and in his frequent stays in the hospital. The autobiographical background of the story is found on pages 376-9, in volume 3 of the diary. Żeromski translated his own profoundly painful experience of pain and impending death into simpler terms. In doing this he did not escape a certain incongruity, quickly noticed by his critics. The peasant's philosophical frame of mind is slightly overdone. In lending the peasant his own

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216) *Psie prawo* was published in *Głos* in 1889.

highly-developed sensitivity Żeromski overstepped the limits of a realistic portrayal. But the story gained in this process — it acquired a third dimension. *Cokolwiek się zdarzy* reveals a disproportion between the initial plan and its artistic execution. Through the incorporation of personal material the initial framework of the story was expanded and distorted.

Another type of integration of autobiographical material is found in *Zapomnienie*. The autobiographical background of the story can be traced in the diary (although it would be a mistake to assume that Żeromski used exclusively the material recorded there). In close analysis it becomes apparent that, structurally, *Zapomnienie* is a compound, not a simple unit, and it is therefore possible to split it into its component parts. The framework of the story is the hunting expedition of two squires and their servant Lalewicz. The hunt itself is never described, it is only a pretext for the unfolding of the action. The squire is taken into the forest to find the peasant Obala there stealing his wood. This introduces the main theme which is the peasant's "crime" and its consequences. The peasant is brutally beaten up by Lalewicz, who, however, promises behind the squire's back to plead on his behalf. The origin of this theme is mixed, for Żeromski used two different incidents here. The first of these is recorded in volume 2, on pages 340-1. During his stay in Szulmierz, a country estate, Żeromski witnessed the following scene: — a peasant woman came to a squire to beg mercy for her husband. He had stolen wood from the squire's forest and was arrested for it. They needed it to rebuild their hut, which had been burnt down. The woman's despair at being left on her own with her children did not soften the squire's heart. He refused to withdraw the charge.

The second incident used in *Zapomnienie* is found on pages 142-3 of volume 3. Żeromski was walking through the fields during harvest-time and he observed the following incident: — the owner of the manor flew into a rage because of an unexpected shower of rain and took it all out on his foreman:

He struck out with his whip and with his fists. He pushed him to the ground, kicked him and ground his heel into his face. He allowed him to revive and began striking him again.<sup>217)</sup>

This description was closely echoed in the story:

Lalewicz hit him between the eyes, in the teeth, in the nose and in the throat twice, thrice, five times... I saw the blood [...] Then Pan Alfred rose to his feet and knocked Obala in the chin. The blow was such that Obala lost his footing and fell into the bushes like a stone. Then the gamekeeper also kicked him around a little.<sup>218)</sup>

These two extracts show that Żeromski not only used this factual material but he also consulted his first recordings of it. The description in the story is expanded and perfected but it bears a close resemblance to the original.

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217) *Dzienniki*, vol. 3, pp. 142-143. See Appendix No. 127.

218) *Dziela*, vol 1/2, p. 73. See Appendix No. 128.

In the story these two incidents are united and modified. The most important difference is found in the motive — Obala steals wood to make a coffin for his only son. This makes his fate more tragic and his treatment even more unjust. The other elements of the story — the setting, the scene with the crows and the conclusion — can be traced back to Żeromski's observations and reflections, recorded in the diary.

The three stories, presented so far, illustrate different ways of using autobiographical material, starting with the relatively simple in *Psie prawo* and ending with the more complex in *Zapomnienie*. Many more types of artistic transformation of the "raw material" in life could be discerned if one examined Żeromski's other work, in particular his novels, from this point of view. A full examination of the novels is not possible within the limits of one chapter. One will have to confine oneself, therefore, to the delineation of the more striking instances of the artistic transformation of factual material.

Factual material is often transformed for aesthetic reasons. In *Zapomnienie*, for instance, the changes introduced increase the effectiveness of the story — they are artistically justified. But very often a writer departs from his life-models for other, less legitimate, reasons. Żeromski often changed his factual material to make it more striking from the national point of view. These changes did not necessarily affect the artistic quality of his work adversely, but they were certainly not called forth by aesthetic considerations.

An early case of an extra-aesthetic deformation of life-material is encountered in *Tabu*, a story included in *Utwory powieściowe*. In the story the reasons for the husband's insanity are to be found in his past. The sick man must have been imprisoned for political reasons. This is never overtly mentioned but it can be read between the lines. The sick man is obsessed for instance by the fear of being taken away "They will take me once again" — he says to his wife.<sup>219)</sup> In this story Żeromski was drawing upon his experiences, described in the diary (vol. 3, pp. 150-4). In the diary the symptoms of the mentally-sick Tadeusz, whom Żeromski took to hospital, were described in great detail, but the reasons for his insanity were never mentioned. Żeromski evidently invented this part of the story. In this way he made his topic politically significant. In this shape it was more likely to impress his public.

Another striking case of historical distortion is presented by *Szyfowe prace*. This autobiographical novel, as mentioned in part 1, was for a long time accepted as a document of its times. Everyone in Poland knew that the secondary school in the novel was modelled on Żeromski's own school in Kielce, where he was educated. Everyone assumed that the novel reproduced the cultural climate found there in the eighties. In recent years historical and literary research has shown, however, that the novel was far less documentary than had been assumed. In his representation Żeromski had darkened the colours so as to show his school as a powerful weapon in the hands of the Russian administration, used to bring about a complete "russification" of the Polish youth.

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219) *Ibid.*, p. 274. The conversation takes place in the hospital. This is the relevant passage in Polish: "They will take me again; they will take me again", he began to say looking at her with his eyes opened wide. See Appendix No. 129.



The conditions in Kielce were in fact not as bad as he had presented them. The students were expected not to speak Polish in everyday conversation, but this measure was not strongly enforced. In the years 1884-1887 most of the teachers were not Russian, but Polish. The teachers in the novel did not all have their prototypes. Even if they had, Żeromski did not model them closely on their originals. Inspector Zabielski, for instance, was modelled on inspector Faustyn Kostecki but there was little similarity between them. Kostecki was not hated, even though Żeromski personally did not like him for his panslavistic leanings. The only teacher closely modelled on his prototype was the absent-minded Harion Ozierski who is as funny in the novel as he was in the diary. The teachers were purposely represented as more powerful and more hateful than they were, to make the boys' plight more serious. Żeromski might have based his book on some other accounts, but his own account was not purely autobiographical.

Even where he used autobiographical material, he allowed himself significant shifts in time. This applies to the later chapters in the novel describing the secret political and cultural activities of the students. Secret student circles did in fact exist, but in Warsaw, not in Kielce. It is understandable why he allowed himself this chronological shift. He wanted to trace the mental and moral development of young men in Poland — he wanted to depict the gradual awakening of their national consciousness. This would not have been possible if the Warsaw material had not been included. His novel would have been incomplete. He was faced with two alternatives: 1. he could have carried his story further so as to include the Warsaw period, or 2. he could have moved the significant episodes from Warsaw to Kielce. He chose the second alternative. He is not to be blamed for that. A writer is free to use factual material as he pleases. But one should beware of taking it for historical truth. The documentary character of literature is a suspect quality.

The factual deformations, in *Syzyfowe prace*, apart from their political function, were related to Żeromski's love for dramatic effects. He was always interested in the "climaxes and anticlimaxes" of life. He concentrated, therefore, on dramatic episodes and dramatised factual material if it did not offer enough scope for his passions. An early instance of this tendency is to be found in the nameless project in which he decided to put an imaginary tragic end to his own love-affair. It is significant that his love-affair, hopeless and sad as it was, did not end on a tragic note. On the whole, Żeromski was successful in his love-affairs. But the love-affairs depicted by him in literature seldom came to a happy end. Mrs. Poziemska, loved by Raduski in *Promień*, hanged herself when she realised that she had been infected with an incurable disease. Doctor Obarecki in *Siłaczka* found his beloved on her death bed. Even Joasia in *Ludzie bezdomni* was rejected by Judym. The reasons for this rejection were so persistently discussed by Żeromski's critics and their discussions were so strikingly wide of the mark that one hesitates to touch on this topic. It offers, however, a good example of a distortion which is aesthetically justifiable. It is general knowledge that Joasia was modelled on Oktawia, Żeromski's first wife. There is nothing in the novel to prevent her from marrying Judym. But a happy end to *Ludzie bezdomni* is an artistic impossibility. The "homeless" people, happily settled, would be a contradiction in

terms. The novel would be bereft of its meaning. A further instance of the most idyllic relationship coming to a violent end is offered by *Popioły* — in the Rafał and Helena episode. In this episode Żeromski overstepped the limits of realistic portrayal — Helena was not only raped but she was made to commit suicide. Żeromski's excessive love of striking effects caused him to lapse into melodrama.

It will be noticed that Żeromski had certain favourite topics and that he tended to repeat himself — for example in his use of suicide as an artistic device. Many recurrent themes can be traced in his work. All of them have an autobiographical basis even though this is not to say that they were a reflection of reality. The recurrent theme of the futility of human endeavour clearly arose out of Żeromski's tragic conception of life. This is not to say that his life was as devoid of meaning as Doctor Obarecki's, or that he was as unsuccessful as Raduski or Judym. His own life was not futile and yet he was continuously haunted by a feeling of hopelessness and despondency. These feelings are powerfully expressed in the diary. In this sense the diary is the most revealing commentary on Żeromski's work.

The recurrent themes in Żeromski's work are closely related to the recurrent images. These images usually convey Żeromski's early visual impressions, which imprinted themselves so strongly upon his mind that he repeated them again and again. They were usually so strongly linked with some emotional experience that in Żeromski's mind they became fused with it — they acquired a symbolic significance. The ruined flower-garden, described on p. 186 in vol. 1 of the diary, symbolised for Żeromski the death of his mother. This was her garden, an image of her love and care. Its desolation was caused by her death. The flower garden was as neglected as Żeromski himself. It stood for the loss of everything that makes life liveable. Żeromski used this image in *Syzyfowe prace* and in *Ludzie bezdomni*. In both cases it had the same significance. In the first it symbolised for Marcinek Borowicz the death of his mother. In the second it had the same meaning for Joasia. It was the garden of her dead parents. She returned there to find traces of her past happiness and she found nothing but ruin. And yet, prostrate upon the ground, she experienced a strange sensation of her mother's presence. Her mother was there to comfort her. This element was missing in Marcin Borowicz's account and in Żeromski's own account in the diary. The explanation may be that in his "positivist" period Żeromski would not bring anything "supernatural" into his story. *Ludzie bezdomni* was written when he was already strongly affected by modernism with its tendency to supernatural effects.

There are many recurrent images in Żeromski's work. In vol. 1, p. 185 one reads:

In the evening I went out. The moon, which I had waited for so much, was out. The sun had set long before. The moon was reflected in the water. The contours of our courtyard stood out so beautifully against the setting sun and were framed by the lindens. I could not recognize the courtyard because of this effect. I felt how much I loved this place, that my love for this place could not be measured.<sup>220)</sup>

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220) *Dziela*, vol. 1, p. 185. See Appendix No. 130.

This description was echoed in many literary works. In *Promień* Raduski took Mrs. Poziemska for an out-of-town trip to show her the place of his birth. This is what it looked like:

The black roof of the country house was lit by the sun and the walls stood out in their whiteness against the background of the tall lindens. There was the old larch, the lane, the mill and the large alders hanging over the pool.<sup>221)</sup>

The resemblance is unmistakable. For Żeromski Ciekoty, with their whitewashed walls, their lime-trees and the pond, were the image of home.

It has been observed that the material for Żeromski's literary work was largely derived from his childhood and youth. His life was always rich in experiences but the earliest ones were the most meaningful and therefore the most often repeated. As in most writers Żeromski's art was strongly retrospective — it focussed on the present but it was nurtured by the past, in particular by the experiences of his childhood and youth. His attachment to the past accounts for his frequent use of autobiographical material.

## Chapter Eight

The relation of Żeromski to Polish literary tradition has been discussed in nearly every history of Polish literature. Usually his debt to the Polish romantic poets is stressed first, the fact that after the pedestrian approach of the positivists he had the courage to proclaim the ideals of the romantic émigré poets, Mickiewicz, Krasiński and Słowacki, that in his heroic tone and in his love of greatness he was closer to the romantics than to his immediate predecessors. Further, it is often claimed that Żeromski advanced considerably the technique of novel writing in Poland, that his novels were a step forward along the line initiated by Krąszewski and continued by Sienkiewicz, Orzeszkowa and Prus. Yet it is seldom stated what this advancement really consisted of. Histories of literature rarely go beyond a few accepted truisms.<sup>222)</sup>

In histories of literature Żeromski's debt to Russian and French prose is passed over lightly. His kinship with Russian novelists is often mentioned but hardly ever analysed in detail. Even the term *żeromszczyzna* has been coined (to form an analogy perhaps to *dostojewszczyzna*) to indicate the Eastern flavour of his work, the indefinable mood which links him so closely to Russian writers. But it is seldom stated what are the characteristics of *żeromszczyzna*.<sup>223)</sup> Żeromski's debt to the

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221) Dzieła, vol. 2/2 pp. 111-112. See Appendix No. 131.

222) An interesting and detailed account of Żeromski's work, contrasting favourably with most accounts in histories of Polish literature, is to be found in a chapter *Stefan Żeromski i powieść społeczna* (J. KRZYŻANOWSKI, *Neoromantyzm polski*, 1890-1918, Warszawa, 1963).

223) The dominant tendency in histories of Polish literature was to stress its Western spirit, its ties with Western literatures, English, German and French. Any kinship with Russian literature was for a long time either overlooked, or grudgingly admitted but only

French naturalists is usually mentioned in a pejorative manner. The more brutal scenes in *Dzieje grzechu* are regarded by some critics as inspired by Zola. Żeromski's attempt to bring out the physiology of suffering is attributed to the influence of French naturalism.

In the following chapters an attempt will be made to analyse Żeromski's debt to Polish, French and Russian writers. In this context the diary will be used as a source of information on Żeromski's early reading. It must be stressed, however, that even though Żeromski's early views on literature are valuable for the light they throw on his literary sensibility, they are not to be taken for his final word. Some of the early pronouncements on the romantic poets, contained in the first volumes of the diary, are touching naive. Żeromski, as he matured, must have changed some of his views, or at least would have expressed them differently. In later years Żeromski did not engage in literary criticism, so it is not known what his mature views on literature were. Some of his views were reflected in his journalistic writings<sup>224)</sup> but, on the whole, we are left with many unknowns regarding his later reading.

The impact of his reading on Żeromski's own work is not easily determined. It is hard to judge whether certain scenes which bear a resemblance to novels he had read were really inspired by his reading, or whether the resemblance was purely accidental. It is safer, therefore, to look for similarities in the choice of topics and the use of methods without trying to determine which of these methods were directly "learnt" and which were not. The lines of inheritance in literature are seldom straight and great caution must be used in attributing literary debts.

It is certain, though, that everyone (including writers) is conditioned to some extent by his reading (especially the early reading) and that this conditioning is a powerful factor in shaping one's talent.

Żeromski's acquaintance with Polish literature dates back to his childhood when he listened to books at his mother's knee. One of the first books read to him was W. Syrokomla's *Córa Piastów*.

From the time of my childhood — Żeromski noted in the diary — when I was eight years old, I have remembered the story of the *The Daughter of the Piasts* which my mother read. Today, I still see my late mother, reading it. I hear, it seems, her trembling voice...<sup>225)</sup>

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recently more attention was paid to this subject. The only critic who dealt more extensively with Żeromski's debt to Russian literature was Grzegorz Timofiejew. His articles are to be found in pre-war periodicals as well as post-war (one of them was "Żeromski i literatura rosyjska", published in *Przegląd Socjalistyczny*, no. 6, Warszawa, 1947). Timofiejew, however, was not outstanding as a critic, consequently his contributions are not of great value.

224) Żeromski's mature views on literature were expressed in three essays. The first of these "Literatura, a życie polskie" was a lecture delivered first in Zakopane and then published in *Kurier Lwowski* in 1916 (nos. 99-138). The second *Projekt Akademii Literatury Polskiej* was published in 1918. In this essay Żeromski discussed general merits of Polish literature. Finally in *Snobizm i postęp*, published in 1922 but dated 1923, Żeromski expressed his views upon the latest literary developments such as futurist poetry. In this work he warned younger Polish writers against infiltration of Communist literature from Soviet Russia. *Snobizm i postęp* is one of the works of Żeromski which could not be republished in contemporary Poland.

225) *Dzienniki*, vol. 1, p. 43. See Appendix No. 132.

W. Syrokomla was a poet of minor importance.<sup>226)</sup> Żeromski's early acquaintance with him exercised a profound influence upon his work. W. Borowy, in his revealing study *Żeromski i świat książek*, compared the text of *Duma o hetmanie* with the text of *Pamiętnik wojny chocimskiej*,<sup>227)</sup> originally written in Latin by J. Sobieski and translated by Syrokomla in 1854. The confrontation of the two texts reveals striking affinities in the choice of words and phrasing. In certain cases whole passages are bodily transferred to *Duma o hetmanie*. It is not known when Żeromski became acquainted with *Pamiętnik* but the choice of Syrokomla's version is significant.

One of the first books read by Żeromski was Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz*:

I lovingly remember — he wrote in the diary — that Paris edition with illustrations with which I learned to read at the feet of my mother.<sup>228)</sup>

This memory inspired Żeromski's short story *Ach, gdybym kiedy dożył tej pociechy...*<sup>229)</sup> The discovery of Mickiewicz (and later of Słowacki) was of great importance for Żeromski's future development. Mickiewicz was for him a source of inspiration. He knew much of his poetry by heart and quoted it often in his literary work.<sup>230)</sup> Even during his school-days, while he was still under the influence of positivism, he advocated Mickiewicz to all those who were in danger of losing their nationality. In a short speech, addressed to the members of a secret literary circle in Kielce, he expressed a wish:

...that the love of everything which we call our fatherland and that is found in the third part of *Dziady* should not die in our young generation. We should trust in it and it should be the religion of a positivistic generation.<sup>231)</sup>

Substitution of romantic poetry for religion was a bold innovation at a time when positivism dominated the cultural scene and romanticism was largely discredited. It was, however, Słowacki, not Mickiewicz, who became a prophet of the younger generation.<sup>232)</sup> Żeromski was introduced to Słowacki by his teacher in Kielce, A. G. Bem.

226) Władysław Syrokomla, pseud. of Ludwik Kondratowicz, (1823-1862). Polish poet and playwright.

227) This comparison is to be found in W. Borowy, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-86.

228) *Dzienniki*, vol. 3, p. 306. See Appendix N. 133.

229) The sketch *Ach, gdybym kiedy dożył tej pociechy* describes the oral reading of *Pan Tadeusz* by the peasants. It was first published in *Tygodnik Powszechny* in 1889.

230) The authors most often read by Żeromski are Shakespeare and Mickiewicz — writes W. Borowy (*op. cit.*, p. 77). See Appendix N. 134.

231) *Dzienniki*, vol. 2, p. 24. This speech was continued in the following manner: I said that anyone who cannot see his country or is in doubt should go to Mickiewicz. If he finds nothing there, then we cannot give him anything else (...) A nation that is being killed must defend itself. It must look for courage and it will find this in Mickiewicz. See Appendix N. 135 a. 136.

232) The revival of interest in Słowacki came at the turn of the century. The poets of *Młoda Polska* worshipped him and were particularly impressed by his "obscure" poems, such as *Król Duch*.

When I was still in the fifth grade, — he recalled in 1882 — Mr. Bem recited *The Tomb of Agamemnon*, *A Letter to Mother* and *The Father of the Plague-stricken* by Słowacki. When he began to recite *A Letter to Mother*, I felt that I was not myself, that something strange was happening to me and that I was being seized with some kind of madness... When he began reciting *The Tomb of Agamemnon* [...] I could not hold back my tears. It was as if a stone or a weight had been lifted from my heart.<sup>233)</sup>

Such a violent reaction can be understood only within the context of Żeromski's time. *Grób Agamemnona* was a song of defeat, expressing the pain and shame felt by everyone losing his national independence. Such feelings were well known to Żeromski but up to then he had never heard them so powerfully expressed.

Another romantic poet deeply admired by Żeromski was Z. Krasiński. Already in 1882 he noted in the diary:

I was so impressed by the works of Krasiński, that I write under the influence of this inspiration. Today I wrote a chapter about the meaning of poetry. I was greatly inspired and the words flowed onto the paper. I myself did not know what I was writing. It was only when I read it the next day that I saw that it was beautiful.<sup>234)</sup>

This entry indicates that romantic poets (as in this case Krasiński) were a direct source of Żeromski's inspiration. He describes the creative process in purely romantic terms: *piszę... pod wpływem natchnienia, byłem ogromnie rozmarzony, słowa same lały się na papier*.

A little later in life Żeromski learnt how to camouflage his romantic temperament. He became (as he expressed it in the diary) *romantyk w kapeluszu pozytywisty*. The passage in which he used this term is so interesting that it should be quoted in full.

I am not a revolutionary — he wrote in 1886 — I am not a man of action I [...] am a man of reflection, a psychological fumbler, a poetic sluggard, a sentimentalist, a romantic wearing the hat of a positivist. I am a man of the past generation who has strayed into the present. I am a step backward. Today I am nothing. I am a Hamlet, a Hamlet, and once again a Hamlet.

In the depths of my soul I write an ode to the moon. I read Mill and cry out against romanticism and against feeling. I cry over Słowacki and quote phrases from Comte. It is our accursed age that creates such monsters.<sup>235)</sup>

This remarkable passage indicates that Żeromski was well aware of the duality of his nature, of its romantic core and realistic surface. He realized that he cherished secretly what he outwardly denied ("*krzyczy na romantyzm, nawet na uczucia*"). He regarded his work as anachronistic in the "age of reason", for he did not know that the age of reason was coming to its end and that the romantic revival was to take place on a large scale in the *Młoda Polska* movement, the psalms of J. Kasprówicz, the love poetry of K. Przerwa-Tetmajer and the "naked soul" novels

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233) *Dzienniki*, vol. 1, p. 55. See Appendix N. 137.

234) *Dzienniki*, vol. 1, p. 111. See Appendix N. 138.

235) *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 15. See Appendix N. 139.

of S. Przybyszewski. On the threshold of neoromanticism Żeromski was embarrassed by his romantic leanings. One years later he again stressed the fact that he was a belated romantic:

Despite many years of curbing myself (sic!) with positivism and extreme materialism, I have remained eternal Kordian who came into the world too late.<sup>236)</sup>

Żeromski did not know then that he was to remain a neo-romantic "Kordian" of Polish prose all his life.

It has been shown what had been the response of young Żeromski to Polish romantic poets. It remains to be seen what impact they have made upon his own work. This subject can be treated only cursorily because of its dimensions. Żeromski's favourite theme — a man in conflict with society — is romantic in character. His heroes, doctor Judym in *Ludzie bezdomni* and Winrych in *Rozdzióbią nas kruki, wrony* are late romantics who decided to fight the world singlehanded. As such they are the true descendants of Kordian and Anelli.<sup>237)</sup> In the age of mass movements such extreme individualism is anachronistic.

Żeromski's favourite scenery — virgin forests, vast expanses of the sea or the mountain tops and the deserted cemeteries — are typical of romantic poetry. He even gives modern scenery fantastic dimensions. In *Ludzie bezdomni* the descriptions of a factory or a mine are like a scene from the Inferno and labourers like the smiths in the steelworks acquire heroic proportions. Żeromski's predilection for heroic episodes, for colourful scenes and for frequent climaxes is also romantic in character.

Żeromski's debt to the Polish romantics goes very deep. The very essence of his work is romantic. His debt to the positivists is less profound and, therefore, it is more easily ascertained. Żeromski's acquaintance with Polish novelists started with J.I. Kraszewski. In one year only (1882) Żeromski read no less than eight novels by Kraszewski, namely *Dziś i lat temu trzysta*, *Król i Bondarywna*, *Lza w niebie*, *Podróż do miasteczka*, *Poeta i świat*, *Powieść bez tytułu*, *Sfinks* and *Szaławiła*. *Powieść bez tytułu*, although already known to him then, stirred his emotions deeply.

I again looked over a novel by Kraszewski — he noted in the diary — that I had read earlier entitled *A Novel Without a Title*. I wept again! But how can one not weep in the presence of such images that seem to speak!... I find myself in the same position as Szarski. The more I read it, the more it seems to me that I am reading my own biography and my own future.<sup>238)</sup>

Żeromski's love for Kraszewski did not last long. He soon abandoned him for other more inspiring novelists. In 1883 he read H. Sienkiewicz's *Przez stepy*, *Janko-muzykant*, *Stary sługa* and *Hania*. His enthusiasm knew no bounds:

I read — no, I devoured these beautiful stories, this wonderful poetry

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236) *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 414. See Appendix N. 140.

237) Kordian and Anelli were well known romantic characters created by Juliusz Słowacki (1809-1849).

238) *Dzienniki*, vol. 1, p. 80. See Appendix N. 141.

he noted in the diary, reflecting upon *Przez stepy*.<sup>239)</sup> And a few days later:

...I read *Janko the Musician* by Sienkiewicz. Then I read *The Old Servant* and *Hania*. I was completely enchanted. What a genius he is!<sup>240)</sup>

Sienkiewicz's prose was so different from everything Żeromski knew that he made an effort to compare it with the prose of Kraszewski and the paintings of Matejko. This comparison did not flatter Kraszewski. Żeromski regarded him as an artisan rather than an artist while, in his opinion, Sienkiewicz was a great artist. Even though he expressed his thoughts crudely, the meaning behind them is clear.

Kraszewski is a painter — he wrote — However, the image that he creates is not the living reflection of the soul of the creator. After reading *Hania* by Sienkiewicz, one feels that this is really life at its fullest, the flame of passion. Kraszewski is only a story writer.<sup>241)</sup>

A twentieth-century reader of *Hania* may feel that this praise was undeserved. It does, however, express Żeromski's own objectives — "to portray life in its fullness, in the flame of its passions".

A comparison of Sienkiewicz, Matejko and Kraszewski was made by Żeromski a few years later, in 1886, when he was already familiar with *Potop* (and presumably with *Ogniem i mieczem*, even though it is not mentioned in the diary).<sup>242)</sup> Żeromski perceived a resemblance between Sienkiewicz and Matejko:

Matejko and Sienkiewicz are men cut from the same cloth — he wrote then — Sienkiewicz cannot portray the life of our grandfathers in the seventeenth century with the archeological exactness of Kraszewski, but he feels in the same way that his characters felt. *Potop* (*The Deluge*) has the aura of an age long past [...] It is a great hymn to our past ... It is a photograph of the national soul [...]<sup>243)</sup>

Żeromski saw in Sienkiewicz's characters a change *after the insipid types of the era of organic work* (*po mdłych typach epoki pracy organicznej*).<sup>244)</sup> These characters were romantic, they were brought to life by a spirit alien to positivism. Their existence and popularity were proof that positivism had outlived its day. The new generation of writers, led by Sienkiewicz, was to pursue different goals. They were to awaken the nation from its slumber —

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239) *Ibid.*, p. 129. See Appendix N. 142.

240) *Ibid.*, p. 139. See Appendix N. 143.

241) *Ibid.*, p. 233. See Appendix N. 144.

242) *Ogniem i mieczem*, the first volume of Sienkiewicz's Trilogy, was serialized in Warsaw's *Stowo* and Cracow's *Czas* in 1883.

243) *Dzienniki*, vol. 2, p. 440. See Appendix N. 145.

244) *Ibid.*, p. 440. The full quotation runs as follows: "This reaction comes after the 'insipid types of the era of organic work'. Old Jeż takes his hand away from the old dreamers and gives it to the youth, to the side that shows us that a sacrifice is necessary [...]. As for me, I would be happy to capture and immortalize this awakening to sacrifice". See Appendix No. 146.



As for me — Żeromski added — I would be happy only to capture and immortalize this awakening to suffering.<sup>245)</sup>

It will be seen whether he carried out this plan and whether, like Sienkiewicz, he succeeded in presenting in his historical novels "wielką pieśń naszej przeszłości". It should be noted that these objectivities might have been less clear to Żeromski if he had not been familiar with Sienkiewicz. Żeromski's attitude to B. Prus, with whom he became acquainted at a somewhat later date (*Placówka* came out in 1886) was less emotional. He thought highly of Prus; he did not hesitate to assign to him a top place in the hierarchy of Polish writers,<sup>246)</sup> but he was also aware of some of his shortcomings:

Prus does not know how to write novels — he noted, reflecting upon *Szkice i obrazki* — he always writes stories or sketches.<sup>247)</sup>

This objection was unjustified, as has been proved by Prus' *Lalka* (1890) and *Faraon* (1896), in which the structure was better balanced than in Żeromski's novels.

Żeromski was particularly impressed by the characterization in Prus:

(In the *Sketches and Stories*) — he observed — we believe each one of his characters. He observes a man, not from the point of view of an artist, but from the point of view of the reader.[...] For this reason he does not declare himself completely. We do not feel the presence of Prus himself in the story [...]. In his great objectivism, Prus is close to Turgenev [...]<sup>248)</sup>

Żeromski, however, never learnt from Prus the art of objective character-portrayal. After the publication of *Lalka*, Żeromski became disenchanted with the characters of Prus:

A man like Wokulski — he observed in the diary — is neither a romantic positivist nor a realist. He is an abstraction.<sup>249)</sup>

In Żeromski's opinion the characters in *Lalka* were schematic. It must be remembered that by 1888 Żeromski had not only read Sienkiewicz and Prus but he had also become acquainted with Turgenev and Dostoevski, whose character-portrayal was more subtle than that of Prus. His criteria were widened, his critical judgements were, on the whole, not as hasty and naive as before. And yet, even now, he occasionally committed errors in literary appreciation. M. Rodziewicz,<sup>250)</sup> for instance, a minor novelist, was hailed by him as a great literary talent.

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245) *Ibid.*, cf. footnote 244. See Appendix No. 147.

246) "In my opinion, Prus is next after Jeż — Żeromski wrote in 1887 (*Dzienniki*, vol. 2, p. 278) — Jeż is an illustrious Pole and Prus is an illustrious artist. Sienkiewicz and Orzeszkowa form a separate group". See Appendix No. 148.

247) *Dzienniki*, vol. 2, p. 275. See Appendix No. 149.

248) *Ibid.*, p. 275. See Appendix No. 150.

249) *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 70. See Appendix No. 151.

250) Maria Rodziewicz (1863-1944), Polish novelist. "Owing to their patriotic element and warm descriptions of nature, her novels and short stories, though lacking in deeper analysis, were very popular" (Cassel's *Encyclopedia of Literature*, vol. 2, p. 1989).

A diabolical envy seizes me — he wrote in the diary — when I read *Between the Rim and the Bottom of the Cup*. *Dewajtis*, a novella I remember, also carries the traces of a first class and extraordinarily great talent.<sup>251)</sup>

Such pronouncements make one embarrassed for Żeromski and undermine his more successful literary judgements. One is disappointed to find that he rated M. Konopnicka, a talented but uneven poet, almost as highly as Mickiewicz, but it must be admitted that his appraisal of Konopnicka contained some flashes of insight. Comparing her to Słowacki, Żeromski observed that while both expressed democratic sentiments, Konopnicka's sentiments were more genuine.

Słowacki's democratic sentiments — he wrote — were not a result of a true conception of reality, of a sensitivity to human pain and misery, of the cry of the individual who sees the masses of the nation turning into brutes.<sup>252)</sup>

A reader familiar with Żeromski would notice that this description matches his own work.

It has been shown that of the contemporary novelists Żeromski in his youth admired Sienkiewicz most. Prus had less appeal for him. He rated M. Rodziewicz surprisingly highly.

Now is the time to consider Żeromski's place in the Pleiad of Polish novelists, to see if his work fitted into the pattern established by senior novelists, to find out if any of its formal characteristics were inherited from the past. In order to do that one should glance quickly at the Polish novel in the eighties when Żeromski was maturing and reading voraciously to learn as much as he could.

The Polish novel in the eighties aims at historical truthfulness and objectivity; it tries to be scientific avoiding unnatural effects and romantic twists of plot. Its language is clear and precise. The favourite themes of the Polish novel, however, are largely inherited from the past. In this sense Prus, Orzeszkowa and Sienkiewicz continue the tradition started by J.I. Kraszewski in his historical novels and novels of contemporary Polish life. Historical themes of national significance dominate the work of Sienkiewicz, while Orzeszkowa and Prus deal with the realities of Polish life, primarily in the social sphere. These writers perfected Kraszewski's technique, but they had not significantly widened the scope of the Polish novel by the inclusion of new fields of interest, such as philosophy and psychology. The only philosophical novel written by Prus is *Faraon* (1896). Sienkiewicz had no philosophical interests worthy of mention. His tendency to oversimplify life — to see just one side of every problem — makes itself clear in all his novels. In *Quo vadis* (1896), for instance, a deeper understanding of the pagan and Christian worlds and a more subtle interpretation of the conflict between them were called for.

The tendency to oversimplify is evident in these writers in their treatment of characters. These characters, although less schematic than the characters of Kraszewski, are mostly flat, they lack a third dimension.

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251) *Dzienniki*, vol. 3, p. 138. See Appendix No. 152.

252) Żeromski's essay on Konopnicka was read at a meeting of a literary circle in Kielce (in 1887). Żeromski copied it into the diary (vol. 2, p. 107). See Appendix No. 153.

Orzeszkowa's and Prus' characters are social studies — their social traits are more important than their individual personalities. Sienkiewicz's characters usually embody just a few features, for example Skrzetuski is loyal and courageous, Podbipięta is kind and naive. As such, they are intensely alive and easy to remember but they are more like puppets than human beings. Sienkiewicz emphasises action while Orzeszkowa and Prus emphasise social as opposed to psychological characterization.

The action itself, swift and compelling in the case of Sienkiewicz and more stately in the case of Prus, is executed along fairly simple lines (reminiscent of Kraszewski). Unhappy love, love triangles, the loss and recovery of a beloved one, are all utilized as motives for the plots. Most of the plots are simple: the story usually unfolds chronologically. A setting is introduced first, some information on the characters is given and then the story itself is presented in a series of episodes and summaries of the intervening action. Descriptions of settings, in particular of nature, are given importance, and grow in length. Orzeszkowa specializes in country and small-town settings, while Sienkiewicz likes exotic landscapes. In Prus, descriptions of settings are shorter and more factual. Direct comment upon the action, coming from the author, is still used (by Orzeszkowa and early Sienkiewicz and Prus) but gradually begins to be avoided. Instead, characters are chosen to serve as the author's mouthpiece. Didacticism in all three writers (as in Kraszewski) is still strongly pronounced.<sup>253)</sup>

In spite of its many virtues the Polish novel in the eighties is still limited in scope. A point to note, along with the absence of more universal themes, is its excessive seriousness. In spite of the occasional flashes of humour in Sienkiewicz and Prus, the novel is too civic-minded to be humorous. This period is almost devoid of pure satire; G. Zapolska and J. Weyssenhoff are the notable exceptions.

Such was the situation in Polish prose as found by the new generation of prose-writers, who came onto the scene in the nineties: S. Żeromski in 1895, W.S. Reymont in 1897 and W. Berent in 1898.<sup>254)</sup> Each of them enriched the literary field by introducing new elements and yet retained much that was valuable in it. The civic character is most pronounced in Żeromski, who continues the tradition of Kraszewski and Sienkiewicz in his historical novels and of Orzeszkowa and Prus in his social novels. Reymont's novels, as well, can be regarded as the continuation of the existing tradition. Berent is the most advanced of the three in his choice of themes and in the method of their presentation.

The novelty of Żeromski's, Reymont's and Berent's prose is perhaps most clearly discernible in the field of language. It is there that they differ most, not only from Kraszewski but also from Sienkiewicz, Orzeszkowa and Prus. Reymont's prose in *Chłopi* (1902-1909) is a stylized peasant dialect. Berent's prose is made striking through the use of archaic expressions (in *Żywe kamienie* [1918], for example). Żeromski enriched his prose through the use of colloquialisms, dialects, archaic expressions

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253) G. Zapolska's first novel *Kaśka Kariatyda* was published in 1888, J. Weyssenhoff's *Żywot i myśli Zygmunta Podfilipskiego* in 1898.

254) These dates refer to their first published work: S. Żeromski's *Rozdzióbki nas kruki, wrony...* and *Opowiadania*, Reymont's collection of stories *Spotkanie* and Berent's novel *Fachowiec*.

and neologisms. As a result, their prose is rich in unexpected turns of speech, very elaborate and ornamental. Its striking feature is its visual aspect. Żeromski, Reymont and Berent are impressionists — they focus on colour and shape even to a greater extent than did Sienkiewicz (who was described as a "painter in words"). They paint nature in all its splendour, but their attitude to nature is symbolical, not objective (as in the writers of the preceding generation). Instead of portraying nature, "pure and simple", they present "Landscapes of the soul".

A comparison of a descriptive passage in Prus, Sienkiewicz and Żeromski will reveal the difference in method. The following passage is taken from the opening of Prus' *Antek*:<sup>255)</sup>

Antek was born in a village near the Vistula. The village was situated in a small valley. In the north it was surrounded by precipitous mountains covered with pine forests and on the south by humped hills covered with hazel groves, blackthorns and brambles. It was there that the birds sang the loudest and there that the older children went most often to gather nuts or to collect birds' nests.

When you stood in the centre of the village, it seemed that both lines of hills came to join each other in order to meet at the place where the sun rose in the morning. But this was an illusion.<sup>256)</sup>

This prose is informative, not impressionistic; its function is to describe, not to set the tone of the story. Similar descriptions are found in Sienkiewicz, for example, in *Ogniem i mieczem* he introduces Rozłogi, the manor of Princess Kurcewicz and the abode of the beautiful Helena:

When the deputy and Mr. Skrzetuski reached the gate in their carriages, they did not see a country house, but rather a huge shed made of large oak logs with narrow windows like crenels. The quarters for the servants and the Cossacks, the barns, the granaries and the storerooms were attached to the country house. This created a rather formless structure made up of many taller and shorter sections. From the outside the place looked so poor and simple that it was difficult to imagine that people actually lived here.<sup>257)</sup>

Like Prus, Sienkiewicz gives a detailed description of the setting. The picture is like a photograph. Its informative value is great, even though some of the details in it may have been superfluous. But it is no more than that. For a description of poetic quality one has to turn to Żeromski. The description to be quoted is in many ways an equivalent to Sienkiewicz's description of Rozłogi. The setting described is also seen for the first time by the character who arrives there and for whom it is meaningful. The description has been taken from *Szyfowe prace*. The character seen in it is Marcinek arriving at the school in Owczary:

Meanwhile, the bells jingled louder and the walls of barns and then board fences and whitewashed huts appeared on both sides of the road. The sleigh glided onto the wide, freshly cleared street of the village. The boy driving the sleigh slowed the horses and, after a few minutes,

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255) *Antek* (1881) is a story describing the childhood of a talented peasant boy whose needs and interests were not understood in his community.

256) Bolesław PRUS (Aleksander Głowacki) *Pisma*, vol. 4, Warszawa, 1936, p. 53. See Appendix No. 154.

257) H. SIENKIEWICZ, *Ogniem i mieczem*, powieść, Warszawa, 1955, vol. 1, pp. 68-69. See Appendix No. 155.

stopped them in front of a building that was slightly larger than peasant huts but resembled them in structure. Two six-paned windows gleamed in the wall at the front of the house and above the entrance there was a sign with the words "The Owczary Elementary School".<sup>258)</sup>

Thus far, this description is not basically different from Sienkiewicz's or Prus' descriptions which have been quoted. But soon new elements become apparent:

Next to the school building — one reads further — stood a modest little cow barn and a little pile of cow manure that was slightly smaller than the barn. There was a bit of a gap between the road and the building. Perhaps this was a vegetable garden. A tree of some kind, covered with many icicles, grew here. A fence with broken pickets ran around the yard.<sup>259)</sup>

On the face of it this part is similar to the preceding but on close reading it will be seen that it conveys a certain mood. *Jedno jakieś drzewko, obciążone sopłami* is like Marcin himself, lost in this setting, lonely and with fear (cold) in his heart. The image is symbolic, though its full significance may not be obvious. One should note the use of verbs *Kupka nawozu "tuliła się"*, the use of diminutives: *obórka, kupka, ogródek, drzewko*. They create the impression of smallness, insignificance and desolation. This is a small place, unfriendly and uninviting and Marcin will find it hard to live here.

Another striking description, symbolic and charged with emotions is found in the beginning of *Rozdzióbią nas kruki, wrony...*:

Not even one ray of sunlight was able to break through the clouds blown by the wind. The scanty light of dawn increased stealthily, lighting a landscape that was flat, expansive and completely empty. There was a quick downpour of rain. The wind seized the drops as they pelted down, carried them at an angle and drove them against the ground. The dreary autumn had already nipped at everything that was alive among the grass and weeds and killed it. Stripped of their leaves, the blackened willows swayed mournfully, letting their boughs touch the very ground. The potato fields, the stubble, and especially the fields that had recently been ploughed and sown had softened into bogs. The dun coloured clouds, shaggy and uneven, blew past quickly over the dying fields lashed by the rain. Andrew Borycki drove through the Rajgorsk hills just at the break of dawn.<sup>260)</sup>

This short description is highly impressive, but only on close reading does the technique used to create the atmosphere of gloom and imminent death become apparent. The use of verbs is novel and daring. One should note the expressions: *jasność poranka "rozмноżyła się", jesień "wytruli" wszystko, co żyło*. Through the use of active verbs nature is personified. This personification is intensified with the help of adjectives and adverbs in phrases, such as the following: *"żywy" promień, "ponura" jesień, obłoki... "rozczochrane"*; and in sentences such as *rokiciny "żałośnie" szumiły*. This description prepares the reader for the death of Andrzej Borycki by introducing certain significant details, such as the

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258) *Dziela*, vol. 2/1, *Syzyfowe prace*, p. 8. See Appendix No. 156.

259) *Ibid.* See Appendix No. 157.

260) *Dziela*, vol. 1/1, *Rozdzióbią nas kruki, wrony...*, p. 51.

open field which made escape impossible, but also by creating the atmosphere appropriate to the event.

Some descriptions in Sienkiewicz and Prus have a similar function. The description of the steppe at night in *Ogniem i mieczem* prepares the reader for Skrzetuski's meeting with Chmielnicki.<sup>261)</sup> Another description of the steppe in the morning precedes Skrzetuski's meeting with Helena.<sup>262)</sup> In the first case Sienkiewicz creates the atmosphere of suspense, in the second — of joy. In contrast to Żeromski, however, Sienkiewicz clearly subjects his descriptions to the overall design of the story. In Żeromski descriptions tend to get "emancipated" from the text. They can be taken out of the text and they will stand on their own. This is not true of the description quoted above but many instances in Żeromski can be given of descriptions which are not closely linked with the text. Such is the description of the virgin forest in the beginning of *Popioły*,<sup>263)</sup> or a long passage devoted to the sea.<sup>264)</sup> These descriptions do not form an integral part of the plot; on the contrary, the plot serves as the excuse for introducing them.

The tendency to focus upon parts rather than on the whole is apparent not only in Żeromski's descriptions but also in his characters. In Sienkiewicz and Prus characters play a definite part in the plot. *Ogniem i mieczem*, for instance, is inconceivable without the Helena-Bohun-Skrzetuski triangle, which motivates the action. Even secondary characters, such as Poddubięta and Zagłoba clearly belong to the plot. They not only provide humorous relief but are instrumental in the story itself, for example, Zagłoba rescues Helena. Such close links between characters and the plot do not exist in Żeromski. Too often one feels that the characters can be reduced in number or multiplied and the novel will not be greatly affected. One of the reasons is that Żeromski's plots are not fully developed. Certain episodes are presented, which often form a cluster, and then the action moves forward leaving some of the

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261) Sienkiewicz's description of the steppe at night is striking for its dark shading and creation of suspense: "Night soon fell around Omelniczek. There was nothing odd in the fact that a ghost or a man immediately appeared near the deserted settlement. At this moment the moon appeared from beyond the Dniepr and shone whitely over the emptiness, lighting the burs and the distant steppe. Some other figures appeared farther away on the steppe. Fleeting clouds momentarily covered the face of the moon and the figures would alternately be seen and then disappear". (H. SIENKIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, p. 8). This description has a distinctly Gogolian character. See Appendix No. 159.

262) In the description of the steppe in the morning the same setting is used but the shading is different. The prevalent mood is that of joy and youth: "In the morning, the governor-general, riding at the head of his troops, rode as if in a sea, whose moving waves of grass were rocked by the wind. The surroundings were filled with joy, the sounds of spring, cries, chirping, whistling, clapping, flapping wings, and the joyful buzzing of insects. The steppe sounded like a lyre plucked by the hand of God. Above the heads of the riders flew hawks weaving cross-stiches idly in the sky, triangular flocks of wild geese, strings of cranes [...]". (H. SIENKIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, p. 121).

In this description the technique is cinematic, the camera moves from one object to another and the objects depicted are alive with movement. See Appendix No. 160.

263) The hunting scene itself, at the beginning of *Popioły*, seems to be introduced so as to bring in the description of the forest and Olbromski's childhood reminiscences (*Dziela*, vol. 2/4, *Popioły*, pp. 7-13).

264) The description of the sea, as seen by Krzysztof Cedro, runs into many pages (*Dziela*, vol. 2/4, pp. 25-30). It is in no way linked with the action of the story. It might have been inserted in a different place, the sea might have been seen by someone else, and the story would not have been affected.

characters aside. Often the characters are chosen on the basis of contrast, such as the Olbromski-Cedro pair in *Popioły*. But the contrast between them is obscured by the inconsistency of their portrayal. Olbromski occasionally behaves like Cedro and vice versa. Such striking inconsistencies will not be found either in Sienkiewicz, or in Prus. If anything, the older novelists sin by sticking too closely to their original schemes, not by departing from them. Their characters always act their parts regardless of the circumstances. The events might be surprising, but there is no room for surprise in the delineation of characters. Helena is always loyal to Skrzetuski, while Bohun never turns his attention to another woman. Such unflinching consistency is not true to life, but it is appropriate and reassuring in a novel of adventure such as the Trilogy. In Prus the character-portrayal is less static, there is some room for change but each change is well motivated and carefully prepared. In Żeromski the behaviour of the principal characters is often enigmatic. No one could understand why Judym left Joasia or why Korzecki committed suicide. But such mysteriousness is in line with Żeromski's tendency to present human characters in their potential, in a continuous flux in which now these, now those traits prevail, and the final outcome is always uncertain. Sometimes, in his effort to stress the conflicting parts of a personality, Żeromski oversteps the limits and the essential unity of a personality is destroyed. Ewa Niepołomska in *Dzieje grzechu* is distinctly split into two personalities with no common denominator. Such splits are fatal in character-portrayal, unless one wishes to portray a schizophrenic personality. And yet Żeromski's split, inconsistent, overdeveloped characters are more interesting than those of either Sienkiewicz or Prus, for they arise out of a different vision of the universe, more modern and closer to the modern point of view.

Prus and Sienkiewicz believe in the reality of good and evil and in the ultimate victory of good. They perceive evil largely on the social plane, where it is easily diagnosed. They differ in the cures they advocate, for one is a progressive and the other a conservative, but basically they are agreed that the cure is possible. Żeromski thinks otherwise. He is aware of the metaphysical quality of good and evil and realises that ultimately evil is indestructible. In changed social circumstances it is bound to appear in another form. For this reason Żeromski's vision of reality is basically tragic and his readers are able to sense the undercurrent of hopelessness in his stories and novels. The tragic core of Żeromski's vision is already apparent in his early stories. Like Sienkiewicz in *Szkice węglem* and Prus in his stories, he portrays evil largely on the social and political level, but he makes it plain that the cure is not easy. In Sienkiewicz and Prus it is always clear who is the oppressor and who the oppressed. In *Szkice węglem* the corrupt village clerk brings about the downfall of an innocent peasant family. With his removal the problem would have been solved. In Prus' *Powracająca fala* the distinction between the victims and the culprits is equally clear and the culprits are duly punished. But who is the victim and who is the culprit in Żeromski's *Doktor Piotr* and can Dominik Cedzyna's punishment be regarded as just? Who is responsible for the suffering of the unhappy wife in *Tabu* and how could her suffering be allayed?

Żeromski was aware that evil not only engendered evil, but also love, hence its paradoxical nature. He realized that in most cases it was

impossible to atone for one's guilt; Doktor Piotr's atonement, for instance, was an evil deed against his father. In view of the extreme complexity of the moral issues it is better not to pass judgement on them. This Tolstoyan message was hard to accept in Poland, where the public still wished to believe in the fixed moral code. Such a code is recognized by all of Sienkiewicz's characters; they are all either right or wrong. But who is right or wrong in *Ananke*, the unhappy husband who changed his faith, or the equally unhappy wife who left him?

The deficiency of characterization in Żeromski, the indefiniteness of the general design, should be weighed against the deep moral significance. These characters are like imperfect and partially finished pictures offering a deep insight into reality, while Sienkiewicz's and Prus' characters are largely static entities, only superficially alive.

The complexity of Żeromski's vision and the ambivalence of his feelings is nowhere more apparent than in his treatment of historical themes. In this field the differences between him and his predecessors (including Sienkiewicz) are most striking. The treatment of history in Sienkiewicz is one-sided. Sienkiewicz was subjected to severe criticism on this account. He was accused of distorting the facts and giving his own biased version. His pro-Polish sentiments induced him to focus upon certain facts and leave out others, less flattering to the Poles. This line of approach was not followed by Żeromski. In contrast to Sienkiewicz, he wished to be fully objective, even at the expense of his nation. On the whole he carried this plan out. His picture of the Napoleonic campaign in *Popioły* is not unduly glorified. The plunder of Saragossa, for example, hardly gives credit to the Napoleonic legions. The Polish soldiers are presented as human and therefore subject to all kinds of vices, such as greed, lechery and brutality. War itself is given a frankly realistic treatment, in which no secret is made of its painful and shady aspects. In comparison with Żeromski's picture of war, Sienkiewicz's is a make-believe affair, in which the warriors play their heroic parts and die bravely or receive well-earned rewards. The description of the heroic death of young Stefan Potocki is typical of Sienkiewicz:

In the evening the governor-general saw the prisoners and witnessed the death of young Potocki. An arrow had pierced his throat and he lived for only a few hours after the battle. He died in the arms of Stefan Czarniecki. Just before his death the young castellan whispered: "Tell my father... that... like a knight...". He could not add anything. His soul left his body and flew to heaven. For a long time afterwards Skrzetuski remembered his pale face and bright blue eyes raised to the heavens at the hour of his death.<sup>265)</sup>

This description is so unrealistic and the hero so Spartan that it might have referred to Thermopylae and not to Poland. The reality of death is not apparent in it. The physical suffering and the wounds are given passing attention. The ascension of Potocki's soul into heaven has more reality than his body. This is generally true of Sienkiewicz. In his heroes he minimized pain and suffering. Only in a few cases such as in the death of Ataman Sucharuka, did he leave a picture of torment.

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265) H. SIENKIEWICZ, *Ogniem i mieczem*, vol. 2, p. 229. See Appendix No. 161.



Not so in Żeromski. His descriptions of dying soldiers, of corpses seen on the way, or rapes and plundering are fully realistic (in the tradition of Zola — and Goya). The reader is not spared a single painful detail. He is never allowed to forget that the suffering heroes are human. In the description of Borycki's death in *Rozdzióbią nas kruki, wrony...* even the hero's momentary cowardice in the face of the enemy is shown. This description is worth quoting in full as a contrast to Sienkiewicz:

The condemned man looked at them as they were about to spur their horses and immediately began to speak... hiding his head like a small child. — Don't kill me...

The horses leaped forward from their positions and he was run through. One rider pierced him cruelly in the stomach and a second broke his rib cage. The third lancer rode a few paces away and, when the two others had removed their lances and, spitting, had moved to one side, aimed at the head of the insurgent. [...] The soldiers got down from their horses and looked through the pockets of his russet coat. Angered by the fact that Winrych had drunk all the liquor, they broke the bottle over his head and rammed their spurs into his face. [...]

Meanwhile, a heavy rain began again and revived the insurgent for a moment. His eyelids, which were pressed shut because of the pain and deathly panic, opened and his eyes looked at the clouds for the last time. His lips moved and he addressed his last thought to the clouds that were moving by quickly: "Forgive us our sins, as we forgive those who sin against us...". A great belief in immortality seized the dying man, like an unlimited space. With this hope in his heart, he died. His head sank into the mud. Little streams of water ran into the depression and formed an ever increasing puddle.<sup>266)</sup>

This scene is made up of several fragments; in the first Winrych (ergo Borycki) begs for life. His courage fails him and his plea is in vain. The act of killing is described vividly. The mutilated body is not left in peace. The disappointed soldiers *podarli mu ostrogami policzki*. This grim picture, however, is softened by the final touch; Winrych finds consolation in the picture of the passing clouds. He has enough strength to beg for forgiveness "for himself and for those who trespass against us". Stefan Potocki's last wish is basically self-centred, Winrych's last prayer is humble and truly Christian. In this scene it is not Winrych's but the horse's part to voice despair:

Upon seeing the crows, moving from one hoof to the other, the horse went towards the cart slowly and neighed. It was as if he was calling to the inhabitants and to mankind:

— O base humanity, O criminal breed, O tribe of murderers!<sup>267)</sup>

The final scene in which the crows tear the flesh of the still living horse is so terrifying that Żeromski's contemporaries objected to its excessive realism. And yet Winrych's death is no less heroic than the death of Potocki, in fact it is more so, since Winrych is lonely, forsaken by all and even unsure of the validity of his sacrifice.

Sienkiewicz's characters have their code of honour. In every situation they know what is expected of them. Żeromski's characters have no

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266) *Dzieła*, vol. 1/1, *Rozdzióbią nas kruki, wrony...*, pp. 55-56. See Appendix No. 162.

267) *Ibid.*, p. 57. See Appendix No. 163.

such code. They grope in the dark, trying to justify their actions. Even if they proclaim the justice and necessity of war, as Olbromski and Cedro do, they do it half-heartedly, for they know what cost in human lives and suffering is involved in the waging of war. If they oppose war, as Prince Gintuł does, in the name of humanity and its treasures, such as art, their arguments are not fully convincing and one can feel that in this debate the author is not on anybody's side, that he is still torn between the romantic and the realistic vision of war. Sometimes romanticism gets the upper hand. The picture of Cedro in *Popioły* leading his troops into battle is romantic in spirit and comparable to Sienkiewicz. But, by and large, romanticism in Żeromski is suppressed by realism.

Żeromski's realism is apparent not only in death scenes but also in his love scenes, which should also be contrasted with Sienkiewicz's. In Sienkiewicz love was almost devoid of sensuality. The feelings portrayed were fresh and lively but no discordant notes were introduced. This is, for example, the meeting scene between Skrzetuski and Helena in which their love is proclaimed for the first time:

Although she had not been called, Helen entered the room at that moment [...] After she had run in, red and breathless, she could not catch her breath and only her eyes had a look of joy and happiness. Skrzetuski jumped up to kiss her hand and, after the princess had walked out discreetly, he kissed her lips, being a man of impulse. She did not defend herself too vigorously and felt helpless because of her excessive joy and happiness. — I did not expect you, sir — she whispered, blinking, her beautiful eyes — but do not kiss me because it is not seemly.  
— How can I not kiss you — the knight answered — when honey is not as sweet as your lips?<sup>268)</sup>

An analogy to this scene is found in the meeting scene of Helena and Rafał in *Popioły*. Rafał visits Helena at night on her estate:

Then he heard a whisper. The voice was softer because of the murmur of the wind. Helen came down the steps covered with snow slowly, like a shadow. She came towards him like something invisible, like love itself. She melted into his arms. They clasped hands [...]

— so far this description might have come from Sienkiewicz. But soon the tune is changed and the sensuality comes to the foreground:

His lips could feel how her excited heart pounded. His hands did not caress the body of a girl filled with passion, but happiness itself, rapture in a human form. He lost his senses as he kissed this innocent flesh filled with joy.<sup>269)</sup>

This description, innocent as it really is, was considered daring in Żeromski's time. Sienkiewicz would not have approved of it. He believed that certain mysteries of life should not be unveiled. Żeromski's perception of love varied, sometimes he regarded it as a noble and purifying force, sometimes as a base instinct. His perception of human feelings, on the whole, was complex and disharmonious. He was aware of the swift transition from love to hate, he knew that courage was mixed with cowardice and that heroism had its brutal aspect. Such

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268) H. SIENKIEWICZ, *Ogniem i mieczem*, vol. 1, pp. 123-124.

269) *Dziela*, vol. 2/4, *Popioły*, pp. 102-103. See Appendix No. 165.

perception made it impossible for him to take a clear standpoint in relation to any of these feelings. But even if occasionally he was lost among the problems he had raised, even if his vision lacked Sienkiewicz's clarity or Prus' stoicism it had a depth not to be found in any of the older writers. This was Żeromski's most important contribution.

In this chapter Żeromski's early acquaintance with Polish poets and prose writers has been briefly outlined. It has been shown that he was powerfully stimulated by Polish romantic poetry and that even though he learnt to hide his admiration for the romantics, his own work, in both themes and style, was largely inspired by them.

Żeromski's debt to Polish novelists was analysed in greater detail. It has been shown that his work was original in content and form and did not bear much resemblance to the work of his predecessors. To prove this point passages of similar nature in Prus, Sienkiewicz and Żeromski were contrasted and compared, such as descriptions of settings and of nature, portraits of characters and treatment of historical themes.

It has been shown that Żeromski's world was far removed from the well-ordered universe of Sienkiewicz and Prus in which moral values were never questioned. In Żeromski's world nothing was certain. All values were relative. The moral and the psychological make-up of Żeromski's characters was complex, their behaviour was often irrational. Such behaviour was not to be seen in the novels of Sienkiewicz and Prus. In this sense Żeromski was more modern than his immediate predecessors, he belonged clearly to the twentieth century.

This complexity and ambivalence in Żeromski contributed towards general darkening of colours. His "muse" is never gay. His men and women are born to suffer, the easy happiness of Sienkiewicz's characters is not within their reach. The only solace is to be found in the world of nature.

In spite of the fact that Żeromski departed significantly from the established canons of novel writing in Poland (he was not the only writer to do so), his debt towards the older novelists is not to be minimized. He learnt even when he refused to follow, he assimilated even while he rejected. The process of learning is complex, it does not consist of assimilation only. Blind assimilation leads to imitation and Żeromski was not an imitator.

His debt towards his predecessors in Poland, poets and novelists, can be most clearly seen in the use of certain themes which Żeromski took over from his predecessors but his treatment of these themes was largely novel. This novelty, however, was not entirely original. Certain artistic devices used by Żeromski were taken over by him from French and Russian novelists.

## Chapter Nine

French novel in post-partitioned Poland, approximately since 1870 (that is during Żeromski's youth) had both prestige and popularity. French writers were regarded as leaders in the cultural field, they were looked up to for guidance and inspiration, their novels were avidly read and imitated. Authors like V. Hugo, A. Dumas, Stendhal (H. Beyle),

G. Flaubert and E. Zola (to mention only the prominent ones) were translated into Polish and, thus, made accessible to the wide circles of Polish readers who did not know French well enough to read them in French (young Żeromski was in this category of readers). Hugo's "Les misérables", for instance, was serialized in Polish in 1862 one week prior to its French publication. Polish translators used Hugo's manuscript. While Hugo's case should be regarded as exceptional, it would be true to say that many Polish translations of French books came out quite soon after the publication of the French edition. Hugo's "Quatre-vingt-treize" (published in France in 1873) came out in Poland in three different versions in 1874. Flaubert's works appeared later in Poland: "Madame Bovary" was published in France in 1857 and in Poland in 1876. Zola's novels, on the other hand, were published almost simultaneously in France and in Poland.

The interest of the Polish readers in French novel was stimulated by numerous articles and reviews, devoted to this subject. Certain periodicals, like *Przegląd Tygodniowy* and *Biblioteka Warszawska* published regularly reviews of literature abroad, paying special attention to France. In these reviews the latest developments in literature were described and evaluated. These reviews were largely responsible for shaping the literary taste in Poland. On certain topics the views of Polish critics seriously clashed. While Balzac and Flaubert were generally acknowledged as the "fathers" of realism, there was no consensus of opinion on Zola and his literary doctrine — naturalism.

The debate on naturalism, as propagated by Zola, lasted in Poland (with occasional lapses) from 1881 until Zola's death in 1902.<sup>270)</sup> Even though, at that time, realism as a dominant literary school was universally accepted and the earlier "romantic approach" of older novelists like A. Dumas (senior) and Walter Scott was seriously discredited, naturalism in Poland met with serious objections. Some writers, like H. Sienkiewicz, regarded it as a degraded form of realism.<sup>271)</sup> They questioned the very premises of naturalism as formulated by Zola in "Le roman expérimental" published in 1880. Could a writer really be as detached and objective in relation to his material as a scientist? Was there really a close analogy between literary creativity and scientific research? Scientists merely observe facts and draw their conclusions while a writer has to "invent" his facts. The importance of creative invention in writing cannot be minimized. Even if a writer took "his facts" from life, his selection and interpretation would be subjective. Therefore novels are not and cannot be "scientific experiments", writing is never fully objective.

Another feature of naturalism, seriously questioned in Poland, was its tendency to focus upon darker aspects of life, to paint pictures of unrelieved misery and gloom. Sienkiewicz, for instance, thought that Zola, in his effort to be truthful, went completely overboard and violated

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270) One of the first articles in the Polish press concerning Zola was published in *Przegląd Tygodniowy* in 1876 ("Realizm w powieści francuskiej", nos. 45, 49, 51-52). The essay by H. SIENKIEWICZ, entitled "O naturalizmie w powieści" was published in *Niwa* in 1881, vol. 2. This essay has been reprinted in *Polska krytyka literacka* (Warsaw, 1959), vol. 3, p. 228. It started a long debate on Zola in the Polish press.

271) Sienkiewicz's views on Zola, summarized in the following paragraphs, have been taken from his essay "O naturalizmie w powieści".

rules of a truly realistic presentation. In his novels he presented an exaggerated and deformed picture of reality, as untrue and unbalanced in its own way as the pictures of romantics had been in the past. A truthful account must have room for both, the good and the bad, the high and the low. According to Sienkiewicz, Zola's saving grace was his inability to be faithful to his own doctrines. Whenever the artist prevailed in him over the dogmatist, his creations were truly artistic.

It is significant that the early Polish critics of naturalism were primarily interested in the surface qualities of naturalism as distinguished from the deeper issues it raised. It was Matuszewski who drew the attention of Polish readers to the social and political aspect of naturalism.

Zola was the first to put a limit on the status of eroticism in journalism and the first to broaden the form and contents of the romance. These are the durable and main credits of this master of naturalism. *Germinal* is a model for contemporary novelists. There can be no lack of themes. The life of today's society is not lazy and peaceful; under the quiet smooth exterior there are whirlpools and currents, underground streams. Social questions and nationalistic arguments, like two fearful sphinxes, still await their poetic Oedipus.<sup>272)</sup>

Zola's work in revealing the main political tendencies of his age, its social conflicts and potential crises attracted the attention of younger Polish critics like L. Winiarski,<sup>273)</sup> who were interested in Marxism. In this way Zola's name became linked with the name of Marx. The opponents of Zola were labelled as reactionaries and his advocates regarded themselves as progressives. For this reason alone it is easy to understand why Zola was popular with Polish youth, with men like Żeromski. To accept Zola was to place oneself on the side of progress.

The stir created by Zola and his doctrines was exceptional. In comparison with him other French writers, often of greater merit, did not fare so well with the Polish public. Balzac and Flaubert, for instance, though often praised and quoted, did not rouse such passionate interest.

Some understanding of the impact of the French realism in general (and of naturalism in particular)<sup>274)</sup> is necessary before one can determine what was Żeromski's conscious response to naturalism and what elements of this doctrine he implemented into his own writings. By now it should have become clear that Żeromski's interest in French novel was not exceptional. As an avid reader of French novels he might have been unique in Kielce but he was certainly not unique in Poland as a

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272) I. MATUSZEWSKI, "Bieżące piśmiennictwo niemieckie", *Przegląd Tygodniowy*, 1886, no. 12. See Appendix No. 166.

273) L. Winiarski was associated with *Prawda*. His views on Zola were expressed in his review of Zola's *L'argent* (published in France in 1891). This review appeared in *Prawda* in 1891, no. 22. Defending Zola Winiarski said: "They object that Zola has a palette that consists only of dark colours and that he condenses them unnecessarily in his images. He could boldly answer as did Marx, who was also criticized for cynical ideas about social conditions, that this cynism is found in life itself". See Appendix No. 167.

Very similar objections were advanced against Żeromski (Compare the views of K. Morawska, chapter 3, footnote 78). Defending himself young Żeromski used similar arguments (compare chapter 2, footnote 38).

274) Realism and naturalism as two literary trends are obviously related. Naturalism can be regarded as a narrowed down version of realism. The term "naturalism" was used first by H. Taine in his article about Balzac, published in 1858.

whole. It will be seen that his choice of novels and most of his comments were typical rather than exceptional.

Zeromski's acquaintance with V. Hugo dates back to 1883. Let us recall that during this time Zeromski still admired the romantic poets, Mickiewicz, Słowacki, Lermontov and Shevchenko, he still shed tears over the novels of J. Kraszewski. In the light of this knowledge it is easy to imagine what was his response to Hugo. He was profoundly shaken and overcome by emotions which he expressed in a spontaneous and naive manner:

I read *Les Misérables* by Victor Hugo. I am delighted! God in his mercy sends me such books.<sup>275)</sup>

His response to "Les travailleurs de la mer" was not less enthusiastic.

Ah! If I but had a thousandth part of Hugo's talent, I could still become a great writer [...] It is a wild and frenzied talent!<sup>276)</sup>

During this time Zeromski regarded Hugo as the best among the European writers.

Humanity will not have another Hugo. He was not a literary man and a poet, but a prophet, an apostle, Christ in the modern world.<sup>277)</sup>

Even though this estimate of Hugo is exaggerated, it gives us a clue to Zeromski's views on greatness in literature. A great writer, according to Zeromski, is "a prophet, an apostle, a Christ of the modern world". The Romantic flavour of this definition and the use of religious terms are significant.

While still cherishing the romantic ideals Zeromski came across the novels of A. Dumas (son), in particular his "La dame aux camélias". He regarded this work as naturalistic (even though, in fact, it was still romantic) and approached it with caution:

I thought — he noted in the diary — that I would regret the time spent after reading the book. However, everything was different. So many times I had heard cries raised against naturalism, against Zola "et consortes". I was sure that I would be faced with the apostleship of prostitution. However, I came across beautiful images in the work mentioned.<sup>278)</sup>

Shortly after Zeromski decided to try naturalism on his own. At first he did not think that the naturalistic phase in his work would last.

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275) *Dzienniki*, vol. 1, p. 174. This was written in 1883. See Appendix No. 168.

276) *Ibid.*, p. 215. See Appendix No. 169.

277) *Ibid.*, p. 330). See Appendix No. 170.

278) *Ibid.*, p. 321. The rest of this passage is quite interesting: "On the ground of prostitution and social evils, nevertheless, there grow out of necessity flowers like Marguerite Gautier. There is no crime that does not have within itself some sort of paradoxical virtue".

The last sentence in particular is revealing as an expression of Zeromski's beliefs concerning vice and virtue. Similar beliefs were held by Russian realists, such as Dostoevsky. See Appendix No. 171 a. 172.

Because of certain reasons and unexpectedly I am throwing myself into naturalism. Naturalism and I!... It is an ephemeral phenomenon that only has the right to exist today.<sup>279)</sup>

It is interesting that Żeromski himself realized that there was something incongruous about his "conversion" to naturalism. The culmination of his "conversion" occurred in 1886 (if one can at all place such events). In this year Żeromski clearly expressed in the diary his preference for the naturalist method and his wish to adopt it.

With my romantic ideas I am freely choosing the stony path of Zola, Alexis, Maupassant and others of the naturalistic school... I see that here there is more truth, more of something that I would call artistic gratification. Here life gives more zest and there is a greater vitality. At first it is difficult. As dear Turgenev said, one is a romantic realist for a long time and grasps at the well-known songs of men like Słowacki. But this will pass. The main thing is to put life on such a realistic-naturalistic path.<sup>280)</sup>

This passage not only expresses Żeromski's approval of naturalism, but also makes it apparent that Żeromski was still torn between romanticism and realism. This was the reason why "he entered slowly the stony path of naturalism". He admitted himself that it was hard to forget the "songs of Słowacki". But he regarded the naturalist trend in novel writing as "closer to life" and more "truthful". (One should observe the accent on truth, on literary verissimilitude).

Żeromski's acquaintance with French naturalists was parallel to his acquaintance with great and influential foreign critics, H. Taine and G. Brandes. Dissatisfied with summaries of their views presented by the Polish press Żeromski read their works in full. This was an achievement since some of them were quite extensive (the five volume set of Brandes' *Główne prądy literatury europejskiej 19 stulecia* was published in Poland during the years 1882-1885). Żeromski read all five volumes in 1885 (the long extracts, copied into his diary, are a testimony of his admiration for Brandes).<sup>281)</sup>

Żeromski became acquainted with H. Taine in 1887.<sup>282)</sup> By that time his views upon literature were more mature, he was not as easily nor as wholeheartedly taken in by every literary doctrine as he had been in

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279) *Ibid.*, p. 345. See Appendix No. 173.

280) *Ibid.*, p. 378. See Appendix No. 174.

281) Long extracts from G. Brandes, *Główne prądy literatury europejskiej 19 stulecia* are found in vol. 1 of *Dziennik*, for instance on pp. 176-179. On p. 275 Żeromski characterises the style of Brandes: "The style of Brandes is wonderful and clear. It is not difficult to read his work because he advances the action with the skill of a literary man, without pedantic criticism...". See Appendix No. 175.

282) In 1887 Żeromski read the following works by H. Taine: *Filozofia sztuki*, *Napoleon Bonaparte*, *O ideale w sztuce*, *Uwagi o Anglii*, *Zycie*, *sposprzeżenia o nim p. Graindorge* (all of them in Polish translation). Żeromski's estimate of Taine is interesting, he regarded him as a self-made man, a genius but without the solid backing of learning, a talented dilettante: "He is a dilettante of all knowledge, a dilettante at every point, a devotee of the paradox [...], all-knowing, a man having thousands of eyes, a million reporters, a musician, a poet, a painter, a historian, an archeologist, a sociologist, an economist, a traveller. Above all he is a witness, or rather a witness to everything". (*Dzienniki*, vol. 2, p. 461). See Appendix No. 176.

the past. In 1888 he came to the conclusion (of great practical consequence) that not literary models, but life itself, should be a source of his inspiration.

My ideas about art are growing and crystalizing into lasting critical opinions while I observe village life [...]

Our novels must be the voice of the whole nation down to the last individual. Therefore, in the choice of themes and in the introduction of certain phenomena in our life there must be satire, complaints, a little of the whip. I never want to whip anyone because of ethics. This is often done by us [...] I only wish to defend our perishing nation, our "I" that is dying out.<sup>283)</sup>

This was a very significant departure. For the first time in defining his literary programme Żeromski used his own voice. He stressed the national character of his writing, his determination to defend his "perishing nation", which was in danger of losing its identity. His future work was to admonish and to exhort his nation from the national standpoint only, not from the ethical. It is interesting that this programme, evolved as early as 1888, was preserved in its main features and carried out by Żeromski.

The entries in the diary show that Żeromski was quite well read in French literature and as interested in fiction as in the foreign literary criticism. They also indicate that on the basis of his reading he tried to work out his own artistic philosophy. Unfortunately, the diary gives information only with regard to Żeromski's early reading. (Even there it may be incomplete). We do not know what he read in later life. He admired G. Flaubert but it cannot be established whether he became familiar with his novels during his youth (he could have been, since "Madame Bovary" was published in 1876).

Żeromski's nature views on French literature were expressed in an article written by him in 1924 in reply to a French periodical "Nouvelles Littéraires". In this article Żeromski tried to describe briefly the role of French literature in Poland. It is interesting that while he admitted the impact of Stendhal and Flaubert, he minimized the impact of Zola.

It our time the influence of Stendhal and Flaubert can easily be seen in the construction and artistic workmanship of writers of prose in Poland. Zola carried less weight here than in other countries, although he had followers and imitators.<sup>284)</sup>

However, of the three Żeromski had the highest regard for Flaubert. He referred to him as

the greatest master of literary craftsmanship of all time.<sup>285)</sup>

It must be stressed that Żeromski was not only exposed to Polish and French novel, but also to Russian, and that this exposure was simultaneous. The literary giants, Sienkiewicz, Zola and Turgenev entered his life almost at the same time. In reacting to one he had others in mind,

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283) *Dzienniki*, vol. 3, pp. 140-141. See Appendix No. 177.

284-285) Żeromski's article *O wpływie literackim Francji na Polskę* had not been published in *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, it may have not reached it even. It is reprinted in vol. 4/2 of Żeromski, *Dzieła*, Warszawa, 1963, pp. 122-125. See Appendix No. 178 a. 179.



for instance when he objected to coldness of Zola he might have had in mind the warmth of Turgenev. In adopting or rejecting certain literary principles he simultaneously accepted others, more congenial to him. In the next chapter it will be shown that Russian version of realism was more congenial to Żeromski than either French or Polish.

The question of Żeromski's conscious attitude to naturalism has been considered now. It is time to turn to the next question, that of the impact of naturalism upon Żeromski's own work. In this part of the study we will deal with naturalism in general and its specific traits, rather than with individual French authors whose work was naturalist.

The first traces of naturalism would have been found in Żeromski's early literary sketches if these sketches had been preserved.<sup>286)</sup> Żeromski's earliest work was romantic in character. The first naturalistic sketches were composed by Żeromski in 1886. Their distinguishing mark was their realistic content (the topics having been taken from contemporary life). In these sketches Żeromski tried to be objective. When Wiślicki questioned Żeromski's *obrazowanie* in a short story *Z teki obiektywisty*<sup>287)</sup> Żeromski expressed his indignation and annoyance in the diary:

What is imagery? Who thinks about writing in some kind of images? It is an extremely antiquated expression and, to put it bluntly, incomprehensible to me. This must be some term from the period of romanticism. I take a fact, a person, a type. I follow his thoughts, the workings of his brain, the movements of his brain, the movements of his hands, the expression on his face and his feelings and then I describe them.<sup>288)</sup>

In the second paragraph of this quotation Żeromski defines the principles of realistic description. The stress is on facts, facts of life (people being also regarded as facts). In observing a chosen character, a novelist (like a scientist) makes an attempt to classify him, (*biorę fakt, człowieka, typ*). This is done by observing his inner and outer behaviour, the workings of his mind (*drżania jego mózgu*), his gestures and his facial expressions (*ruchy jego rąk, wyraz twarzy*).

It was typical for Żeromski that he poured into this "objective" story many of his bitter, subjective feelings. He confessed this in the diary:

How much subjectivism and dark feeling I put into this "objectivism"! If my readers could see all this, they would understand the idea. Perhaps I should write an introduction? In it, I should say that it takes a great deal of artfulness to look at the "I" so objectively.<sup>289)</sup>

Subjective feelings and objective description, romantic content in realistic form, constant struggle to keep his emotions in check — this is the essence of Żeromski. Not only his early stories but also his mature work arose out of his own experiences; it was "saturated with his black blood" (*czarna krew*). His works mainly portrayed "das Ich". And even though

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286) Żeromski's earliest literary sketches have been mentioned in chapters 2 and 7.

287) Żeromski's unsuccessful attempt to have this sketch published by A. Wiślicki has been described in chapter 2. *Z teki obiektywisty* has not been preserved.

288) *Dzienniki*, vol. 2, p. 128. See Appendix No. 180.

289) *Ibid.*, p. 100. See Appendix No. 181.

in describing himself he tried to "keep distance" and to be "indifferent" his readers soon became aware of the undercurrent of powerful feelings running through his work. The uneasy marriage of romanticism and naturalism in Żeromski's work was to remain its characteristic. The fusion was never complete. Romantic inspiration, romantic ideals were at the core of his creation, but they were clothed in naturalistic form.

Early specimens of Żeromski's new naturalistic style, contrasting sharply with the earlier forms of expression, are found in the second part of the diary. One of the naturalistic passages refers to Żeromski's stay in the hospital in the summer of 1889.

I wandered around the hospital, since one cannot leave it the same as one cannot leave a prison. In the halls there were baskets with bandages soaked with blood and puss that had been removed from wounds. Lying in the beds, one could see the sick that were to be pitied most — Jews with their legs cut off, emaciated and hideous women, children with scrofula.<sup>290)</sup>

Had Żeromski been to that hospital prior to his acquaintance with Zola it is likely that in this description he would have focussed more on the psychological and less on the physiological aspect of suffering. It is certain that he would have not put in such drastic details as *ropienie zielone* or *wytupane konchy nosa*. One should observe too the repeated use of the adjective "black" with "blood" (*czarna krew*).

The theme of the hospital was used by Żeromski later in a short story *Cokolwiek się zdarzy, niech uderza we mnie* (1891) and in a dramatic sketch *Godzina* (1902). It is significant that neither of these pieces is as naturalistic as the entry in the diary. In the story the emphasis is on the spiritual suffering of a young peasant. The details of his progressing illness (tuberculosis) and of its treatment recede into the background while his wandering mind occupies the foreground:

Thoughts, like drops of quick-silver, swiftly flew into some corner of his brain. While he lay curled up in a pool of sweat, while his eyelids drooped of their own accord, not because of lack of sleep but because of inertia, strange, dreamlike apparition came to him.<sup>291)</sup>

These dreams and nightmares, experienced by the peasant in a state of semi-consciousness — have in the story more objective reality than his sickness. The shift from the outer towards the inner reality marks a decisive departure from naturalistic premises. The style itself is no longer naturalistic (one should note the comparison *myśli, jak kropelki srebra* in which the abstract is made concrete and the use of the verb *zlatywały* with the noun *myśli*. This imagery is poetic and as such it is out of keeping with naturalistic description).

In *Godzina* the departure from naturalism is even more striking. Descriptions of setting and the dramatic dialogue are highly stylized. Two characters in the play, a nurse and a young man who is to undergo a serious surgery, engage in long, philosophical disputes. The scene is

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290) *Dzienniki*, vol. 3, p. 377. See Appendix No. 182.

291) *Cokolwiek się zdarzy, niech uderza we mnie* has been discussed in chapter 3. The extract has been taken from *Dziela*, Warszawa, 1957, vol. 1/2, p. 44. See Appendix No. 183.

set mainly in the garden, where they meet. The young man lives entirely in the imaginary world of his dreams and reflections, which are undoubtedly intensified because of his illness. The play relies heavily upon his long monologues. The nurse plays the part of the Greek chorus. In one of these monologues the young man describes a storm in the garden and then his return to the hospital. The description of a storm at night, lightning, a deserted garden and a lonely, suffering hero — is distinctly romantic:

I was here last night after the storm. My sister had not noticed that I had gone out. From time to time the rumble of thunder could still be heard and the earth shook beneath him, like the body of a young girl in love for the first time.<sup>292)</sup>

One should note the use of conventional romantic image: *ziemia drżała, jak łono dziewicze*. The description of the hospital coming towards the end of this lengthy speech forms a contrast to the preceding part:

I came back to the ward in the dark. It was already late at night. The halls were terribly stuffy. The open doors to the ward formed a gulf filled with complaints and sighs. By the light of a lamp which shone somewhere from the end of the hall, I could see containers with cotton and gauze removed from wounds that had been left behind by the weary staff.<sup>293)</sup>

This short fragment should be compared with the previously quoted fragment from the diary. Odour and surgical dressings are also referred to here but only in passing. The description is shorter, more restrained and poetic. (One should note a metaphor — *sale, czeluście pełne tkan i westchnień*. It is highly poetic and yet appropriate.)

The comparison of the extract from the diary, *Cokolwiek się zdarzy* and *Godzina* has shown that by 1902 Żeromski's departure from naturalism was decisive. Yet it does not mean that he abandoned naturalism altogether. *Dzieje grzechu*, his most naturalistic (if not his most realistic) novel was written after 1902 (it was written in 1907 and published in 1908). In *Dzieje grzechu* naturalistic and romantic descriptions are used alternatively. Whenever Żeromski deals with lofty themes, such as Ewa's love for Łukasz, he uses the romantic style. Whenever he is faced with hideous reality (for instance, in the scene in which Ewa kills her new-born baby), he does not spare the reader the naturalistic details. The result of this «double-treatment» is that some characters, like Ewa, become two-faced — Ewa is now an angel and now a monster. Sharp contrasts in tone, sudden switches from one manner of narration to another and inconsistent treatment of characters give this novel its disjointed shape.

In all of Żeromski's novels one comes across passages which could be labelled as naturalistic. Some of them refer to death, violent and natural, others to suffering and poverty.<sup>294)</sup> Would it be meaningful to «trace»

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292-293) Żeromski, *Dzieła*, Warszawa, 1957, vol. 1/3, *Godzina*, p. 44. See Appendix No. 184 a. 185.

294) Instances of striking naturalistic description of death and love in Żeromski have been given in chapter 8, in the section dealing with Żeromski and Sienkiewicz.

them back to literary models? Can one speak at all of literary models in this context? It is probable that Zola's *Germinal* induced Żeromski to take some interest in the life of miners (which he depicted in *Ludzie bezdomni*). On the other hand he might have used this theme even if he had never read Zola's novel. *Germinal* is unlike *Ludzie bezdomni* in practically all respects. The same is true of Zola's *Nana* and Żeromski's *Dzieje grzechu*. These two novels deal with prostitution but otherwise they have little in common. *Dzieje grzechu* is comparable to Tolstoy's *Resurrection* (in the concept of sin and retribution) but not to *Nana*. Zola's photographic reproduction of reality has no equivalent in Żeromski.

The basic difference in the artistic methods of Zola and Żeromski can be seen in their treatment of characters. In Zola's world characters were viewed as a sum total of certain characteristics inherited from the past or taken over from the environment. The components might vary from one individual to another but certain ingredients were always there. Rougon-Macquart family descended from a mentally disturbed mother and a drunkard father and all their progeny (in varying measure) carried some of their characteristics. Once the character was shaped, its further evolution could be predicted, its fate was inescapable. Such characters could be pitied, but could not be held responsible for their acts (consequently it would be meaningless to blame Nana for her irresponsible, or even cruel behaviour).

Zola's clinical, mechanistic approach was quite alien to Żeromski. There was always a divine spark in all of his characters. Even unfortunate Ewa in *Dzieje grzechu* expiated her past by her last heroic act (saving Łukasz' life). (It is beside the point that this end was melodramatic and unconvincing, for, at the moment, we are concerned with the author's intention, not with his achievement.) Żeromski's universe, even though devoid of God, is full of mysterious forces. For this reason some of Żeromski's characters undergo mysterious transformations, unthinkable in the world of Zola. Piotr Rozłucki in *Uroda życia*, a russified Pole, a dashing officer in love with a beautiful Russian girl, abandons his past and his love to answer a mysterious «call from the grave» of his dead father. An illiterate peasant in *Cokolwiek się zdarzy*, faced with inevitable death, finds unexpected resources of strength in himself.

In Zola's mechanistic universe neither conflicts between individuals, nor conflicts between groups (such as social or national groups) can be avoided. Each group is conditioned to look after its own interests and therefore the clash of interests is inevitable. Social unrest, hatred of labourers for the property classes are facts of life like storms or floods. They have to be outlived. Those, who can take more and who last longer, are the ultimate «winners».

In contrast to Zola, Żeromski is a moralist, even in the field of history. History, in his view, is shaped by men, they are jointly responsible for everything that happens to them. In certain cases men are thrown into the whirlwind of historical events but even then they are not at the mercy of blind forces of history, they can still make certain meaningful choices. Krzysztof Cedro in *Popioły* is an unwilling participator in the capture of Saragossa. He is not free to withdraw from the attack. And yet, forced as he is to play the part of a conqueror, he does not have to follow others in everything they do. He does not rape, he does not plunder. His gallant behaviour to a Spanish girl is an expression of this

freedom of choice. Within certain limits it is up to him to choose what he will do.

In the treatment of history Sienkiewicz, Zola and Żeromski represent three successive stages in the development of the historical novel. Sienkiewicz interprets history from the narrowly conceived national standpoint. His moral criteria always suit his purpose. Poles are good and their enemies are bad. In the world of Zola the conflicting forces are neither good nor bad. The moral criteria no longer apply. In Żeromski's world everyone is both good and bad. Each case, whether in history or in private life, is different, each has to be judged on its own terms. Moral criteria cannot be applied with ease or with certainty, yet this makes them very necessary.

The comparison of Żeromski and Zola has shown that there was no similarity either in their view or in their literary techniques. It might be claimed that Żeromski benefited from Zola in one respect. The Rougon-Macquart cycle of novels might have given him the idea of writing his own cycle. But this is a lame argument. Balzac's «*La comédie humaine*» is also a cycle and was written earlier. Besides, Zola's cycle is biographical, while Żeromski's unfinished cycle is pre-eminently historical. In Zola's cycle the family is a unifying factor, in Żeromski's not one family, nor several families, but Poland itself, is the organizing principle. Even though members of one family are characters in several works (young Rafał Olbromski in *Popioły*, older Rafał with son Hubert in *Wszystko i nic* and in *Turoń*, Hubert Olbromski in *Wierna rzeka*), and even though these characters form a link between the novels, this link is not essential. The tragic events of Polish history are the unifying factor.

It has been shown that the traces of naturalism in Żeromski's work are most easily found on the «*surface*» — in the physiological descriptions which have shocked contemporary readers. If one goes beyond them it becomes apparent that the influence of Zola does not reach very deeply. Zola's mechanistic concept of the universe and his biological view of human nature were rejected by Żeromski. Żeromski's literary world is not devoid of certain romantic features. The characters are presented with the understanding and compassion of Russian realists rather than with the cool detachment of French naturalists.

The influence of Zola was important in Żeromski's development only in one respect, Zola has taught him to look for models in life, not in books. This was a precious lesson. Żeromski summed up its main points in the diary:

The animation of a sketch generates life, a joke generates life, and an image generates life. In attempting to unite these three things and compose one novel in the mind, one prepares a conglomeration (...) Works that have the things we have observed are wonderful. Everything that makes up the whole, the glue that pastes the story together and, secretly, even the idea smacks of something cheap.<sup>295)</sup>

Żeromski's novels, all too often, are made up of different parts and the novelistic «*glue*» used to join them together is too apparent. All too often the tendency (the «*idea*» as Żeromski would have said) fails to inspire the reader. *Ładnymi są właśnie miejsca zaobserwowane.*

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295) *Dzienniki*, vol. 2, p. 424. See Appendix No. 186.

## Chapter Ten

Zeromski's debt to Russian prose has never been fully ascertained by Polish scholars. A few open-minded critics admitted that the influx of Russian and German culture into Poland during the late 19th century had its positive aspect, apart from the obvious dangers of denationalisation. The teaching at the secondary schools in the Russian and German zones, the intimate knowledge of Russian and German literature acquired there, were bound to affect the more gifted pupils and to enrich them spiritually. But this fact was generally muffled in silence. Bronisław Chlebowski was one of the few who confessed that Russian authors were not only read by the men of Zeromski's generation but that they were often more popular with them than Sienkiewicz and Prus:

The intellectual make-up of Russia — wrote Chlebowski — is reflected in the rich literature which has gained the recognition of all Europe. It influenced even more strongly the minds of young Poles who were educated in Russian schools and universities. The young generation lost their fascination not only for the great poets who were at their height between 1820 and 1848, but also for the newest authors who revealed the Polish soul, with Sienkiewicz and Prus at their head.<sup>296)</sup>

Chlebowski, unfortunately, did not specify what he meant by the Russian mentality. The term as such is ambivalent and can have many different connotations. To a Pole, such as Chlebowski, it might denote a mixture of Oriental fatalism with Slavic idealism, a compassionate attitude towards human beings and a philosophical frame of mind. The juxtaposition of different, often contradictory, qualities made the Russian mind a fascinating topic for speculation. Was the Russian mind truly reflected in the Russian realistic novels? Was there such a phenomenon as a Russian mind distinct from Polish or Czech mind? What do we mean by national character, is it a static quality, does it exist? Polish and Russian scholars tend to assume that national literatures reflect national character, however divergent these reflections may be.<sup>297)</sup> Zeromski himself thought of literatures in national terms. To him the Russian novel definitely presented a picture of the Russian mentality. Turgenev in particular, in Zeromski's

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296) B. CHLEBOWSKI, *Literatura polska, 1795-1905, jako główny wyraz życia narodu po utracie niepodległości*. Lwów, 1923, p. 483. A different approach to Russian literature is found in the collective volume, *Polska, jej dzieje i kultura*, vol. 3, Warszawa, 1931, book 8, chapter 16, written by prof. T. GRABOWSKI, entitled: *Modernizm i jego dążności*. Grabowski emphasises the negative aspects of the Russian cultural influence: "From the East, which is supposedly the opposite of the West, came an unbounded melancholy carrying a doctrine similar to that of Nietzsche. The Russian people knew only their own morality, but they appealed to instinct. Before the eyes of the world Russian novelists exposed their own particular anxieties, irregularities, contradictions and strangeness. The very fact of existence, as for example Dostoevsky, they considered a symptom of anarchy and thus, they sank in utopian ideas. They were psychopaths like the Polish modernists". (p. 854). See Appendix No. 187 a. 188.

297) W. FELDMAN, for instance, in *Współczesna literatura polska, 1864-1923*, (Warszawa, n.d. 7th ed.) thought that Tolstoy's *War and peace* and Zeromski's *Popioły* would be a valid basis for *studium porównawcze z psychologii narodów*. (P. 248). Such a belief hardly seems justified and one would rather compare the two novels on a different, purely literary basis.

opinion, portrayed in his novels the Russian national character. Żeromski himself decided to attempt such a portrayal.

If I had a longer life — he wrote in the diary — and if I had the strength and the means, in *The Forerunner*, a romance, I would portray the battle between the nobility and aristocracy of the past and socialism of the future. In the romance *We*, I would portray all the social classes of the nation in order to prove whether we were worth anything. In both works I want to capture the character of the nation against an absolutely social background. I would like to write in such a way that a French critic reading Turgenev's *Rudin* and my novel would see that one portrayed the Russian character, and that the other portrayed that of the Poles.<sup>298)</sup>

This statement gives a clue to Żeromski's literary method. He regarded Turgenev's social novels, such as *Rudin* (1855), *The Landowner's Nest* (1858), *On the Eve* (1860) and *Fathers and Sons* (1861) as models worthy of imitation. The youthful sequence of Żeromski's novels, *Zwiastun* and *My* was never written, but later in life Żeromski planned another cycle of novels, dealing with Polish history. The play *Turoń*, the novel *Popioły*, the fragment *Wszystko i nic* and finally the novel *Wierna rzeka* belonged to this uncompleted cycle. All Żeromski's novels were built upon Turgenev's principle of showing a character thrown into the whirl of social and political events. Olbromski of *Popioły* was typical of early 19th century Poland as *Rudin* was for the thirties in Russia. An attempt to show the impact of social and political events upon an individual was made by Turgenev and was followed by Żeromski. The different circumstances of the Russian and Polish political scene dictated different treatment of the material and it is doubtful whether close correspondence could be found in Turgenev's and Żeromski's novels. Early in life, Żeromski realised that observation of real life was more important to a novelist than the study of literary models. He expressed these views in the diary, in the passage describing the « genealogy » of his novel:

My novel is yet another wound, another blow, another calamity. It was born within me when I was in school and read Turgenev. It grew with my increasing passionate love for Pani Helena. Taine taught it to think. Polish socialism attacked it and organizational work tempted it. Poverty filled it with sarcasm, hunger tortured it. It was nurtured on memories and loved by nature. I carried it with me through life. We saw a great deal together. How often we suffered from helplessness and were lifted up to the heavens in our dreams. How long we suffered. We are always together and we are always learning something. It is a wild labyrinth — the chaos of dreams and the whirlpool of observations.<sup>299)</sup>

« A chaos of dreams and a whirlpool of observations » — these were really at the root of Żeromski's creative work. Both his dreams and his observations were given a sense of direction by Russian novelists. Without the knowledge of Turgenev, Żeromski's early stories might have taken a different shape. Without the acquaintance with Dostoevsky such characters as Judym or Korzecki might never have been created.

Even though, at least during the early years, Turgenev remained in the centre of Żeromski's attention, Dostoevsky possibly exercised a more

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298) *Dzienniki*, vol. 3, p. 141. See Appendix No. 189.

299) *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 43. See Appendix No. 190.

powerful influence upon him. *Crime and Punishment* had profoundly shaken Żeromski:

...I spent almost the whole night — he wrote in the diary reading Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment*. Neither Zola, nor Bourget, nor even Prus cannot compete with this kind of psychology. After the murder, Raskolnikov's description and way of thinking is so clearly conveyed that I turned off the lamp and threw myself on the bed feeling that it was impossible to read this if you preoccupied yourself with the thoughts of the character and you yourself thought that you were this monomaniac. No book, except perhaps *The Outpost*, tore my heart in this way. [...] <sup>300)</sup>

Żeromski himself strived to learn the art of thought-reading but, on the whole, he never reached Dostoevsky's level. Perhaps he lacked the courage to face the ultimate in human destiny, to look straight into «the face of evil». Confronted with *The Brothers Karamazov*, he was deeply shaken and longed to get away from Dostoevsky's «hell»:

Dostoevsky tired me out — he confessed in the diary — It was the hell through which the author dragged himself at length, showing the vilest and most abject events and all types of humanity. <sup>301)</sup>

It is significant that, even though Żeromski was familiar with the gloomy world of E. Zola, his response to him was not as powerful as was his response to Dostoevsky. The reason may have been that while Zola concentrated on misery and evil on the physical plane, Dostoevsky portrayed evil on the moral plane, where it was more shattering.

Throughout his life Żeromski was frequently compared to Dostoevsky. His «cruel genius» was thought to be Dostoevskian in character, his vision of the universe was regarded as permeated by Russian gloom and despondency. No literary critic, however, had analysed Żeromski's debt to Dostoevsky in a systematic manner. The only critic to devote some attention to this problem was G. Timofiejew <sup>302)</sup> who had been mentioned previously. More interesting than Timofiejew's articles were pronouncements of S. Brzozowski and C. Backvis dealing with Żeromski's relation to Russian prose. Brzozowski discussed it in *Legenda Młodej Polski*:

Can [...] we speak about Żeromski — he asked — like we speak about Stendhal or about Dostoevsky? We feel that there is some basic distinction here. Żeromski lacks any definitive hold on his own individuality. [...] Stendhal and Dostoevsky do not know themselves and deceive themselves. But, despite this, they have an unrecognized individuality of their own. [...] Żeromski does not reach this moment. His own individuality falls into a gulf, like some psychic cascade. <sup>303)</sup>

In Brzozowski's opinion Żeromski was not on a par with Dostoevsky. And yet the two writers had a lot in common, they both operated on the same level, used similar colour scheme and similar effects. They both liked striking colours and vivid contrasts. They were both interested in extreme

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300) Ibid., vol. 2, p. 160. See Appendix No. 191.

301) Ibid., vol. 3, p. 118. See Appendix No. 192.

302) The information on Timofiejew was given in Chapter 8.

303) S. BRZOWOSKI, *Legenda Młodej Polski*, studia o strukturze duszy kulturalnej, Warszawa, 1937, p. 334. See Appendix No. 193.



emotional states and in highly dramatic situations. They both seemed not to care for the average and the commonplace and in this they differed from Turgenev, Tolstoy and other Russian realists. Many critics were aware of the spiritual kinship between Żeromski and Russian writers; C. Backvis discussed this in his essay on Żeromski, entitled, *Myśli cudzoziemca o Żeromskim*. According to him:

... this Pole Żeromski who is representative of the Polish culture and Weltanschauung was, at the same time, the most Russian of all the great Polish writers. [...] ... an honest and powerful pantheism is a characteristic of Żeromski's work. This is reminiscent of Tolstoy. It would also not be difficult to find in Żeromski especially in his heroines, something of Dostoevsky.<sup>304)</sup>

It seems certain that Żeromski would have resented these comparisons deeply. He would have disliked the title of «the most Russian of the Polish novelists» given him by Backvis. All his life he wanted to free himself of any traces of the Russian education which showed in his literary work. The most easily discernible traces were linguistic. Żeromski's diary, for instance, is full of Russian expressions.<sup>305)</sup> In later life, with puritanical fervour, Żeromski purged his style. He was deeply hurt when A. Brückner accused him of using Russian forms. He defended himself in an article entitled *O czystość i poprawność języka* (1916). In this article he said that he was educated in the Russian school, but that the Poles there, («Polacy o najgorętszej duszy»),<sup>306)</sup> most of all A. G. Bem, made every effort to teach him correct Polish. Bem read Żeromski's literary works and corrected every stylistic or orthographical mistake:

Then, every Russicism, if it were to be found, was sneeringly burnt out and this hothead did not spare me. [...] It is amusing to state that the removal of these Russicisms in Polish language classes was done in the Russian language.<sup>307)</sup>

While all his life Żeromski strove to purify the Polish language, in certain cases he felt entitled to borrow a Russian phrase if he was convinced that no equivalent existed in Polish. A case in point was the adjective *svirepaya*, used by Żeromski in *Dzieje Grzechu* to describe Tchaikowsky's music. Years later, young Polish writers asked Żeromski to explain why he had used it. According to Józef Brodzki, who witnessed this conversation, Żeromski said:

I did not know any other word. The word describes the music of Tchaikowsky perfectly. There is no expression in our language that has the breadth of this word. Winter can be "fierce" as well as customs and

304) C. BACKVIS, *Myśli cudzoziemca o Żeromskim*, Warszawa, 1936, p. 8. See Appendix No. 194.

305) J. Kądziała in the notes to the diary quotes a number of Żeromski's "russicisms", such as *potrzebał społeczeństwo rosyjskie* instead of *targał społeczeństwem rosyjskim*, or *rozebrana kwestia* instead of *rozpatrzona kwestia*. The use of the preposition after the noun instead of before it, e.g. *treść których* was also derived from Russian.

306) W. BOROWY, STEFAN ŻEROMSKI, *Elegie i inne pisma literackie i społeczne*, Warszawa, 1928, p. 190. The full quotation runs as follows: "I was actually brought up in school where all the subjects were taught in Russian. Luckily, however, I had a few friends who were true Poles. Therefore, I do not have the right to say that I went through a completely Russian school". See Appendix No. 195.

307) *Ibid.* See Appendix No. 196.

animals, but the word has a broader meaning than its equivalents in Polish.<sup>308)</sup>

This open-minded attitude was displayed by Żeromski not only in relation to the Russian language but also in relation to Russian literature and Russian writers. All his life Żeromski watched literary developments in Russia closely. In his critical essays he displayed familiarity with the Russian culture scene. In *Snobizm i postęp*, for example, he discussed the work of the Russian futurists. During his stay in Capri, in 1907, he became acquainted with M. Gorky and L. Andreev<sup>309)</sup> and even though he disagreed with them on many points, the relationship on both sides was friendly and warm and gave rise to life-long interest in each other's work. All this indicates that, in spite of his nationalism, Żeromski was not narrow-minded, that he was sensitive to cultural values and that his respect for culture was stronger than his national prejudices.

Such was the development of Żeromski's attitude towards Russian culture on the conscious level. Some probing into the «unconscious» is necessary, though, if the Russian characteristics of Żeromski's art are to be revealed. A safe start perhaps can be made with the stylistic explorations. It has been observed by many Polish critics that the style of Żeromski had no counterparts in Polish prose. It came closest to Sienkiewicz, perhaps, but Sienkiewicz did not equal Żeromski in his richness of vocabulary, his striking use of verbs and adjectives and his melodious phrasing. The models for such prose were not to be found among the contemporary Russian writers, for their style was less elaborate. They strove after the ideal of transparency, they affected to be unconscious of the external appearance of their work, in some cases (e.g. Dostoevsky) they were indeed careless. And yet there was in the Russian tradition a great writer whose prose was as elaborate and fanciful as Tolstoy's was factual and simple — namely N.V. Gogol. In spite of his great impact upon Russian prose his example was not followed in the field of style (except by younger writers such as A. M. Remizov and A. Bely).

Some affinities between Gogol's and Żeromski's prose are so striking that some attention must be paid to this problem. An expedient way perhaps is to take a well-known «purple patch» out of Gogol and out of Żeromski and to compare the two. It should be noted that in Gogol's prose (e.g. in *Dead Souls*) purple patches occur whenever he deals with abstract topics. They are like poems woven into the texture of his prose. The same is true of Żeromski. In him, as in Gogol, lofty thoughts are often occasioned by the observation of nature. Żeromski's *Puszcza Jodłowa*, a well known «poem in prose» is devoted to the beauty of Kielce's forests. *Puszcza Jodłowa* ends with an epitaph, addressed to the coming generations, in which the author begs them to spare the virgin land:

May you live forever, oh temple, garden of lilies, heart of the forest! — he exclaims — You have lived through bad times, stained by human blood. Others, others advance... But who knows whether, among the human

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308) *Wspomnienia o Stefanie Żeromskim*, ed. by S. EILE, Warszawa, 1961. Józef Brodzki, "Pan Stefan w "Ziemiańskiej", p. 292. See Appendix No. 197.

309) Żeromski's encounter with Gorky and Andreev is described in *Kalendarz*, pp. 233-235, and by V.V. Vitt, *Stefan Żeromsky*, Moskva, 1961.

family, where everything is changeable and unknown, woodcutters will not come again with their axes in order to cut down the fir? [...] Whatever the law and whomever it belong to, I cry out to these barbarians of the future through time: "I will not allow it!" The virgin forest of the kings, the princes, the bishops, the Holy Cross, the peasants must remain forever and ever as a forest that cannot be touched, an abode of ancient idols where the sacred deer roams, as a refuge for the anchorites, an earth that breathes, and a living hymn to eternity. The virgin forest belongs to no one. It is not yours, or ours, but God's. It is holy!<sup>310)</sup>

To a Pole this passage reads like a poem, one is tempted to recite it aloud. The symmetrical phrases, grouped in sequence of three (as ... *świętnico* (1), *ogrodzie lilij* (2), *serce lasów* (3) give this passage musical regularity. This regularity, however, is not monotonous for the rhythm is often broken, the tempo is increased and then slowed down. With the question: *Jakie bądź byłoby prawo* the tune becomes more powerful; it reaches its highest point with *Nie pozwalam* and the descends in repetitive cadences: *Puszcza królewska* (1), *książęca* (2), *biskupia* (3) ... *nie moja* (1), *ani twoja* (2), *ani nasza* (3), *jeno Boża* (1), *święta* (2). The musical quality of this passage is hard to describe, it might have been better illustrated graphically. The repetition of vowels in endsyllables (*królewska*, *książęca*, *biskupia*), the rhymes (*nie moja*, *ani twoja*) increase its musicality. One should note the use of the rhetorical questions and exclamations, one should observe the metaphors (*puszcza*, *ogród lilij*, *serce lasów*, *oddech ziemi*, *żywa pieśń wieczności*). In these metaphors nature is personified and the whole concept of the universe becomes pantheistic. The biblical tone of this passage, the high-flown phrases (no colloquialisms are used) make it a typical sample of classical high style.

A sample of Gogol's high style comes from *Dead Souls*. It is the often quoted address to Russia in which the author stresses her contradictory qualities and expresses his devotion to his homeland. The English translation will obscure some points of this comparison, such as the intonation, since the richness of Russian sounds cannot be reproduced in a foreign language.

Russia, I see you from the beautiful far away, where I am. Everything in you is miserable, disordered, inhospitable [...] Everything in you is open and desert and level; like dots your squatting towns lie almost unobserved in the midst of the plains. There is nothing to flatter or to charm the eye. What then is the secret and incomprehensible power which lies hidden in you? Why does your aching, melancholy song, which wanders through the length and breadth of you, from sea to sea, sound and echo unceasingly in one's ears? What is there in this song? What is there that calls and sobs and captures the heart? What are the sounds which hurt as they kiss, pierce my very inmost soul and flood my heart? Russia, what do you want of me? What inexplicable bond is there between you and me?<sup>311)</sup>

Thematically this passage does not correspond to Żeromski's, even though similar sentiments are expressed in it (such as devotion to one's homeland). Stylistically, however, it has some points in common. As in

310) *Dziela*, vol. 1/4, *Puszcza jodłowa*, p. 273. See Appendix No. 198.

311) This translation has been taken from M. BARING, *Landmarks of Russian Literature*, (first published in 1910), London, 1960, pp. 44-45. See Appendix No. 199.

Żeromski the passage opens with a direct address: *Russia, I see you* (in Żeromski: *Żyj wiecznie, świętnico*). As in Żeromski its intensity is gradually heightened, up to the climax: *Russia, what do you want of me?* in Żeromski: *Nie pozwalam*). As in Żeromski epithets are strung into long lines, the favourite number still being three (*Everything in you is open* (1), *desert* (2) and *level* (3) or *What is there that calls* (1) and *sobs* (2) and *captures the heart* (3)). As in Żeromski one rhetorical question or exclamation follows another. Striking metaphors (frequent in Gogol) do not occur in this passage, but even these stylistic correspondences show that Żeromski's «purple patches» are similar to Gogol's.

Finally one point should be made which does not fall into the category of stylistic considerations, namely, one should observe the quality of Gogol's love for Russia. It is made up of admiration and pity, verging almost upon contempt. Such ambivalence was also apparent in Żeromski's attitude to Poland. One should recall Judym's reflections upon returning home or Raduski's thoughts on returning to Łżawiec, which are undoubtedly the reflection of Żeromski's own feelings. Żeromski could have said with A.S. Griboedov *I dym otechestva nam sladok i priyaten*<sup>312</sup> (*Even the smoke of the fatherland is pleasant and sweet to us*).

The above analysis should not induce one to overlook the essential differences between Gogol and Żeromski. By temperament Gogol was a satirist while Żeromski was not. A sense of humour was better developed in Gogol than in Żeromski. Gogol's love of the sublime was related to his love of the grotesque. Such a mixture of the sublime and the grotesque is not to be found in Żeromski. Further, it might be objected that for a model of poetical prose Żeromski need not have turned to Gogol. He was familiar with the native models such as Mickiewicz's *Księgi pielgrzymstwa i narodu polskiego* and Słowacki's *Anielli*. All poetical prose is likely to abound in rhetorical figures, the pairing of epithets and the like. And yet the kinship between Gogol and Żeromski is striking. In both, realism is interspersed with lyricism, long lyrical digressions are inserted in the narrative, breaking its unity and obstructing the action. The use of digressions is to be found in many writers, in Tolstoy for example, but in Tolstoy the digressions are not lyrical, but philosophical (as in *War and Peace*). Tolstoy stopped his narrative to impart some of his wisdom to his readers, Gogol and Żeromski — to enchant their readers with the literary virtuosity which they possessed.

It is doubtful whether Żeromski was conscious of his debt to Gogol. The references to Gogol in the diary are not numerous. The play *Revisor* is mentioned and the essay on Gogol which Żeromski had to write as a school assignment.<sup>313</sup> A debt need not be acknowledged as being a vital force in a writer's literary development.

Similarity in the field of style, in the choice of technical measures, is not hard to trace. A text is a sufficient guide. A spiritual kinship, a predilection for similar topics and similar treatment of them, is much harder to explain. The texts there are not sufficient and one has to look for corroborating evidence in diaries, notebooks and letters. It has

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312) This phrase comes from A.S. GRIBOEDOV, *Gore ot uma*, (1822-1823). It has become proverbial.

313) The reference to this essay is found on p. 377 (*Dzienniki*, vol. 1). Its subject was: *Posledovatelnoe rasvitie deyatelnosti Gogolya i znachenie ee v istorii russkoy literatury*.

been shown that Żeromski admired Turgenev, that he intended to follow in his footsteps, and that he wanted to play the part Turgenev had played, in relation to Poland. But had he done so? What was the ultimate effect of Turgenev upon his work? In general, Żeromski's work is decidedly «un-Turgenevian» in character. Apart from certain analogies of general design, the differences here are more striking than the similarities. Turgenev's novels are mellow in tone, Żeromski's are tense, breathless and dramatic. In relation to society Turgenev was an «onlooker», uncommitted and therefore objective. Żeromski had a partisan spirit, he was deeply involved in every issue he discussed. Turgenev's unbiased attitude was his asset, Żeromski was not sufficiently removed from the events he described not to lose, occasionally, his sense of Proportion. This is evident when one compares Turgenev's *Sportsman's Sketches* with Żeromski's early peasant stories. The similarity of content is striking here, the views expressed are similar but the treatment of the material is different. In some stories the theme is identical, Turgenev's *Smert'* and *Zhivye moshchi* and Żeromski's *Cokolwiek się zdarzy, niech uderza we mnie* all deal basically with the subject of illness and death. They all describe the peasant's natural and matter-of-fact attitude to the necessity of dying. A peasant in *Smert'* refuses to stay in hospital because he wants to settle his affairs before he dies; a paralysed woman in *Zhivye moshchi*, though left alone and without medical care, does not complain and does not feel bitter on account of her fate. She lives in close communion with nature and has her happy moments. A peasant in *Cokolwiek się zdarzy ...* has lost a leg and is about to lose another one, but he is reconciled with his fate. So far the analogy is apparent. But the technique used by the two writers is different. Turgenev is a passive spectator, he relates what he has seen. Żeromski assumes the part of the «omniscient author», he enters his peasant's mind, describes his thoughts, as a result of which his picture seems slightly faked. Turgenev's subdued tone and purely external description are far more effective than Żeromski's mind-probing.

The similarity between Turgenev's and Żeromski's stories, contrary to expectation, is largely superficial. The settings are similar, but Russian and Polish villages and small provincial towns had a lot in common at that time. The characters resemble one another, but such resemblances were to be found in life models. Similar types were met on Polish and Russian estates, in country inns etc., the indolent country gentleman, the social climber, the parasite, the would-be-intellectual and others, who crowd the pages of Turgenev's and Żeromski's stories. Such similarities are related to the social and political background and as such they do not account for an artistic influence. Żeromski need not have been influenced by Turgenev to describe similar social settings, for he was familiar with them; in the same way he need not have followed Sienkiewicz in his historical novels simply because he had chosen similar subject-matter. The line of influence is seldom straight, it is more often oblique.

Certain analogies between Żeromski and Turgenev could be found in their use of descriptions and in the choice of central characters, weak men and strong women. The plots were even less developed in Żeromski than in Turgenev and the technique of episodic, fragmentary presentation was carried further. It is a paradox that Turgenev, Żeromski's acknowledged master, did not bequeath much to his worshippers.

By temperament and outlook Żeromski was closer to Dostoevsky. But even here the influence did not go very deep. Apart from «cruelty

of perception» and predilection for morbid themes it resulted in the introduction of Dostoevskian characters into Żeromski's work. The type of the rebel-intellectual, such as Ivan Karamazov, is to be found in Korzecki of *Ludzie Bezdomni*. Like Ivan, Korzecki is engaged in a moral feud with God, or Providence (whatever name one chooses). Like Ivan, he questions the nature of good and evil and of God's benevolence. Like Ivan, Korzecki arrives at the paradoxical conclusion which leads him to reject life in the name of total freedom. Korzecki's suicide is an analogy to Ivan's madness. They both find an escape — one in death and the other in insanity; they are released from the «chamber of horrors» which their intellects have created.

A further embodiment of Ivan Karamazov is to be found in Prince Gintułt of *Popioły*. His is also a questioning mind, a burning desire to get to the roots of things. While Korzecki is interested in the problem of metaphysics and ethics, Prince Gintułt is interested in the philosophy of history and culture. In contrast to Ivan and Korzecki, Prince Gintułt does not come to a tragic end. It will be remembered that in *The Brothers Karamazov*, Ivan symbolised mind, Dmitry, his brother — emotions, and Alesha, the youngest Karamazov — spirit. Significantly enough, while many counterparts to Dmitry could be found in Żeromski, for instance Rafał Olbromski, the saintly Alesha must have appealed less to him, for he is not represented. There are many idealists in Żeromski's world, but not of the Alesha or Prince Myshkin type. They belong rather to the «repentant nobleman» type — well known in Russian literature but till then not represented in Polish. Judym, Raduskis and Rozhuckis could have been raised on Russian soil (Piotr Rozhucki of *Uroda Życia* was raised there, in fact). They all share a feeling of guilt in relation to the lower classes and they are motivated by a wish to atone for this guilt by doing practical work. This type was well-known to the Russian public both in life and in literature. Tolstoy and Nekrasov were «repentant noblemen» themselves and they dealt with this subject. Younger novelists, like Gleb Uspensky, V. Korolenko and A. Chekhov portrayed this type frequently in their stories. Korolenko's story *Chudnaya* is in many ways a counterpart to Żeromski's *Silaczka*, although no imitation is suspected (Korolenko's story was in fact published later than Żeromski's). Chekhov's Doctor Ionych (from the story of the same title) shares many characteristics with Doctor Judym. It is hard to say to what extent Żeromski was influenced by Russian fiction in representing the «repentant nobleman» type and how far he was under the spell of the Russian mood, typical for these men — a combination of selflessness and egocentricity, of genuine idealism and masochistic pleasure in sacrificing oneself. All these shades are present in Żeromski and seem strangely incongruous in Polish fiction, which in general was quite alien to such states of mind. It seems certain that precisely in this area Żeromski was infected by the spirit of Russia. In many ways Żeromski was a repentant nobleman himself. Was Polish literature enriched by the introduction of this new theme? This is hard to say. As an artistic theme it was rich in possibilities but at the same time it was unhealthy. Żeromski himself might have been a happier man if he had not experienced Doctor Obarecki's «metaphysical moods». His description of them was liable to infect others.

In the discussion of the «repentant nobleman» theme Tolstoy's name was mentioned. Tolstoy was a man who had managed, more successfully

than Żeromski, to overcome his feelings of impotence and purposelessness, but even he had experienced the « metaphysical moods ». Żeromski's debt to Tolstoy was as considerable as his debt to Dostoevsky. Like Dostoevsky Tolstoy opened his eyes to the fate of the common man, a private in war, a small country squire in peace. The idea of presenting history through the medium of a family chronicle, as was done in *War and Peace* and in *Popioty*, could have been derived from Tolstoy. But these again are rather superficial resemblances; essentially Żeromski had little in common with Tolstoy. He did not have his aristocratic spirit, his anarchical tendencies. He did not share his passion for rational analysis. In this sphere he resembled Dostoevsky much more closely. On the technical level Żeromski followed Tolstoy in the neglect of narrative interest, in the importance attached to characters (in particular to their inner life), the use of inner monologues, the psychological « eavesdropping ». He was never as thorough as Tolstoy was and consequently, he did not reach the same level.

Żeromski's debt to Turgenev, Dostoevsky and Tolstoy has been sketched in the barest outline. No attempt has been made to go deeply into the texts, or to analyse fully any of the works mentioned. This will have to be a task for the future. In this task chance analogies would have to be distinguished from conscious borrowings and technical correspondences from resemblances of temperament and outlook. In such a short sketch no attempt has been made at systematisation; several points of resemblance have been mentioned as well as some important differences. On the basis of those one can conclude that Żeromski's relationship with Russian literature was, on the whole, fruitful and beneficial to him as well as to Polish literature.

### Conclusion

Stefan Żeromski, as a man and as a writer, was typical for the generation of Poles born in the Russian part of Poland in the years following the unsuccessful uprising of 1863. This generation (*ludzie chorzy na Moskali*) was subjected in schools to ruthless russification. The degrading effects of school system in the Russian part of Poland with its spy network denouncing pupils to the Russian police, were far reaching and hard to overcome. And yet Żeromski (like his characters, Borowicz and Radek, portrayed in *Szyfowe prace*) emerged from the school with a heightened feeling of self dignity and a passionate love for his country.

During these years (as shown in the early chapters of this study) Żeromski was exposed to many conflicting forces, he wavered between religiousness and materialism, romanticism and realism, national and international form of socialism. His diary reflected his inner turmoil and revealed his search for a way out of this spiritual impasse. During school-days in Kielce (as shown in chapter 2) Żeromski could turn for advice to his teacher and friend Antoni Gustaw Bem. Later when as a tutor he lived on Polish estates changing places quite frequently, he had no one to consult. He was alone, his diary and his literary sketches were his only friends.

Having experienced the healing effect of self-expression, he turned to it frequently, he hardly spent a day without making an entry in his diary. Gradually writing became his vital need and his passion. The transition from diary to literary work was almost imperceptible (as shown in chapter 7). Żeromski's earliest poems and sketches were written together with the diary. He continued his diary after he began publishing his work, making frequent comments on his work and describing his first meetings with writers and critics. But gradually he turned to it less often and finally he abandoned it altogether.

The story of those years 1882-1900 (described in the diary) was presented in the early chapters of this study (chapters 1-6). In this part we have seen young Żeromski mature and gain experience, live through first joys and disappointments of youth, establish himself as a writer and win the acclaim of his readers. In the second part of this study Żeromski's work has been studied in relation to its epoch. It has been seen how all predominant literary tendencies were reflected in it, Polish positivism, French naturalism and Russian realism. And yet, at the core, Żeromski's work was always romantic, *śpiewy Juliuszów* (songs of Słowacki) inspired it to a far greater extent than positive ideas. The Polish reading public has always been romantically inclined and this was the reason why it responded so strongly to Żeromski's work with its blend of romantic and realistic elements.

In his youth Żeromski did not know that peaceful existence would not last long in Poland. Soon a new revolutionary wave arose bringing in the events of 1905 (described by Żeromski in *Róża*). Since 1905 until 1914 Poland sizzled with underground activity, secret political parties were formed and secret cultural activities were carried out by men and women, who were inspired by Żeromski's novels and stories. These men, together with Żeromski saw the establishment of the Polish state in 1918.

Żeromski himself (as shown in chapter 6) was always in the vanguard of his nation. In his short epics such as *Sen o szpadzie* and *Słowo o bandosie* he inspired and exhorted. But when need arose he did not hesitate to tackle painful problems such as the problem of social inequality presented in *Przedwiośnie*. The violent attack upon this novel was an indication that it was well timed as most of Żeromski's novels had been. All his life Żeromski had the courage to speak truth irrespective of consequences and he retained this virtue till his death. He must be respected for his artistic honesty and integrity which is so hard to find among modern artists.

On the artistic level (as has been indicated in part 2 of this study, chapter 7-10) Żeromski's work is uneven. It does not compare favourably with the European masterpieces, such as the novels of Flaubert, Dostoevsky and Tolstoy. It suffers from uneven handling, loose structure and melodramatic touches. Character portrayal is vivid but inconsistent. The style is beautiful but often too emphatic. Superlatives, extravagant imagery and overdrawn sentences are not welcome at present in modern Polish prose. And yet fashions in art constantly fluctuate and Żeromski's popularity, at a low ebb now, may again increase.

Whatever the fashion, it is certain that together with Prus and Sienkiewicz, Reymont and Berent, Żeromski is one of the most important Polish novelists and that his work will be read as long as Polish literature is read.



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57. *Promień*, Ortwin Ostap (Katzenellenbogen Oskar), *Maurycy Zych*, Lwów, 1899, No. 6, pp. 141-145.
58. *Przegląd Literacki*, M. Offen (Offmański), *Nowości dramatyczne (Rozdzióbą nas kruki, wrony...)*, Kraków, 1896, No. 2.
59. *Przegląd Literacki*, Offmański Mieczysław, *Recenzja i sprawozdanie (Opowiadania)*, Kraków, 1896, No. 7, (see Chapter 3).
60. *Przegląd Polski*, N. (Morawska Konstancja), *Kronika literacka (Opowiadania)*, Kraków, 1896, vol. 119, pp. 716-718, (see Chapter 3).
61. *Przegląd Polski*, Rawicz M., *Maurycy Zych, Syzyfowe Prace*, Kraków, 1898, vol. 130, pp. 358-365.
62. *Przegląd Polski*, Flach Józef, *St. Żeromski, Utwory powieściowe*, Kraków, 1899, vol. 131, pp. 140-143.
63. *Przegląd Powszechny*, Badeni Jan, *ks. Przegląd piśmiennictwa (Opowiadania)*, Kraków, 1896, vol. 44, pp. 286-287, (see Chapter 3).
64. *Przegląd Powszechny*, Badeni Jan, *ks., Przegląd piśmiennictwa (Syzyfowe Prace)*, Kraków, 1898, vol. 59, pp. 411-412, (see Chapter 4).
65. *Przegląd Powszechny*, Mazanowski Antoni, *Młoda Polska w powieści i poezji, Part. 4; Stefan Żeromski (Maurycy Zych)*, Kraków, 1899, vol. 64, pp. 159-171.
66. *Przegląd Powszechny*, Pawelski Jan *ks., Przegląd piśmiennictwa, Z nowszych powieści (Ludzie bezdomni)*, Kraków, 1900, vol. 65, pp. 439-445, (see Chapter 5).
67. *Przegląd Tygodniowy*, Lange Antoni, *Przeglądy literackie (Opowiadania)*, Warszawa, 1895, No. 37, (see Chapter 3).
68. *Przegląd Tygodniowy*, Lorentowicz Jan, *Studia, Nasi młodzi, Stefan Żeromski*, Warszawa, 1898, Nos. 39, 42, 43, 45, 46, 48, 49, 51.
69. *Przegląd Tygodniowy*, (Feldman Wilhelm) *Stefan Żeromski, Charakterystyka*, Warszawa, 1901, Nos. 34-35.
70. *Rola*, Novus, *Kwiaty i chwasty. gawędy literackie, (Ludzie bezdomni)*, Warszawa, 1900, No. 20.

71. *Słowo*, Ch. (Chrzanowski Ignacy), Z literatury powieściowej (Utwory powieściowe), Warszawa, 1899, No. 58, 46.
72. *Słowo*, Ch. (Chrzanowski Ignacy), Ludzie bezdomni, Warszawa, 1900, no. 60.
73. *Słowo Polskie*, F. (Wilhelm Feldman), Stefan Żeromski, Lwów, 1901, Nos. 356, 358, 360.
74. *Strumień*, Pieńkowski (Stanisław), Z powodu Ludzi bezdomnych Żeromskiego, Warszawa, 1900, No. 2, (see Chapter 5).
75. *Tydzień* T. Sob. (Sobolewski Tadeusz) Ludzie bezdomni, Lwów, 1900, No. 12.
76. *Tydzień*, T. S. (Sobolewski Tadeusz), Promień, Lwów, 1901, No. 14.
77. *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, Wł. Jab... (Jabłkowski), Nowe książki (Opowiadania), Warszawa, 1896, No. 5, p. 100, (see Chapter 3).
78. *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, Jabłkowski Władysław, Utwory powieściowe, Warszawa, 1898, No. 42, p. 386, (see Chapter 4).
79. *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, Potocki Antoni, Najmłodszy powieściopisarze polscy, Warszawa, 1899, No. 24.
80. *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, Matuszewski Ignacy, Powieść społeczna i formuły estetyczne, Warszawa, 1900, Nos. 6-7, (see Chapter 5).
81. *Tygodnik mód i powieści*, A.S. (Smaczniński Aleksander) Nasi noweliści, Warszawa, 1897, No. 29, pp. 285-286; No. 30, pp. 293-294; No. 31, pp. 302-303.
82. *Tygodnik mód i powieści*, S. (Smaczniński Aleksander, Sprawozdanie: Utwory powieściowe St. Żeromskiego, 1898, No. 43, 44, 45, (see Chapter 4).
83. *Tygodnik mód i powieści*, H.C. (Ceysinger Helena), Sprawozdanie literackie, (Ludzie bezdomni), Warszawa, 1900, No. 2, pp. 11-12.
84. *Tygodnik Narodowy*, Kozicki Władysław, W pomroce prometejskich cieni (Ludzie bezdomni), Lwów, 1900, Nos. 54-56, (see Chapter 5).
85. *Tygodnik Polski*, Censur (Galle Henryk), Co warto czytać (Utwory powieściowe), Warszawa, 1898, No. 7.
86. *Wędrowiec* (R.), Nowe książki (Ludzie bezdomni), Warszawa, 1900, No. 11.
87. *Wolne Polskie Słowo*, Bibliograficzne zapiski (Rozdziałami nas kruki, wrony...), Genewa, 1895, No. 195, (see Chapter 3).
88. *Życie*, Wyrzykowski St(anisław), Maurycy Zych, Kraków, 1897, No. 8, (see Chapter 4).
89. *Życie* A.G. (Górski Artur), Utwory powieściowe, Kraków, 1898, Nos. 38-39, (see Chapter 4).
90. *Życie*, Kleczyński Jan, Ludzie bezdomni, Kraków, 1900, Nos. 4, 86.

*Chronological list of  
Żeromski's more important works.*

- 1895 - Rozdziałami nas kruki, wrony  
Opowiadania
- 1896 - Syzyfowe prace  
Utwory powieściowe
- 1900 - Ludzie bezdomni

- 1904 - Aryman mści się  
Godzina  
Popioły
- 1905 - Echa leśne
- 1906 - Powieść o udałym Walgierzu
- 1908 - Dzieje grzechu  
Duma o hetmanie  
Słowo o bandosie
- 1909 - Róża
- 1910 - Sułkowski
- 1912 - Uroda życia  
O przyszłość Rapperswilu  
Wierna rzeka
- 1914 - Sen o szpadzie
- 1916 - Sen o chlebie  
Walka z szatanem, vols. 1, 2
- 1918 - Projekt Akademii literatury polskiej  
Początek świata pracy  
Wisła
- 1919 - Walka z szatanem, vol. 3  
Organizacja inteligencji zawodowej  
Wszystko i nic  
O Adamie Żeromskim wspomnienie
- 1920 - Inter arma  
Ponad śnieg bielszym się stanę
- 1921 - Biała rękawiczka
- 1922 - Wiatr od morza
- 1923 - Snobizm i postęp  
Pomyłki  
Turoń
- 1924 - Międzymorze  
Uciekła mi przepióreczka
- 1925 - Bicze z piasku  
Przedwiośnie
- 1926 - Puszcza jodłowa (posthumously published)
- 1928 - Elegie (posthumously published)
- 1933 - Dziennik podróży (posthumously published)



## APPENDIX

No. 1. Ciotka Janowa jest chodzącym memuarem epoki — od 30 do 63 roku. Można by z jej opowiadań utworzyć epos szlachecki. Słuchasz tego i przesuwają ci się przed oczyma ludzie rzeczywistsi niż w powieściach [...], jacyś inni ludzie, nie nadający się do tej miary, jaką nauczyli cię mierzyć wszystko współcześni.

No. 2. Szczęście tego kraju, zbawienie tego kraju, widzę w socjalizmie rosyjskim. Żadne głupie, w całym znaczeniu tego wyrazu głupie myśli o powstaniach, mających na celu przywrócenie wolności ziemi naszej, uważam za prowadzące ją wprost do zguby.

No. 3. Naród żyje, tworzy, pracuje, gdy w nim kipi żądza swobody, gdy go nurtuje od piwnic do poddaszy lawa miłości rodzinnej ziemi. W jarzmie się tylko zdycha.

No. 4. Co się ze mną dzieje? Nie modłę się ani razu, coraz częściej ironią się przejmuję, grozi mi widmo straszne — ateizm.

No. 5. Chcę zaznaczyć, że zabiwszy w sobie wszelką religię, zniszczywszy wszelkie przywiązania, nie mając zupełnie rodziny [...] pragnę mieć jakiś w ostatku cel [...]. Tak domaga się nieraz cały intelekt modlitwy, uniesienia bez granic, cichego szeptu duszy z kimś nieznanym, z sercem jakimś nadzmysłowym. Tym sercem, tym wielkim niewiadomym będzie dla mnie [...] widomy bóg, dotykalna religia i wiekowe życie — ojczyzna.

No 6. Nauczyłem się śmiać tym śmiechem, w którym nie ma ani iskry wesołości, który jest milion razy smutniejszy od łez. Ostatecznie głód znieść można i ani bym wspomniał o nim, gdyby nie to, że wiąże się z nim samotność okropna, zabójstwo.

No. 7. Żyję jak dzikie zwierzę, nie chcę o niczym wiedzieć, z niczym walczyć, chcę roztopić się w przyrodzie.

No. 8. Nikogo nie kocham, Ciebie jedną kocham, cudowna, rodzinna ziemio. Bądź błogosławiona, stworzona dla nas, abyś wspierała dusz naszych słabość [...].

No. 9. Żyję jak gaśienica, jak mały robak wśród liści. Zaledwie otworzę oczy rano — uderzają mnie gromady liści, kołyszące się gałęzie. Zastaniają nie tylko widnokrąg, lecz i niebo. Słońce tu dochodzi ukradkiem tylko, niebieskość nieba daje się widzieć czasami, gdy się na minutę jakaś chmura gałęzi, cały stóg liści odsunie w jedną stronę. Cudowne jest, nieopisane, kołysanie się gromady gałęzi niezmiernie w liście bogatych, gdy wierzchołki drzew pochylają się ku sobie i padają sobie w objęcia, cichy a namiętny szelest, skrzypienie gałęzi, cała dzienna praca parku. A jeszcze w majestacie swym większa jest cisza.

No. 10. Jedyne możliwe na ziemi, bezgraniczne, nieskończone zadowolenie daje sztuka. Jest ona nadziemskim światłem, ekstazą bez granic.

No. 11. Czemuż nie można zatrzymać cudownych widzeń, jasnych, wspaniałych myśli, cudownych obrazów sunących się namacalnie przez głowę i serce? Ach, ten idealny stenograf, sztuka, nie stworzy, nie odda wszystkiego! [...] Boże miłosierny, pozwól mi napisać wszystko, co czuję!

No. 12. Oj, szlachto, szlachto polska! Jakże ja tu nieraz słyszę zdania! [...] Zaden z tej znanej mi szlachty nie wygłosił jeszcze zdania, w którym chłop nazczyłby tyle, co Polak.

No. 13. Bosymi nogami idzie się po grudzie życia, jak Bem powiada. Jak się idzie — to mniejsza, ale dokąd się idzie. Celu nie ma, celu, celu! Ta piekielna niewiara, że nie wiadomo, czy stworzony jesteś do czegoś, czy stworzonyś tak sobie. To zabija.

No. 14. By iść za jakimś sztandarem, trzeba mieć tyle nauki, by tamten właśnie sztandar wybrać z szeregu innych. Filozofia moja jest eklektyczna: biorę to, co mi się podoba. Chcę tylko myśli wolnej.

No. 15. Na szkolnej ławie, a raczej pod ławą pisane stosy liryk, olbrzymich poematów i nie mniejszych tragedii, oraz powieści — ten mój mistrz młodych lat i nigdy nie zapomniany dobroczyńca duchowy cierpliwie wertował i okrutnej poddawał krytyce...

No. 16. Próbkę wierszowaną są słabymi bardzo, w powieści zato jesteś pan na właściwym gruncie, masz pan talent powieściopisarski.

No. 17. Wszyscy radzą jedno i mój ukochany profesor [Bem] i p. Koczanowicz i ten w końcu pocziwy starzec [Gregorowicz...]. Ale nie pisać... nie, nie mam siły! Gdzie podziąć te złote mary, te chwile boskie, w czasie których jedynie zapominam, że jestem człowiekiem, zapominam o cierpieniach, które mnie ciągle gniotą, zapominam o wszystkim i sam już nie wiem, czym jestem!

No. 18. Plonuj, plonuj, ziemio stara!  
Ródź mi matko, ródź!  
Oto moja pszenna miara,  
Zwróć z nasypką, zwróć!  
Może, ziemio moja droga,  
Dasz mi cierni i głóg...  
Jednak śmiało w imię Boga! —  
Wpuszczam w ciebie pług...

No. 19. Odpowiedź ta ucieszyła mnie niezmiernie. Był to jeden — ze smutnych dni mojego życia — najweselszy.

No. 20. Panu Stefanowi Ż. W formie utworów poetycznych zbyt rąjących zarzutów nie ma, ale forma nie zastąpi tego, co nadaje wartość każdej piśmiennej pracy. W wierszyku np. *Anioł Stróż* ten staż nad dziecięcim śpiącym w kołysce, a niemowlę choć tak malutkie, a już marzy o zabawkach, kwiatach, wspieraniu niedoli i jak je Bóg zato nagradza. Czyż to naturalne? Podobne obrazowanie i w innych znajduje się. Dowodzi to zbyt młodzieńczych uczuć autora, nie mogących myśli swych uwięzić w pęta rozwagi, która dopiero z czasem bierze przewagę i ubogaconą wiedzą w harmonijnym łądzie przemawia do ludzi.

No. 21. Szanowny Panie. Idei obrazka pańskiego wcale nie rozumiem. Bohaterka raz mówi, że poświęciła się dla rodziców, a drugi raz że dla jutra. Cóż ta Wallenrodyczna żona robić zamierza? Jakże kuć lemmiesz? Wszystko to raczej wygląda w jej ustach na frazes [...]. Co do formy jest ona w pracy pańskiej bardzo staranna, miejscami bardzo ładna, ale balast terminologii naukowej niepotrzebnie ją obciąża. Helena, broniąc się Comte'm jest archyhumorystyczna.

No. 22. Świętochowski zarzucił mi, że idej mojego obrazka nie rozumiem. Nie mógł jej rozumieć, bo idej, czyli tendencji tam nie ma [...]. Obrazek to obiektywny, beztendencyjny, a udatny i chowam go na później. Sam widzę, że jest tam pewien balast terminologii, ale pisałem to dla *Prawdy* i musiałem powiedzieć w tym utworze, com zaczął.

No. 23. Dlaczego młodzi lubują się w brudach? Wiele by z mej strony dało się powiedzieć, bardzo wiele. Czasem człowiek z bólu lubuje się w brudach. [...]

Odtwarza się brudy, bo je odtwarzać potrzeba, bo one domagają się tego, bo jeżeli w danej epoce takie brudy są i stanowią olbrzymi szmat narodowego życia, to literatura, która jest obrazem życia, odtwarzać potrzebuje wszystko, więc i brudy.

No. 24. Przez cały dzień dzisiaj pisałem moje patologiczne studium pt. *U drzwi obłądu*. Napawa mię to niewysłowioną rozkoszą. Czasami latam po pokoju, jak wściekły, targam włosy, płaczę. Ach — to nie obiektywizm i nie studium — to poezja [...]

No. 25. Tysiące myśli, raczej obrazów, niż myśli przesuwają się. Najłatwiej mi wtedy ogarniać całość moich utworów: *Metow* [sic], *Zwiastuna*, *My*, *W imię filozofii*... Ach, napisać to, być w stanie napisać!

No. 26. Piszę jakiś szkic wiejski, pt. *Psie prawo* ze dwa już chyba tygodnie. Przepisuję, poprawiam i znowu znajduję go głupim wysoko, na co zresztą w zupełności zasługuje.

No. 27. Piszę, drę, rzucam za okno i znowu piszę to samo. *Psie prawo* i *List miłosny* — dwa szkice czekają do druku. *Zapomnienie* wyrabiam nocami. Mogłoby być śliczne, gdybym je pisał mniej niespokojnie.

No. 28. Napisałem trzy szkice do *Głosu* pod ogólną nazwą *Z dziennika*. Nie mogę ich wysłać, ponieważ nie mogę ich sam oddać na pocztę, a nie chcę, aby wiadano, że piszę, że mam stosunki z *Głosem*.

No. 29. Tam nie ma siły, głowy w tym organie. Wiele też musi być głupstw. [...] Ja zostanę przy Świętochowskim. Kiedy przeczytam *Prawdę*, to sił mam więcej, większą ochotę do życia posiadam.

No. 30. *Głos* nazwał się w prospekcie pismem postępowym, zapowiedział, że "chce podporządkować interesy oddzielnych warstw interesom ludu". Pięknie, cudownie, precudownie. Cóż wykazał dotąd? Ani jednego faktu [...]. Nie zrobił nic.

No. 31. O godzinie piątej po południu miałem posłuchanie u redaktora *Głosu*, p. Potockiego. Bogowie! Moje szkice pochlebnie ocenionymi zostały, przyjęte są i drukowane będą, ale dopiero przed Bożym Narodzeniem. Prócz tego mam wolne do redakcji wejście z każdym artykułem, przeważnie literackim, lub szkicowym, "w guście Taine'a lub Brandesa", jak szydersko wyraził się pan redaktor. Jest popularny pan redaktor i wprost wciska się z pytaniami w głąb twej kieszeni. Czy ma pan środki zaspokojenia głodu, czy chce pan "żyć" z pióra"? [...] Stosunek jest jeszcze zimny, nieznanne są bowiem wodzowi zasady moje.

No. 32. Prosiłem listownie Wacka o odebranie z przekłętego *Głosu* nowelki ślicznej *Zapomnienie* i przesłanie jej do *Ogniska*. Czy co z tego będzie — diabli raczą wiedzieć.

No. 33. Pozazdrościłem Obali i wronie. Obydwoje oni szybko zapomną. Czym by się ugasiła ich piekielna, niezgruntowana, okrutna, nieświadoma boleść, jakby przepędzili dzisiejszą noc sami w prostych swych gniazdach, gdyby nie to boskie, nie to wspaniałe, dobrotliwe, najlepsze z praw przyrody — mądre prawo zapomnienia?

No. 34. Mówił, [...] że on, pan Hłasko, w imieniu redakcji, błaga mię o dalsze współpracownictwo i że cenzura nie puściła całkowicie drugiego obrazka pt. *List miłosny*, że zanotowano mię w cenzurze, jako autora "niebłagonadiożnawo" i że trzeci zaledwie szkic — *Zapomnienie* — przy nowym cenzorze, może być, będzie zamieszczony w *Głosie*. Pierwsze *Psie prawo* poobrzymano tak, że formalnie wyrznięto prawie wszystko.

No. 35. Unikaj z łaski swojej wyrazów niecenzuralnych. Nie masz pojęcia, jak obecnie [...] są dziko surowi dla wyrażen im niemitych i posuwają bigotyzm i reakcję do absurdu ci, których pamiętam... postępowymi. Polski język, chociaż bardzo jasny, pozwala myśl uwydatnić omówieniem i uratować ją od nożyc cenzorskich.

No. 36. Wkrótce po ukazaniu się *Siłaczki* w [...] *Głosie* wszczęła się polemika o jej bohatera, dr. Obareckiego z Obrzydłówka. Redakcja otrzymała mnóstwo listów z zapadłych kątów prowincji, w których czytelnicy, stali i przygodni, już to napadali na Obareckiego, już to wymyślali na swój własny Obrzydłówek, tj. Kozienice, Grójec, Kutno, lub inny Pacanów. Obrzydłówek stał się w sferze młodej, rozjeżdżającej się z uniwersytetu inteligencji, synonimem zapadłej prowincjonalnej dziury, a dr. Obarecki przewiskiem przeciętnego "pioniera cywilizacji", wyruszającego z ideami i zamiarami na posadę do Obrzydłówka.

No. 37. W dzisiejszym numerze *Głosu* jest artykułik bezimiennego, będący odpowiedzią na pierwszy list Zygmunta [Wasilewskiego]. Znowu gadanie na temat Obareckiego. Wychodzi na to, że Obarecki jest typem i jest nim rzeczywiście. Jako taki może mię postawić na nogi. Trzeba by tylko dodać do niego kilka innych...

No. 38. Charaktery Żeromskiego mają, że tak powiem — wybite dno, w którego miejsce weszła rura, prowadząca do rezerwuarów autora. Dlatego Rafał z *Popiołów* — który w zewnętrznym życiu jest zwykłym rębajłem, dobrym do wojny i do amorów — ponadto odczuwa, kocha, marzy tak, jakby był genialnym poetą.

No. 39. Po co Wy piszecie takie głupstwa na rachunek tych tam nowel! Ja wiem, że z wyjątkiem *Ananketo* wszystko kwalifikuje się do posypania proszkiem otwockim...

No. 40. Bez wątpienia jesteśmy z panem W. najpodobniejszymi ludźmi na świecie i to, przyznasz, musi mię drażnić, gdy ja jestem milion razy przekreślonym zerem, a on tym właśnie, co jest i we mnie [...] zdobył sobie rozgłos i sławę. On nawet pisze tak samo, jak ja [...], a że ja piszę później i mniej mam do pisania tematów, więc mogę uchodzić za naśladowcę, kiedy nim absolutnie nie jestem.

Zaczynam lubić pana W., bo to człowiek z tego samego świata, co ja, z tego samego oddechu niecierpliwości — zresztą chory, dobry i był biedny, żył jak pies [...]

No. 41. Skąd się biorą fioletowe bruzdy na śniegu — nie wiem [...]. Niebieskich bruzd w śniegu nie było i nie będzie w przyrodzie, a więc nie powinno ich być w obrazie realisty.

No. 42. Odtworzenie przyrody zastępuje wszystko, zdobycie w obrazie prawdy jest celem dla artysty, ale jeżeli na tle przyrody artysta umieszcza człowieka i zsuwa w sposób ten przyrodę niemą i samą w sobie na plan drugi, to powinien wyrazić jakąś łączność pomiędzy człowiekiem, a przyrodą...

No. 43. Powiastki pana Stefana bardzo mi się podobały; autor, mówiąc językiem recenzentów, ma wielki talent, tylko brak mu wprawy. Jest w tym duża obrazowość i uczucie, ale, zdaje się, że pisał bez tematu, pod wpływem jakiegoś wrażenia. Zwykły szczebel w rozwoju. Bodaj że najpełniejsza jest *Siłaczka*, ale i *Zapomnienie* dobre. [...] W każdym obrazku rzeczy piękne i wzruszające, brak tylko [...] opanowania przedmiotu, a nadewszystko tematu, własnych myśli.

No. 44. Żeromski sam się rozwijał i sam się formował. Dlatego pierwszą cechą, jaka nas w nim uderza, to wielka samoistość. [...] Pan Żeromski ma swój specyficzny punkt widzenia, z którego patrzy na społeczeństwo. Społeczeństwo jego — to świat rozbity i wywrócony do góry nogami: nic tu nie jest

na swoim miejscu, wszystko w ruchu, nie ustalone, wszystko, zda się, zmieniło swe położenie. [...] Pomijając nieliczne usterki, znajdujemy w p. Żer. talent mocnej ręki i, co najważniejsze, wielostronny.

No. 45. I znów tom nowel? [...] Bez zbytniej skwapliwości sięgamy po książkę, której okładka wymienia aż dwanaście drobnych utworów. Gdybyż choć na okładce widniało nazwisko znane, solidne, które mówi «samo za siebie»! «Stefan Żeromski» — czytamy — *Opowiadania* i koniec.

No. 46. Wrażenia, jakie się odbiera od *Opowiadań* p. Stefana Żeromskiego, są bardzo silne. Oddziałują one zarówno na myśl, jak na uczucie. Z *Opowiadań* można też wyprowadzić jedno uogólnienie: że ludzie silnie odczuwający bodźce umysłowe są, a przynajmniej w warunkach ogólnych prawie zawsze bywają równie czuły na zjawiska moralne.

No. 47. I cóż, że mistrzowska ręka roztacza przed nami najcudniejsze obrazy przyrody, kiedy ilekroć człowiek na tym tle wystąpi, zawsze bywa on biedny, lub głupi, zły, lub nieszcześliwy. [...] Szkoda talentu na takie wizerunki, upokarzające dla ludzkości [...]

No. 48. [...] bije od prac młodego autora pewien zgrzyt zgryźliwej ironii, czysto podmiotowej natury [...]; szkodliwie oddziałują na artystyczno-literacką stronę utworów pewne niepotrzebne [...] naciski i jakby z umysłu ciężka, miejscami brutalna w rysunku ręka; ale wszystko to niedomagania ozasowe, już dziś nawet okupione stokrotnie, widocznym na każdym kroku, poprzez sztuczny chwilami pesymizm i zgryźliwość, przebijającym się szczerym, serdecznym ukochaniem «swojego» [...].

No. 49. Czyżby autor nie spotkał się w swoim życiu, czy sądzi, że się nie spotkał ani z jednym człowiekiem rozumnym, poczciwym? O! Wtedy ma rację włożyć ciemne okulary, mgłą melancholii ciemnej się otoczyć i zaintonować hymn zwątpienia — przede wszystkim o własnym, nowelistycznym talencie!

No. 50. Nie witany oklaskami uznania publiczności naszej [...] wszedł autor *Opowiadań* do literatury współczesnej bez hałasu i reklamy, z taką powagą i godnością, jak niegdyś weszli: Dygasiński, Kl. Junosza, Ostoja itp. — wszedł z prawa talentu...

No. 51. Talent Żeromskiego nie lubi [...] rozlewania się płytką warstwą na wielkie obszary; jest on pogłębiającym raczej najmniejszą sferę swych badań [...]

No. 52. *Opowiadania* [...] są wykonane doskonale, stanowią harmonijne i kunsztowne całości.

No. 53. Pod względem zewnętrznego wykonania szkice Żeromskiego niezupełnie mogą zadowolnić wymagającego czytelnika. Widać w nich pewne gonienie za efektem, oryginalnością, tu i ówdzie pewien patos nieuzasadniony. Razi także niezwykle skupianie przymiotników i rozmyślnie stworzony dystans pomiędzy nimi, a rzeczownikami [...]

No. 54. Pamiętam ożywione debaty z powodu *Ananke*. Szukano słowa zagadki: dlaczego żona urzędnika pocztowego pewnego poranka opuściła męża [...] Ci nawet, którzy słowa zagadki nie znaleźli, rozumieli, że raczej sami są zbyt niedomyślni [...] Z powodu *Siłaczki* polemika i roztrząsanie przeniosły się z rozmów prywatnych na szpalty pism [...] Autor młody, którego pierwsze niemal utwory wywołują tak głębokie zainteresowanie, sprowadzają do redakcji tuziny listów, z entuzjazmem, albo z żalem omawiających powieściowe postaci autora, musi mieć jakiś żywotniejszy związek z ludźmi swojego czasu, bardziej niż inni musi być współczesny.

No. 55. Książka ta była niezwykle poczytna, osobiście w Królestwie, /jeden transport z tysiącem egzemplarzy utopiony został w sadzawce/, a jednak była w obiegu z górą 5 lat.

No. 56. Szanowni Państwo! Piszę ten list, mając pełne uszy frazesów: Czytałeś pan Żeromskiego? Czytałeś Zycha? Czytałeś *Żołnierza tutaj*? itd. Śpieszę przeto donieść pani Oktawii, że jej nadzieje, które wypowiadała mi ongiś w Łazienkowskim parku — spełniły się, pan Stefan jest sławny, sławny na całą Warszawę i, gdyby tu był, nie obeszłoby się bez obiadów z Żeromskim.

No. 57. Książkę p. Zycha uważam za coś więcej, niż utwór literacki, uważam za dokument naszego życia, dokument niezmiennie wymowny i ciekawy.

No. 58. Popierać tego rodzaju prąd literacki musi każdy, kto pisze. To nie jest nowa szkółka, czy kapliczka ostatnio kreowanego fetysza artystycznego, którego trzeba uznać, żeby mu służyć. To jest nakaz z istoty samego pojęcia sztuki płynący, że dzieło może być prawdziwym, pięknym, ważnym tylko wtedy, gdy jest poczęte swobodnie.

No. 59. Maurycy Zych jest poetą tego nastroju, a jako taki wyobrazicielem wielkiej części współczesnej Polski pod zaborem rosyjskim. Jego tom nowel jest szeregiem spowiedzi tej « chorej na Moskali » duszy [...]. Psychologia nastroju danej kategorii ludzi wyraża się słowami napozór zimnymi, w których czuć atoli żrący ogień. Opowiadanie jego stara się o spokój, o obiektywizm, zagłusza się dowcipem i ironią ze siebie i świata, lekceważeniem i rozrywaniem swoich serdecznych ran.

No. 60. W *siłach niedoli* znajduje się wiele pojedynczych scen, tchnących realizmem, ale dlaczego autor, kreśląc zagrody szlacheckie, przypisuje im cechy, jakie nie były i nie są im właściwymi? Panna Teresa, córka szlachcica z Radostowa, jest w całym tego słowa znaczeniu zepsuta i niemoralna dziewczyna.

No. 61. Obrazek swój kończy autor przesadnym zwrotem, opisując ostatnie chwile dogorywającej szkapę.

No. 62. Stratowanie uciekającego żołnierza polskiego przez oddziałek rosyjskiej kawalerii, męczeńska śmierć postrzelonych koni i scena obdarcia trupów wyszła z tą niepospolitą grozą, jak gdyby autor miał na piórze krew zamiast atramentu.

No. 63. W M. Zychu przybywa piśmiennictwu naszemu siła pierwszorzędną i niepospolitą. Nie rozdziobią nas kruki, wrony, jak długo tego rodzaju siły będzie naród wydawał z siebie.

No. 64. [który] patrzył zawsze spod oka i stulał wielkie swe wargi w taki sposób, że usta znać było na tej wielkiej, wygolonej twarzy tylko jako prostą linijkę.

No. 65. Pani Borowiczowa miała wzrok skierowany na roziskrzone niebo. Dawne wspomnienia ciągnęły ku niej z dalekich przestworów cudownej nocy, młode nadzieje wypływały z serca, przeczuwającego już schyłek swych snów, kres marzeń i jakieś wielkie znużenie. Teraz to serce rozkwierało się na oścież dla przyjęcia wszystkiego, co człowiek uczciwy pielęgnuje i kocha. Ziemskie troski, codzienne znoje, interesy i małostki ustąpiły na chwilę i matka Marcinka o wielu rzeczach i sprawach niemal zapomnianych myślała, myślała...

No. 66. Co do mnie, to z największą, najszczerzą chęcią oddałbym zaraz tę całość pierwszemu, lepszemu nakładcy [...], byleby książkę zaraz wydrukował, bez druku w gazetach. Ale takiego niestety nie ma. Gdybym miał pieniądze, wydałbym to sam, własnym nakładem — no, ale cóż zrobić kiedy inaczej być nie może... [...] Zmuszony jestem zebrać o druk utworu, który w danej chwili mógłby służyć za argument, rozejść się i oddać usługę rzeczy publicznej.

No. 67. Bardzo się cieszę, że ta powieść wyjdzie. Po wszystkich awanturach literackich ukazanie się teraz tego opowiadania, tak prostego, jak dziecięca opowieść będzie bardzo miłym zjawiskiem.

No. 68. Powiedziałbym, że pomiędzy powieściopisarzami ostatniej doby Maurycy Zych jest najbardziej utalentowany i najdonioślejszy wpływ wywrzeć może swoją obywatelskością. [...] Znakomity obserwator, bystrym okiem chwytający przedmioty, aby je ze zbyt może drobiazgowym przedstawić realizmem, dobry psycholog, umiejący wejść w duszę człowieka, śledzić ukryte jej drgania i przeobrażenia, wyrobił sobie Zych i mistrzostwo formy, nie ustępujące naszym « największym ».

No. 69. Według utartych pojęć estetycznych *Syzyfowe prace* nie są powieścią. Ale co obchodzą utarte pojęcia estetyczne prawdziwego, iskrą Bożą, obdarzonego artystę? Według własnych tworzy on prawideł, nie pytając się o to, czy zawodowi przyklasną mu « szufladkarze ».

No. 70. Zych pierwszy dał nam wyczerpujący, artystycznie odtworzony obraz kultury nowoczesnej szkoły rosyjskiej na ziemiach polskich. Wlał w nas otuchę, że dotychczasowe, szatańskie zabiegi tej szkoły nie zdołały dotrzeć do głębi serca młodzieńczego, choć je po wierzchu skaziły. Równocześnie jednak zawarł w powieści swojej przestrożę, skierowaną ku społeczeństwu, które powinno silniej interesować się wychowaniem swoich dzieci, pozostawionych zupełnie na opiece Zabielskich i Kriestobriadników.

No. 71. Zych ma właściwy sobie, a dość niezwykły sposób opowiadania. Odstępuje często głównego wątku, gubi się w szczegółach, kreśli mimochodem wprost cudne opisy przyrody, rzuca jakby od niechcenia refleksje, pełne zwrotów niespodziewanych i zastanawiających, a potem nagle, prawie bez wysiłku, zdobywa się na epizod, w którym, jak w ogniu, skupia wszystkie siły swego talentu. Najgłówniejszą z nich i najślawniejszą jest głębokie, z trudem nieledwie hamowane uczucie, które przenika wszystkie utwory Zycha .

No. 72. [...] owa straszna, jak przeznaczenie, atmosfera rosyjskiego obucha, którą u nas znało się z opowiadań, listów i artykułów dziennikarskich, a więc z oderwanych ech i odgłosów.

No. 73. Po zamknięciu jej ostatniej kartki zostaje jak gdyby posmak zwiedzonych podziemi, a niewymownie przytłaczająca duszność owłada mózgiem.

No. 74. [...] jakże korzystnie odbijają *Syzyfowe prace* od tego długiego szeregu wiecznie w to samo kółko, wedle tego samego taktu, obracających się « nowel », « nowelek », « powieści », « powiastek ». Losy szlacheckiego dziecka, Marcinka Borowicza, losy chłopskiego dziecka, Jędrka Radka, przedstawiają nam losy i życie młodszej generacji polskiej, wychowujących się [sic] w rosyjskich szkołach. [...] Pyszne są typy elementarnych i gimnazjalnych profesorów, [...] znakomite, nad wyraz humorystyczne, gdyby z drugiej strony tak smutne nie było, skreślenie sztuk i sztuczek, mających wyrobić w piersiach polskich uczniów szczero-rosyjskie uczucia.

No. 75. Społeczne znaczenie tej książki polega przede wszystkim na nadzwyczajnie wiernym odrysowaniu warunków szkolnych w Królestwie, a następnie na wyciągnięciu stąd odpowiednich konsekwencji.

No. 76. Długo i po wielokroć wertowaliśmy książkę. Głośno. Rozdział za rozdziałem. Szczególnie w tym miejscu, gdy Zygier, nowy uczeń z Warszawy, przybył do Klerykowa i na lekcji zaczyna przerażonemu polonistce deklamować: « Nam strzelać nie kazano... » [...] U nas też była *Reduta Ordona*. Deklamowano ją wszakże corocznie, sakramentalnie, na każdym nieomal gimnazjalnym wieczorku ku czci wieszczki. Obrywało się dwóje za złe wykucie tekstu na pamięć. Spowszedniała nam i wyszarżała i nikomu życia nie łamała. Zaczęliśmy im zazdrościć. Czego? Czy tego, że oni

grają w karty w czasie lekcji, a my najwyżej podczas pauzy? Nie. Zazdrościliśmy im ryczałtem owej obfitości rzeczy zakazanych, przymusu walki, konieczności, w ogóle radości walki z podstępny zaborcą.

No. 77. Przebiegałam myślą wspomnienia [...]. Pierwsze poznanie jego utworów, wielkie, niezapomniane wrażenie tych dzieł na moją młodość. Każda nowa książka Żeromskiego witana była wtedy, jako zdarzenie życiowe, gdyż książki te nie tylko się czytało, ale głęboko przeżywało zawartą w nich treść. Książki te odtwarzały duszę i uczucia społeczeństwa, młodzieży ówczesnej, walczącej o prawa do życia szerokiego i swobodnego. Książki te wzruszały nas i zagrzewały do walki.

No. 78. Obecnie oddają do cenzury tom nowel, gdzie zgrupowałem rzeczy, osnute na motywach szwajcarskich.

No. 79. [Ścieżka] urwała się [...]. Gdym spojrzał na dół — doznałem « strachu przestrzeni ». Ścierpłem tak, że nie mogłem się ruszyć z miejsca.

No. 80. Autor posiada bogatą paletę i zarówno jasne, jak posępne barwy, umie w miejscach właściwych roztaczać, nie lęka się słów grubych, niesalonowych, gdzie ich potrzeba; najlepiej atoli przedstawia uczucia przygłuszone, mocą woli w głąb duszy spychane, uzewnętrzniające się w spojrzeniu, geście zaledwie.

No. 81. W Żeromskim [...] odbiła się najsilniej ta logika uczuć całego społeczeństwa, które w najlepszej części swojej, z okresu entuzjazmu i wiary w dobre potęgi i w dobrej rzeczy porządek przeszło w nastrój bolesnej ironii. [...] Poza filozofiem-pesymistą tkwi atoli w Żeromskim przeczulona natura Słowianina, Bajronowska « rysa świata » przeszła mu przez serce — sercem krytykuje on świat i stawia przed trybunał uczucia. Rozdrapuje własne rany i sztydzi z własnego bólu, a kiedy serce rwie mu się w piersi na widok tyłu bezeczeństw, twarz usiłuje zachować spokój, lub przybiera wyraz ironicznego uśmiechu.

No. 82. Czytając utwory Żeromskiego zawsze odbieram wrażenie tego rodzaju, jakbym siedł w ponury, jesienny dzień, wywołujący w piersi stare zgrzyty i nieuśpione troski, za trumną osób drogich, po których pozostaje w duszy wielka smuga żalu i sztywnej nieradości.

No. 83. [...] przy czytaniu *Utworów powieściowych* wydaje nam się chwilami, że w noc jesienną, burzliwą, przy plusku deszczu i złowrogim wichru poświście, odbywamy jakąś podróż daleką, ku majaczącemu gdzieś w mroku celowi.

No. 84. Końcowa tragedia zarówno jest niespodziewana, jak i nieprawdopodobna.

No. 85. Zajmujące, a miejscami wzruszające są dzieje « żołnierza tułacza ». Gdybyż tendencja w zakończeniu nie popchnęła autora w otchłań zupełnego nieprawdopodobieństwa...

No. 86. Smutny koniec starego żołnierza, straconego po powrocie do kraju przez małomiasteczkowych łyków, z podmowy nieludzkiego dziedzica, sprawiać musi wręcz deprymujące wrażenie, ile że nie pozbawione realnego prawdopodobieństwa.

No. 87. [...] oddałaby mu wszystko, ale nie siebie, w jego stanie zezwierzenia.

No. 88. P. Żeromski robi na mnie wrażenie, że chwieje się i błąka za swoim talentem.

No. 89. P. Żeromski pisze dzielnie, ale nie zawsze jasno.

No. 90. Dajcie mi więcej Żeromskich, więcej *Tabu* i *Cieni*, a zrozumiem, czym być powinna literatura.



[...] u żadnego bowiem z młodych autorów polskich nie widzę równie silnego, równie jaskrawego i głębokiego odczucia ciemnej i smutnej rzeczywistości — i nigdzie rozdziwiek pomiędzy tą rzeczywistością, a ogólnoludzkim ideałem [...] nie występuje w formie bardziej zdecydowanej [...]

No. 91. Wśród powieściopisarzy i nowelistów naszych Stefan Żeromski zajmuje stanowisko odrębne. Wybitny indywidualizm artystyczny znakomitego pisarza nie pozwala znaleźć dlań bliższego pokrewieństwa we współczesnej literaturze naszej. Pewne jednak powinowactwo duchowe łączy go niewątpliwie z Kasprowiczem.

No. 92. Przy oglądaniu autografu [...] wpada pod uwagę jeszcze jeden szczegół [...] Oto rozmach pisarski w miarę trudu się wyczerpuje, celność inwencji słabnie. Początkowe partie opisu dają ujęcia od razu trafne, kreśli jest stosunkowo niewiele, ale im bliżej końca, tym mniej jest autor zadowolony z tego, co w pierwszym rzucie napisał.

No. 93. Pani Oktawia oczekiwała wtedy dziecka, a Żeromski wiele pisał /kilka rzeczy na raz, m.in. *Bezdomnych*, na których miał już nakładcę. Sieroszewski przynaglał go do roboty /honorarium miało pójść na koszty choroby pani Oktawii/ i mówił, że jeśli Żeromski zmarudzi, to on jego powieść wykończy, byle pieniądze były na czas.

No. 94. Koniecznie chcę skończyć tę powieść. Ciekawe będą jej losy. Nie będzie ona miała uznania u młodych, to wiem, ale ma ona swoją wartość.

No. 95. Takie to dziwne jest teraz moje życie. Piszę coś zupełnie obojętnego, co było kiedyś treścią mojego życia, a to, co mię teraz całego wypełnia, jest gdzieś daleko.

No. 96. Gdy przed kilkoma dniami ukazali się *Ludzie bezdomni*, rzucono się do czytania go [Żeromskiego] z takim samym prawie gorączkowym zajęciem, z jakim dawniej *Ogniem i mieczem*, *Emancypantki* i *Nad Niemnem*. Spokojną zwykle wodę naszych drzemliwych stosunków literackich zamąciła nagle wichra sprzecznych sądów. W jednych podniesiono powieść do wyżyn arcydzieła, innych obniżano jej znaczenie z przekąsem, a nawet z pewnym lekceważeniem.

No. 97. W prasie warszawskiej powieść ta obudziła żywe polemiki i zacięte kłótnie, były to jednak swary zaścianka, antagonizmy polityczne i moralne raczej, niż spory estetyczne.

No. 98. Oryginalne są losy ostatniego utworu Żeromskiego. Krytyka wytyka w nim mnóstwo wad, podnosi pełno zarzutów, a kończy w większości wypadków uniesieniem, publiczność zaś nie zważając na pierwsze i nie słuchając drugich, książkę rozrywa i *Ludzie bezdomni* pozostają sensacją powieściową w świecie literackim.

No. 99. [...] główny bohater, doktor Judym — maniak, psychopata, zwyrodniały schyłkowiec — jest kandydatem do Tworek.

No. 100. [...] malunek tych wszystkich miejscowości niesłychanie nudny, zwłaszcza że autor sadzi się na efektowny styl modernistyczny, który dużo głosi o nastroju « nagiej duszy », a właściwie jest pustobrzmiącą gadaniną frazesów, w dodatku nieszczerych.

No. 101. Jakże się wam podoba, łaskawi czytelnicy, ten altruista, ten ludowiec, ten rzecznik nędzarzy uciśnionych, a jednocześnie występujący w roli żydowskiego brytana...

No. 102. Jako artysta Żeromski w *Ludziach bezdomnych* popełnił wprost samobójstwo. Ludzie ci są tak przeciętni, tak w przeciętnych ramach życia poruszają się, tak szaro i z zewnątrz tylko są odrobieni [...], tak przesiąknięte to wszystko aktualnością, że zakończenie powieści staje się martwym, w obłokach zawieszonym morałem.

No. 103. Fotograficzny sposób ujęcia, brak perspektywy, luźna budowa powieści, niedołyżny, zachwaszczony żargonowymi zwrotami język, niemoc w tworzeniu nastrojów [...], brak jakiegokolwiek syntezy. a nade wszystko wszechobecna tendencja [...], wszystko to sprawia, że nawet z punktu widzenia tej literatury zwyrodnienia, *Ludzie bezdomni* są najsłabszym, najbardziej drewnianym utworem Żeromskiego.

No. 104. Żeromskiego błąd nie w tym tkwi, że u niego sztuka objucza się raz po raz ideą, lecz odwrotnie w tym, że pierwotna i nadspołeczna ideowość, że jego pasja altruistyczna, nienawiść i litość Judyma, od czasu do czasu, przybiera gładkie maniere i trochę ufryzowana wchodzi do salonu.

No. 105. [...] postaci ze świata kapitalistów i z tak zwanej inteligencji, a więc zwyczajny, wstrętny wyzyskiwacz [...] i człowiek starej daty z tradycjami pańszczyźnianymi we krwi, który czuje, że nie wszystko idzie po Bożemu.

No. 106. W *Ludziach bezdomnych* zyskało społeczeństwo cenny... nie utwór literacko-artystyczny, lecz jedynie « document humain » który podobać się będzie współczesnym, a zaciekać następną generację.

No. 107. Zdaje mi się, że autor rozwiązał zwycięsko zagadnienie, czy powieść w całym znaczeniu tego słowa « społeczna » może być zarazem prawdziwym i trwałym dziełem sztuki. [...] Forma utworów, odstępując od wszelkich przepisów, nie goniąc za oryginalnością, jest jednakże oryginalna, kapryśna i pełna niespodzianek, jak życie samo.

No. 108. [...] zamiast rozlewać swoje uczucia szeroką i widoczną strugą, skanalizował je niejako, ujął w tamy i rozprowadził po ukrytych żyłach organizmu artystycznego, niby krew purpurową — powieść nabrałaby wtedy jednolitości i skupienia, kto wie jednak, czy harmonia i poprawność nie przygasiłaby żaru uczucia?

No. 109. Ten, którego uważano u nas za jedynego pisarza zdolnego stworzyć nowy kierunek literacki, jest bezwiednie niewolnikiem wielu kierunków przedostatniej, ostatniej, a nawet niekiedy i dawniejszej doby. Zaczyna utwór swój naturalizmem Zoli, popada od czasu do czasu w analizę Bourgeta, maluje krajobraz według symboliczno-impresjonistycznej metody Maeterlincka, wywołuje Ibsenowskie nastroje i wreszcie lubuje się czasem w sztucznej jaskrawości stylowej Przybyszewskiego, która pokrywa, wbrew temu ostatniemu, myśli istotnie własne, uczciwe i doniosłe.

No. 110. [...] bardzo wyraźnie przeciwstawił powieści narracyjnej — powieść nastrojową; zaś z rodzajem kompozycji, w której punktem osiowym jest nie kolej i rozwój wypadków, lecz nastroj uczuciowy artysty — z rodzajem tym zespolił się i język — ów niesłychanie nasiąknięty bezpośrednim odczuciem animizm słowa. « Czujące wiedzenie » Żeromskiego, zastępujące w rzeczach pewnej kategorii tzw. plastykę i malowniczość słowa, jest wyrazem coraz wyższego napięcia strun duszy ludzkiej. [...]

No. 111. *Ludzie bezdomni!* Dzisiejsze pokolenie nie rozumie, nie może zrozumieć wrażenia, które uczyniła ta powieść. Nie była to tylko piękna, wspaniała książka. Była to ewangelia, dosłownie « zwiastowanie dobrej nowiny ». Był to czyn! Każdy pepesowiec widział w tej książce obraz swojego życia i swojego marzenia, « złością od miesiąca drogę », prowadzącą poprzez moczary ówczesnego życia zbiorowego. Nie czytaliśmy jej tylko, wchłanialiśmy ją, jak pielgrzym wodę źródłaną wchłania, znudzony długą wędrówką.

No. 112. Posyłam ci, synku, nową książkę, *Ludzie bezdomni*, o której wszyscy mówią z zachwytem. Napisz mi swoje zdanie.

No. 113. Za *Bezdomnych* od bezdomnych podziękowania i pozdrowienia.

No. 114. Była to w moim życiu pisarskim najzaszczytniejsza « recenzja » i najważniejsza nagroda.

No. 115. Dziękuję drogiemu panu za dobre słowo o *Róży*, która rozpałała przeciwko mnie wszystkie partie, zaczawszy od narodowej demokracji, przez socjalną demokrację, pepeesów frakcjonistów aż do warszawskiego postępowiczostwa. Skończyło się na tym, że zostałem ostatnio napadnięty jako panegirysta frakcji, która jest na mnie obrażona, że ją « sponiewierałem ». Krytyki literackiej nie ma obecnie w Polsce. Starzy ludzie, którzy rządzą się zasadami zaśniedziałej « uczciwości krytycznej » — wymarli albo zamilkli. Młodzi krytycy siedzą po różnych zaułkach partyjnych i obdzierają ze skóry przeciwników politycznych.

No. 116. [...] pragnąłbym napisać do miesięcznika artykuł, czyli raczej utwór, pt. *Niewola sztuki w Polsce*, gdzie chciałbym wykazać przyczyny i powody niewoli naszej sztuki, obarczonej od dawien dawna obowiązkami politycznymi i społecznymi.

No. 117. Nie przejmuję się zbytnio krytyką, zwłaszcza że krytyki od śmierci Matuszewskiego /który zresztą od ideału krytyka był daleki/ u nas wcale nie ma. Z ludzi przypadkowo krytyką zajmujących się cenię Irzykowskiego, który *Przedwiośnia* też nie rozumiał. Zresztą cóż ja mogę poradzić na bałagan, który u nas panuje. Dla pp. Rostworowskiego i Pusłowskiego jestem bolszewikiem, dla innych zaś reakcjonistą. Wiece studentów wszechpolskich publikuje jakąś rezolucję skierowaną przeciwko mnie, w Rosji ukazało się już sześć przekładów *Przedwiośnia*, a dla radykalnych lewicowców jestem wciąż konserwatystą.

No. 118. Co do pana Żeromskiego, mam wrażenie, że - pomimo niezwyčajnego u nas opanowania materiału, w rozstrzygających punktach sprawy albo nie opanował, albo najlepszą część prawdy dla siebie zatrzymał. Zdaje mi się, że Żeromski zadowala się wytryśnięciem pierwszej krwi. Ta krew jest szczerą i własną, lecz zbyt prędko staje się farbą [...].

[Żeromski] umie się zawsze wychylić poza szablon, ale poprzestaje np. na pierwszej kompromitacji duszy ludzkiej, na pierwszej czułości w niezwykle sposób objawionej, na pierwszej warstwie życia, byle ona była dobrze ponura; wie, że brak aureoli może być właśnie doskonałą aureolą; powstają bycze sceny, bycze nastroje, bycze powiedzenia, autor umie wstrząsnąć, rozczerlić, zaniepokoić czytelnika. To jest jednak pisanie na wrażenia - wrażenia, które kiedyś w przyszłości, gdy ich mechanizm całkiem się zdemaskuje, stracą swoją siłę wywoławczą.

No. 119. Tendencja jego ostatniej powieści jest rycerska i pedagogiczna, wzywa do poprawy i hartowania się, ale jej technika działa tak, że rozmażają, tj. chwytają za serce. Ponad chęcią karcicielstwa narodowego panuje u niego narodowe pochlebstwo.

No. 120. Żeromski należy [...] nie tylko do pisarzy narodowych, lecz także do tych, dla których krytyka używa osobnej nazwy: demonicznych. Tacy byli: Dostojewski, Strindberg, Kleist, w muzyce Beethoven. Ale demonizm Żeromskiego był głęboko ukryty, wszedł w taki amalgamat na pozór oswojony z jego pozytywizmem starej daty, społecznikostwem itd., że wybuchał niejako tylko lawą podziemną.

No. 121. Żeromski nie jest w stanie przewyciężyć bezwolności, gdyż zamiast myśli przyjmuje sentymentalną uludę. Kult cierpienia to właśnie zawiera w sobie niebezpieczeństwo, że w miejsce tragizmu, walczącej z losem woli, podstawia, ujawniający się jako cierpienie, opór nałogu przeciwko myśleniu.

No. 122. Brak w umysłowości Żeromskiego swobodnego, definitywnego myślenia [...]. Mści się to na wszystkich zagadnieniach jego twórczości; rozwiązania są tu jakby narzucone, całe życie myślowe wtłoczone jest w podświadomą, bepnąską sferę.

No. 123. Chciałbym wystawić tam los poety, chciałbym zbić niejako wszystkie me o przyszłości marzenia w jedną powieści całość. Ale mi się to nie uda. Z marzeń, gdy je wylewać zechcę na papier, nie pozostaje nic, jeno motyl, gdy mu zetrzesz barwy z jego skrzydeł.

No. 124. Wszystkie te trzy postacie jeden mają cel, wszystkich działanie zgadza się z moim sposobem myślenia, wszystkie dążą do szlachetnych i wielkich ulepszeń w dobrobycie i moralności ludzkości - wszystkie upadają podcięte kosą losu.

No. 125. [...] tego chybionego pozytywistę, tego Hamleta dzisiejszego, jakim sam jestem i jakich widzę wkoło siebie tylu. Z tych portretów, jakim przyglądałem się i przyglądam ciekawie, jakie nurtują po całej mojej intelektualnej istocie, jakie zapalają mię, chcę - mówię - narysować typ człowieka chybionego, straconego dla społeczeństwa. Jestem w rozpacz, gdy pomyślę, że typ mój mógłby wyjść niezupełnie jasno, nie tak jasno, by każdy w nim poznał siebie.

No. 126. [...] walkę pani Jadwigi ze zgniłą rodziną o utrzymanie ziemi. Zacząć w przebiegu akcji, że walka ta nie odbywa się bynajmniej z innymi klasami społecznymi. Wykazać, że kobieta musi upaść dzięki konwenansowi.

No. 127. Bił biczyskiem, pięścią między oczy, przewalił na ziemię, kopał nogami, obcasami bił po twarzy. Wracił kilka razy do leżącego i bił.

No. 128. Dał mu Lalewicz między oczy, dał w zęby, w nos, w gardło, raz, drugi, trzeci, czwarty, piąty... Zobaczyłem krew [...]. Zerwał się tedy i pan Alfred i dał Obali jedno uderzenie, tak zwane durch, gdzieś w brodę - takie że, jak to mówią, nakrył się nogami i jak kamień wpadł w krzaki. Trochę go tam jeszcze obcasami poszturczał gajowy.

No. 129. Znowu mię wezmą, znowu mię wezmą - jął mówić, patrząc na nią szeroko rozwartymi oczyma.

No. 130. Wieczorem wyszedłem. Jest już księżyc, którego tak bardzo pragnąłem. Słońce zaszło już dawno. Księżyc kąpie się w wodzie. Kontury dworku naszego tak się cudownie, otulone w lip ramiona, od zachodniego słońca odbijały, że go nie poznał. Uczułem jak bardzo miejsce to kocham, uczułem, że miłość do tego gniazda mojego jest niezmierzona.

No. 131. Czarny dach dworu lśnił się w słońcu, ściany jasno bieleły między wysokimi lipami. Oto stary modrzew, oto droga wjazdowa, oto młyn i wielkie olchy, zwieszone nad stawem.

No. 132. Od dzieciństwa, od lat ośmiu, zapamiętałem treść *Córy Piastów*, którą matka czytała. Dziś jeszcze, jak na jawie, widzę ś.p. matkę moją czytającą, słyszę, zda mi się, głos jej drżący...

No. 133. Pamiętam z miłością to wydanie paryskie, ilustrowane, na którym ucyłem się czytać u nóg matki.

No. 134. Najczęściej cytowanymi u Żeromskiego autorami są Szekspir i Mickiewicz.

No. 135. [...] by miłość wszystkiego tego, co nazywamy ojczyzną, zawarta w trzeciej części *Dziadów* nie umierała w młodym pokoleniu, by się liczyć z nią, by ona była religią pozytywnego pokolenia.

No. 136. Żądałem, aby gdy ktoś traci kraj z oczu, gdy wątpi, szedł do Mickiewicza, gdyż jeśli tam nic nie znajdzie, to my mu więcej nic nie damy. [...] Naród zabijany musi się bronić, musi szukać otuchy - u Mickiewicza ją znajdzie.

No. 137. W klasie jeszcze piątej p. Bem deklamował *Grób Agamemnona*, *List do matki* i *Ojca zadżumionych* Słowackiego, Gdy począł deklamować *List do matki*, czułem, że nie jestem sobą, że się coś dziwnego ze mną dzieje, że mię ogarnia szła jakiś... a gdy począł deklamować *Grób Agamemnona* [...] lecz nie mogłem utrzymać i coś, jakby wielki kamień, jak ciężar, spadł mi z serca.

No. 138. Przejąłem się tak Krasieńskim, że ciągle piszę pod wpływem natchnienia. Dziś pisałem rozdział o znaczeniu poezji. Byłem ogromnie rozmarzony;

słowa same łąły się na papier. Sam nie wiedziałem, co piszę. Na drugi dopiero dzień, przeczytawszy, zobaczyłem, że to było śliczne.

No. 139. Ja - nie rewolucjonista - ja - to nie czyn. Ja [...] - to refleksja, to psychologiczne gmeranie, poetyczne ślamazarstwo, czułościowiec, romantyk w kapeluszu pozytywisty, ja - to człowiek z ubiegłego pokolenia, zabłąkany w pokolenie dzisiejsze, ja - to krok w tył, ja - to dziś zero, ja - to hamletyk i jeszcze raz hamletyk.

W głębi duszy odę składa do księżycy, a czyta Mill'a i krzyczy na romantyzm, nawet na uczucia; płacze nad Słowackim, a cytuje zdania Comte'a. To ten nasz wiek przekłęty dziwołągi takie tworzy.

No. 140. Pomimo całych lat okiełznywania się [sic] pozytywizmem, skrajnym materializmem - pozostałem wiecznym wyrzuconym za późno na świat Kordianem.

No. 141. Przeglądałem dawniej czytana powieść Kraszewskiego pt. *Powieść bez tytułu*. Znów beczałem! Ale bo jak nie płakać na widok takich obrazów, co zda się, mówią do ciebie!... Sam znajduję się w takim samym, jak Szarski pożeniu, gdy więc to czytam, zdaje mi się, że swój życiorys i że swą przyszłość czytam.

No. 142. Czytałem - nie - ja pożerałem te cudne powieści, tę poezję cudowną.

No. 143. [...] czytałem *Janka muzykanta* Sienkiewicza. Później *Stary sługa i Hania*. Od zmysłów odchodziłem doprawdy w zachwycie. Cóż to za geniusz!

No. 144. Kraszewski - to malarz. Obraz, któremu nadaje barwę nie jest jednakże żywym odzwierciedleniem wnętrza malarza. Po przeczytaniu *Hani* Sienkiewicza, czuje się, że tu życie w całej pełni, w płomieniu namiętności. Kraszewski - to tylko powieściopisarz.

No. 145. Matejko i Sienkiewicz są ludźmi jednej miary. Sienkiewicz nie umie narysować życia naszych dziadów z 17go wieku ze ścisłością archeologiczną Kraszewskiego, ale umie czuć tak, jak czuli tamci. W *Potopie* jest olbrzymie tchnienie minionego wieku [...]. *Potop* jest wielką pieśnią naszej przeszłości, jest zbiornikiem treści egzystencji naszej politycznej, jest fotografią ducha narodowego [...].

No. 146-147. Reakcja to, reakcja po mdłych typach epoki pracy organicznej. Stary Jeź wyciąga rękę od starych marzycieli i podaje ją młodym, podaje temu kierunkowi, który wykazuje, że nam trzeba ofiary [...]. Co do mnie, to radbym tylko schwycić i upamiętnić budzenie się do ofiary.

No. 148. Według mnie, po Jeżu stoi u nas Prus. Pierwszy jest najznakomitszym Polakiem, drugi - najznakomitszym artystą. Sienkiewicz i Orzeszkowa stanowią grupę osobną.

No. 149. Prus nie umie pisać powieści. On zawsze pisze szkic, obrazek.

No. 150. [*Szkice i obrazki*] każdemu z jego charakterów wierzymy. On obserwuje człowieka nie z punktu widzenia artysty, lecz z punktu widzenia czytelnika [...]. Dlatego nie wypowiada się on zupełnie, nigdy samego Prusa nie dostrzegamy w powieści [...]. Najwyższy obiektywizm, Prus zbliża się pod tym względem do Turgeniewa [...].

No. 151. Taki Wokulski nie jest ani romantykiem pozytywizmu, ani czymś realnym, to abstrakcja.

No. 152. Piekielna zazdrość ogarnia mię, gdy czytam *Mędzy ustami, a brzegiem pucharu* [...]. Zarówno *Dewajtis*, jak wspomniana nowela, noszą na sobie cechy talentu pierwszorzędno, niepomierne silnego.

No. 153. Demokratyzm Słowackiego nie był wynikiem żywego odczucia rzeczywistości, tego bezpośredniego chwytania w piersi bólów i nędz człowieczych, tego jęku jednostki patrzącej na zbydłecenie mas narodowych.

No. 154. Antek urodził się we wsi nad Wisłą. Wieś leżała w niewielkiej dolinie. Od północy otaczały ją wzgórza spadziste, porośnięte sosnowym lasem, a od południa wzgórza garbate, zasypane leszczyną, tarniną i głógiem. Tam najgłośniej śpiewały ptaki i najczęściej chodziły wiejskie dzieci rwać orzechy, albo wybierać gniazda. Kiedyś stanął na środku wsi, zdawało ci się, że oba pasma gór biegną ku sobie, ażeby zetknąć się tam, gdzie z rana wstaje czerwone słońce. Ale to było złudzenie.

No. 155. Gdy poseł i pan Skrzetuski zajechali przed bramę ze swymi wozami, ujrzeli nie dwór, ale raczej obszerną szopę z ogromnych bierwion dębowych zbitą, z wąskimi, podobnymi do strzelnic oknami. Mieszkania dla czeladzi i kozaków, stajnie, śpichlerze i lamusy przytykały do tego dworu bezpośrednio, tworząc budowę nieforemną, z wielu to wyższych, to niższych części złożoną, na zewnątrz tak ubogą i prostą, że gdyby nie światła w oknach, trudno by ją za mieszkanie ludzi poczytać.

No. 156. Tymczasem janczary dźwiękły głośnie, z obu stron drożyny ukazały się ściany stodół, później parkany, bielone chaty i sanie wśliznęły się na utorowaną szeroką ulicę wioski. Chłopiec powożący zaciął konie, a nim upłynęło kilkanaście minut, wstrzymał je przed budynkiem większym trochę od chat włościańskich, ale nie odbiegającym pod względem struktury od ich typu. We frontowej ścianie tego domostwa połyskiwały dwa okna sześcioboczne, a nad drzwiami wchodowymi czerniała tablica z napisem: Naczelnioje Owczarskoje Ucziliszczce.

No. 157. Obok budynku szkolnego stała skromnie niewielka obórka i tuliła się nieco mniejsza od obórki kupka krowiego nawozu. Między drogą a domem znajdowała się pewna przestrzeń, zapewne warzywny ogródek, w którym tego dnia sterczało jedno jakieś drzewko, obciążone mnóstwem sopli. Dookoła tego placu biegł płot z powyłamywanymi kołkami.

No. 158. Ani jeden żywy promień nie zdołał przebić powodzi chmur, gnanych przez wichry. Skąpa jasność poranka rozmnożyła się po kryjomu, uwidoczniając krajobraz płaski, rozległy i zupełnie pusty. Leciąca ulewa deszczu, sykiego jak ziarno. Wiatr krople jego w locie podrywał, niósł w kierunku ukośnym i ciskał o ziemię.

Ponura jesień zwarzyła już i wytruła w trawach i chwastach wszystko, co żyło. Obdarte z liści, szczerbiałe rokitnicy żałośnie szumiały, zniżając pręty aż do samej ziemi. Kartofliska, ściernie, a szczególnie role świeżo uprawne i zasiane rozmiękły na przepaściste bagna. Bure obłoki, podarte i rozczochrane, leciały szybko, prawie po powierzchniach tych pól obumarłych i przez deszcz chłostanych. Właśnie o samym świecie Andrzej Borycki [...] wyjechał zza pagórków rajgorskich [...].

No. 159. Skoro więc noc zapadła nad Omelniczkim, nie było w tym nic dziwnego, że zaraz koło opustoszałej stancyi pojawił się duch, czy człowiek. Miesiąc wychynał właśnie zza Dniepru i obieleł pustkę, głowy bodiaków i dał stepową. Wtem niżej na stepie ukazały się inne jakieś istoty. Przelatujące chmurki przesłaniały co chwila blask księżyca, więc owe postacie to wyblyskiwały z cienia, to znowu gasły.

No. 160. Rankiem namiestnik jadąc na czele swych ludzi, jechał jakby morzem, którego falą ruchliwą była kołysana wiatrem trawa. A wszędy pełno wesołości i głosów wiosennych, krzyków, świergotu, pogwizdywania, klaskania, trzepotania skrzydeł, radosnego brzęczenia owadów: step brzmiały jak lira, na której gra ręka Boża. Nad głowami jeźdźców jastrzębie tkwiące nieruchomo w błękicie na kształt pozawieszanych krzyżyków, trójkąty dzikich gęsi, sznury żurawiane [...].

No. 161. Wieczorem widział namiestnik jeńców i był przy śmierci młodego Potockiego, który mając gardło przebite strzałą żył tylko kilka godzin po bitwie i umarł na rękę pana Stefana Czarnieckiego. Powiedzcie ojcu - szeptał w ostatniej chwili młody kasztelan - zem... jako rycerz... i nie mógł nic więcej dodać. Dusza jego opuściła ciało i uleciała ku niebu. Skrzetuski długo potem pamiętał tę bladą twarz i te błękitne oczy, wzniesione w chwili śmierci.

No. 162. Skazany spojrzął na nich, gdy mieli ukłuć konie ostrogami i zaraz, jak małe dziecko, zasłaniając głowę rękami, cichym szczególnym głosem wymówił: - Nie zabijajcie mnie... Zerwali się w skok z miejsca zgodnym susem i wraz go przebili. Jeden ohydnie rozplątał mu brzuch, a drugi złamał dekę piersiową. Trzeci ułan odjechał o kilkanaście kroków i gdy dwaj pierwsi, wyrwawszy lance i splunawszy usunęli się na bok, wziął na cel głowę powstańca [...] Żołnierze zsiadli z koni i zrewidowali puste kieszenie sukmany. Rozgniewani o to, że Winrych wypił wszystką gorzałkę, rozbili butelkę na jego czaszce i podarli mu ostrogami policzki [...].

Tymczasem deszcz rześisty puścił się znowu i na małą chwilę ocucił powstańca. Powieki jego zaciśnięte przez ból i popłoch śmiertelny dźwignęły się i oczy po raz ostatni zobaczyły obłoki. Usta mu drgnęły i wymówił do tych chmur szybko pędzących ostatnią myśl: Opuść nam nasze winy, jako i my odpuszczamy naszym winowajcom... Wielka nadzieja nieśmiertelności ogarnęła umierającego niby przestrzeń bez końca. Z tą nadzieją w sercu umarł. Głowa jego wygniotła w błocie dołek, do którego teraz spływać poczęły maleńkie strumyki i tworzyły coraz większą kałużę.

No. 163. Ujrawszy wrony, powolnymi krokami, z nogi na nogę, postępujące ku wozowi, koń zarżał. Zdawał się wołać na ludzi osiadłych, na plemię ludzkie: - O ludzie nikczemni, o rodzie występny, o plemiu morderców!

No. 164. W tej chwili jednak Helena, choć i nie wołana, wbiegła do komnaty [...]. Wbiegłszy zdyszana i krasna jak wiśnia, tchu prawie złapać nie mogła i tylko oczy śmiały jej się szczęściem i weselem. Skrzetuski skoczył jej ręce całować, a gdy kniahini dyskretnie wyszła, całował i usta, bo był człowiek porywczy. Ona też nie broniła się bardzo, czując że niemoc opanowywa ją ze zbytku szczęścia i radości.

— A ja się waćpana nie spodziewałam — szeptała, mrużąc swe śliczne oczy, ale już nie całuj, bo nie przystoi.

— Jak nie mam całować — odpowiedział rycerz, gdy mi miód nie tak słodki jak usta twoje?

No. 165. Wtedy usłyszał szept, głos cichszy od szemrania wiatru. Po stopniach, zasłanych śniegiem, Helena zeszała wolno jak cień. Zstąpiła ku niemu jak niewidzialna dusza, jak sama miłość. Spłynęła w jego ramiona. Objęli się rękoma [...]. Usta jego słyszały, jak rwie się i kipi to wzburzone serce. Ręce pieściły nie dziewicze płonące ciało, lecz jakby żywe szczęście, ucieleśniony zachwyt. Tracił rozum odsłaniając ustami przecudowne niewinne łono, pełne radości i upojenia. [...].

No. 166. Zola pierwszy ograniczył stanowisko erotyki w publicystyce, pierwszy pogłębił, rozszerzył formę i treść romansu - to jest niespożyta i główna zasługa mistrza naturalizmu. *Germinał* jest typem, wzorem współczesnego powieściopisarstwa. Tematów nie zbraknie, życie dzisiejszego społeczeństwa nie płynie leniwo w spokojnym leżysku; pod cichą, gładką powierzchnią szaleją wiry, krzyżują się prądy, biją podwodne źródła. Kwestie socjalne, oraz walki narodowościowe, te dwa straszliwe sfinksy, czekają jeszcze na swoich Edypów poetyckich.

No. 167. Zarzucają Zoli, iż na palcie swej ma tylko barwy ciemne i że zbyt często zgęszczają je w swych obrazach. Mógłby on śmiało odpowiedzieć wraz z Marksem, któremu także zarzucano cynizm w malowaniu stosunków społecznych, iż cynizm ten znajduje się w życiu samym.

No. 168. Czytałem *Nędzarzy* Wiktora Hugo. Jestem zachwycony! Bóg litościwy zsyła mi takie książki.

No. 169. Ach! Gdybym miał choć tysięczną część talentu Hugo, jeszcze bym był wielkim pisarzem [...]. Dziki, szalony talent!

No. 170. Ludzkość nie będzie już miała drugiego Hugona. To nie był literat i poeta - to był prorok, apostoł, Chrystus nowożytnego świata.

No. 171. Na gruncie prostytucji, na tym gnojowisku ludzkości rosną bądź co bądź i rosnąć muszą kwiaty takie, jak Małgorzata Gautier (*Dama kameliowa* Dumasa). - Nie ma zbrodni takiej, by nie kryła w sobie choćby paradoksalnej cnoty.

No. 172. Sądziłem, że żałować będę czasu po przeczytaniu. Tymczasem rzecz ma się całkiem inaczej. Tyle razy słyszałem podnoszące się wrzaski na naturalizm, na Zolę « et consortes », że pewny byłem spotkania z apostołstwem prostytucji. Tymczasem spotykam w zacytowanej powieści śliczny obrazek.

No. 173. Z pewnych pobudek rzucam się niespodziewanie w objęcia naturalizmu. Ja i naturalizm!... Jest to zjawisko efemeryczne dziś tylko mające prawo bytu.

No. 174. Z romantyka wkraczam zwolna na kamienistą ścieżkę, udeptaną przez Zolę, Alexis'a, Maupassant'a i inną « naturalną » brać... Widzę, że tu więcej prawdy, więcej czegoś, co nazwałbym artystycznym zaspokojeniem. Życie tu daje więcej, więcej się odeń bierze - to też i żywotność większa. Z początku trudna rzecz jest. Długo jest się romantykiem realizmu, jak mawiał kochany Turgieniew, długo chwyta się te dawno znajome śpiewy Juliuszów, ale to minie. Główna rzecz, aby życie wpełznąć na taki realno-naturalny tor.

No. 175. Styl Brandesa jest precudny i jasny, a czytanie go jest łatwe, gdyż prowadzi on dzieło to z lekkością beletrysty, bez pedanteryjnego lodu krytyka [...].

No. 176. Dyletant wszechwiedzy, dyletant na każdym punkcie, zwolennik paradoksów [...], wszytkowiedz, człowiek posiadający tysiące oczu, miliony reporterów, muzyk, poeta, malarz, historyk, archeolog, przyrodnik, powieściopisarz [...], filozof, polityk, socjolog, ekonomista, podróżnik - a nade wszystko widz, raczej wszytkowidz.

No. 177. Pojęcia moje o sztuce wzrastają i krystalizują się w trwałe zasady krytyczne równocześnie z obserwowaniem życia wiejskiego. Powieść nasza winna być głosem narodu całego do pojedynczych jednostek, mało narodowych - a więc w wyborze tematu, w oświetleniu pewnych zjawisk naszego życia musi tkwić satyra, skarga, bicz. Nie chcę biczować nigdy i nikogo wychodząc z punktów etycznych, jak to się czyni u nas [...] - jedynie ginąca narodowość, nasze « ja » zanikające będzie mieć we mnie trybuna.

No. 178. W czasach naszych wpływ Stendhala i Flauberta był bardzo wydatny na konstrukcję i fakturę twórczości prozaików polskich. Mniej tu, niż w innych krajach, zaważył Zola, jakkolwiek miał on zwolenników i naśladowców.

No. 179. « mistrz wszechczasów w rzemiośle pisarskim ».

No. 180. Co to jest obrazowanie? Kto pisząc myśli o jakimś obrazowaniu? Strasznie starożytne wyrażenie i właściwie mówiąc niezrozumiałe dla mnie. Musi to być jakiś termin z epoki romantyzmu. Ja tu biorę fakt, człowieka, typ, czepiam się jego myśli, śledzę drgania jego mózgu, ruchy jego rąk, wyraz twarzy, śledzę jego uczucia i opisuję.

No. 181. W tę « tekę obiektywną » - jakąż to ja subiektywną i czarną krew moją wsączam! Gdyby czytający wiedzieli wszystko, zrozumieliby ideę. Może napisać wstęp? Powiedzieć w nim, że wielka jest sztuka tak z daleka przyglądać się i tak obojętnie swojemu całemu « das Ich »?



No. 182. Błąkałem się po szpitalu, gdyż wychodzić stamtąd nie wolno, jak z cytadeli. Na korytarzach stoją kosze z watą oderwaną z ran, przesiąknięte krwią czarną i materiami; leżą na swych łózkach najbiedniejsi chorzy, Żydzi z poucinanymi nogami, kobiety wychudłe i potworne, dzieci skrofuliczne.

No. 183. Myśli, jak kropelki żywego srebra, chyżo zlatywały w jakiś kącik mózgu i podczas gdy leżał skurczony w kałuży potu, podczas gdy powieki opadały same, nie na sen, a na bezwładność - napastowały go dziwaczne, półsenne widziadła.

No. 184. Wczoraj byłem tu w nocy po burzy. Nie zauważyła siostra, żem wyszedł. Co chwila trzaskał jeszcze piorun i ziemia pod nim drżała, jak łono dziewicze, pierwszy raz wydane wszechmocy miłosnej.

No. 185. Wracałem na salę po ciemku. Była już późna noc. W korytarzach wstrętny zaduch, otwarte drzwi do sal były czeluściami pełnymi skarg i westchnień. Przy świetle lampki gdzieś w końcu błyszczącej, widziałem kubły z watą i gazą, oderwaną z ran, które zostawili znużeni posługacze.

No. 186. Żywość szkicu wytwarza życie, dowcip wytwarza życie, obrazowanie wytwarza życie. Chcąc te trzy rzeczy, a jedną nowelę wysmażyć w głowie, preparuje się zlepek [...]. Ładnymi są właśnie miejsca zaobserwowane - wszystko wypełniające całość, klej powieściowy, a nawet w sekrecie mówiąc idea - śmierdzi tandetą.

No. 187. Umysłowość rosyjska odbita w bogatej literaturze, zdobywającej sobie uznanie całej Europy, tym silniej oddziaływała na umysły młodzieży polskiej, kształtującej się w szkołach i na uniwersytetach rosyjskich. Nie tylko wielcy poeci z okresu rozkwitu między 1820 i 1848 r., ale najnowsi wyraziciele duszy polskiej, z Sienkiewiczem i Prusem na czele, tracili urok dla młodego pokolenia.

No. 188. Ze wschodu, mającego być niby przeciwieństwem zachodu, szła bezbrzeżna melancholia, niosąca doktrynę podobną do Nietzscheańskiej. I rosyjscy ludzie znali tylko własną moralność, a apelowali do instynktu. Romansopisarze rosyjscy wywlekali właśnie własne niepokoję, niezrównoważenie, sprzeczności, dziwactwa - przed oczy świata. Sam fakt istnienia - jak np. Dostojewski uważali za objaw anarchii i tonęli w utopiach. Byli psychopatami, jak i polscy modernisci.

No. 189. Gdyby mi wystarczyło życia, sił i środków, w romansie *Zwłastun* przedstawiłbym walkę przeszłości szlacheckiej i arystokratycznej z socjalizmem jako przyszłością. W romansie *My* przedstawiłbym wszystkie warstwy narodu, aby wykazać, czy co jesteśmy warci. Tam i tu chcę schwytać na uzdę charakter narodu na tle absolutnie współczesnym. Chciałbym pisać tak aby francuski krytyk, czytając *Rudina* Turgieniewa i mój romans - poznał, że tam pochwycony jest charakter rosyjski, tu - polski.

No. 190. Jeszcze jedna rana, jeden cios, jedno nieszczęście - moja powieść. Urodziła się we mnie, gdy byłem w klasie, gdy czytałem Turgieniewa, rosła ze wzrostem namiętnej miłości do pani Heleny, uczył ją myśleć Taine, bił ją socjalizm polski, kusiła praca organiczna, napawała sarkazmem nędza, głód wodził po przepaściach, pieściły wspomnienia, kochała przyroda, a ja jeden oprowadzałem po życiu. Ileśmy widzieli, ile razy konali w męczeństwach bezsilności, ile razy wznosili się na skrzydłach, jak długośmy cierpieli. Zawsze jesteśmy razem, ciągle się czegoś uczymy. Dzika płatanina - chaos marzeń i wir obserwacji.

No. 191. [...] całą prawie noc przepędziłem przy czytaniu *Prestupienija i nakazaniija* Dostojewskiego. Ani Zola, ani Bourget, ani Prus nawet, psychologią tego rodzaju poszczycić się nie mogą. Po spełnieniu zbrodni obraz i sposób myślenia tego Raszkolnikowa jest tak uprzytomniony, że zgasiłem lampę i rzuciłem się ze strachem na łóżko, czując że niepodobna tego czytać, gdyż formalnie przejmujesz się jego myślami, zdaje ci się, że ty jesteś tym monomanem. Żadna książka, *Płacówka* chyba, nie rwała mię tak za serce...

No. 192. Zmęczył mnie Dostojewski To piekło, przez całą długość którego wlecze się autor, ukazując najpodlejsze, najnikczemniejsze zjawiska, wszystkie wrzody ludzkości.

No. 193. Czy [...] można mówić o Żeromskim tak jak się mówi o Stendhalu, lub o Dostojewskim? Czujemy, że zachodzi tu jakaś niepomiernie zasadnicza różnica. Brak Żeromskiemu jakiegoś ostatecznego ujęcia własnej indywidualności. [...] Stendhal, Dostojewski nie znają siebie, łudzą się co do siebie, lecz pomimo to dźwigają tą swoją niepoznaną indywidualność [...] U Żeromskiego nie ma tego właśnie momentu. Własna jego indywidualność spada w otchłań, jak jakaś kaskada psychiczna.

No. 194. ...ten Polak (Żeromski) dla kultury i światopoglądu polskiego reprezentatywny, był zarazem najbardziej rosyjski ze wszystkich wielkich pisarzy polskich. [...] ...szczery, a potężny panteizm jest cechą twórczości Żeromskiego najwięcej przypominającą Tołstoja. Nie byłoby też rzeczą trudną znaleźć u Żeromskiego (zwłaszcza w postaciach jego bohaterów) coś z Dostojewskiego.

No. 195. Chowałem się rzeczywiście w szkole, gdzie wszystkie przedmioty wykładano w języku rosyjskim, lecz na szczęście miałem w niej kilku przyjacieli Polaków o najgorętszej duszy, to też nie mam prawa powiedzieć, że przeszedłem szkołę rosyjską.

No. 196. Każdy wówczas rusycyzm, gdyby się był okazał, podlegał wypaleniu białym żelazem szyderstwa, którego mi ten pasjonat nie szczędził. [...] Zabawna to rzecz, gdy się stwierdził, że wypalanie rusycyzmów na lekcjach języka polskiego dokonywało się w języku rosyjskim.

No. 197. Nie znałem innego słowa. Taka właśnie jest muzyka Czajkowskiego. Nie ma takiego wyrazu w naszym języku, któryby oddał całą rozległą skalę tego słowa. « Svirepaya » bywa zima, bywają obyczaje, bywa zwierzę, ale to jest więcej, aniżeli okrutny, rozdzierający.

No. 198. Żyj wiecznie, świątnico, ogrodzie lilij, serce lasów! Przeminięły nad tobą czasy złe, złane ludzką krwią. Ciągną inne, inne... Lecz któż może wiedzieć, czy z plemienia ludzi, gdzie wszystko jest zmienne i niewiadome, nie wyjdą znów drwale z siekierami, ażeby ściąć do korzenia macierz jodłową? [...] Jakie bądź byłoby prawo, czyjekolwiek by było, do tych przyszłych barbarzyńców poprzez wszystkie czasy wołam z krzykiem: - Nie pozwalam! Puszcza [...] królewska, książęca, biskupia, świętokrzyska, chłopska ma zostać na wieki wieków, jako las nietykalny, siedlisko bożyszcz starych, po którym święty jeleni chodzi - jako ucieczka anachoretów, wielki oddech ziemi i żywa pieśń wieczności. Puszcza jest niczyja - nie moja, ani twoja, ani nasza, jeno Boża, święta!

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