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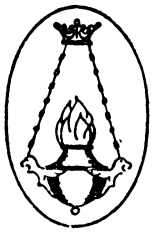

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FONTES

STANISŁAW KIRKOR
(New York)

LES LETTRES D'UN POLONAIS SUR SON SEJOUR A SAINTE-HELENE AUPRES DE NAPOLEON

INTRODUCTION

Du 30 décembre 1815 au 19 octobre 1816, le capitaine Frédéric Piontkowski a fait partie de l'entourage de Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène. Il a laissé un témoignage de son séjour dans les lettres qu'il a écrites en juillet 1817 au général Sir Robert Wilson à Londres. Pour bien évaluer l'importance de ces lettres, il faut décrire les circonstances qui les ont accompagnés. Le 19 octobre 1816, sur l'ordre du gouvernement anglais, on renvoya de Sainte-Hélène Piontkowski et trois domestiques de Napoléon. L'un d'eux, Santini, réussit à apporter en Angleterre une copie de la lettre du 23 août 1816 du général Montholon à Sir Hudson Lowe, gouverneur de Sainte-Hélène. Cette lettre, dictée par Napoléon, contenait une protestation contre la détention de l'Empereur à Sainte-Hélène et le mauvais traitement qu'on lui infligeait [1]. Les quatre personnes renvoyés de Sainte-Hélène arriveront le 12 février 1817 à Portsmouth. Santini alla à Londres et, après presque un mois d'efforts, trouva accès auprès du général Sir Robert Wilson, auquel il remit la copie de la lettre du général Montholon.[2] Cette copie se trouve maintenant à la British Library à Londres parmi les papiers du général Wilson[3], et porte une annotation de celui-ci comme suit:

> "Original document brought by Mons. Santini from St. Helena. This document was put into his hands by Gen. Bertrand; and the Emperor Napoleon commanded Santini if he conveyed it safe, which was not expected, to publish it

[1] E. Las Cases, *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène*, Paris 1968, p. 429-431; W. Forsyth, *History of the captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena*, London 1853, vol. 1, p. 257-267.
[2] N. Santini, *De Sainte-Hélène aux Invalides*, Paris 1854, p. 267 (note), 275-277. W. Forsyth, o. c., vol. 2, p. 157-159.
[3] British Library, Londres, MSS 62129, p. 62-67 verso.

either in England or America. The order has been obeyed, and England has had an opportunity to vindicate her honour".

Le général Wilson prit une part très active dans les guerres contre Napoléon, mais ces guerres une fois finies et Napoléon ayant abdiqué pour la deuxième fois, Wilson, homme de caractère noble et chevaleresque, s'opposa à toutes les manifestations de vengeance sur les ennemis vaincus. Il est devenu célèbre pour avoir aidé le comte Lavalette, condamné à mort s'évader de prison à Paris, la veille du jour fixé pour son exécution.[4] Revenu à Londres, le général Wilson se joignit au groupe d'Anglais qui s'indignaient de la deportation de Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène. Lord Holland, neveu du fameux Fox et l'un des chefs du parti libéral, était à la tête de ce groupe. Charles James Fox était un de ces réformateurs anglais qui espéraient secrètement que Napoléon battrait les Anglais, voyant ainsi le meilleur moyen de vaincre la réaction en Grande-Bretagne. C'est avec les partisans de Lord Holland que le général Wilson initia un mouvement de protestation contre le traitement infligé à l'ancien empereur des Français. Le 10 mars 1817, à la Chambre des Lords, Lord Holland demanda au gouvernement de produire tour les documents concernant la détention de Napoléon. Le 13 mars, on publia un "Appel à la nation britannique "et la lettre du général Montholon. Un débat de trois jours — du 18 au 21 mars — à la Chambre des Lords suivit la démarche de Lord Holland et quoique sa demande ait été rejetée, ce débat et les publications ci-dessus mentionnées firent sensation et soulevèrent une grande émotion en Grande-Bretagne et dans toute l'Europe, et contribuèrent à améliorer le sort de Napoléon.

Le général comte de Gneisenau, chef d'Etat-Major de l'armée prussienne pendant la bataille de Waterloo, écrivit le 17 octobre 1817 au Sir Hudson Lowe comme suit: "Le fameux manuscript de Ste. Hélène [la lettre du général Montholon] a fait une sensation scandaleuse et dangereuse en Europe, surtout en France, où, quoiqu'il ait été supprimé, il a été lu dans toutes les coteries de Paris, et où même les femmes, au lieu de coucher avec leurs amants, ont employé leurs nuits à le copier. Beaucoup de gens éclairés sont de l'opinion que c'est l'usurpateur lui-même qui l'a écrit, parceque, quoiqu'il ne soit pas impossible d'imiter son style concentré et brûlant, il le serait tout-à-fait d'y mettre tout son caractère et toute son âme. La paix en France n'est pas rétablie; les choses se sont même empirées. Tant qu'un soldat de Napoléon respirera, et tant qu'un commis de son administration ne sera pas ministre ou préfet,

[4] A. M. Chamans de la Valette, *Mémoires et souvenirs du comte Lavalette*, Paris 1831, vol. 2, p. 317, 329.

la tranquillité ne rentrera pas dans cette nation ambitieuse, cupide, et vindicative. Si Bonaparte mettait le pied sur le sol de la France, il règnerait plus absolument que jamais, et encore pourrait-il ébranler les fondemens de l'ancienne Europe".[5a] Ces mots, peut-être un peu exagérés, démontraient clairement quelle terreur éprouvait "l'ancienne Europe" à la seule pensée que la voix de Napoléon pourrait être de nouveau entendu par les peuples du continent et les soulever contre la réaction qui y règnait.

Piontkowski était complètement étranger à tous ces évènements. Pendant son séjour à Sainte-Hélène, le général Wilson était l'un de ceux qui, en Angleterre, s'occupaient du sort de sa femme. Aussi Piontkowski prit-il contact avec eux et profita à son tour de leur bienveillance. Lord Holland lui donna 4.000 francs. En avril, Wilson demanda à Piontkowski de lui fournir des renseignements sur la situation de Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène. Il est évident que Piontkowski évitait tout ce qui pourrait le brouiller avec les autorités anglaises et ne se hâta donc pas de donner au général Wilson les renseignements demandés. C'est encore une preuve de l'opportunisme qui était le trait dominant de son caractère. Le 12 juillet, il reçut 6.000 francs de Madame Mère et il se prépara pour aller en Italie, certainement n'ayant en vue que son propre intérêt. C'est seulement à ce moment qu'il donna satisfaction à la demande du général Wilson et écrivit les lettres que nous reproduisons ici.[5]

Le seul fait qui ait donné à Piontkowski une place modeste dans l'Histoire est précisément son séjour à Sainte-Hélène, puisque tout ce qui était lié à l'exile de Napoléon a attiré l'attention des historiens. Ainsi, le nom de Piontkowski a été noté et son rôle commenté. Seul toutefois Frédéric Masson a fait de longues recherches en vue de percer les divers mystères qui entouraient ce personnage [6]. Le résultat de ces recherches n'est pas favorable à Piontkowski. Masson se trompait néanmoins en écrivant que Piontkowski n'avait laissé aucun récit de son séjour a Sainte-Hélène; il ne connaissait pas les lettres de celui-ci au général Wilson. C'est l'historien anglais Watson qui a trouvé ces lettres et en a publié une traduction anglaise [7]. On a critiqué Watson pour n'avoir pas publié ces lettres dans leur original, français. Cette critique est d'autant plus justifiée que Watson s'est permis des libertés avec ledit texte et a produit une compilation plutôt qu'une traduction.

Quoique Masson n'ait pas connu les lettres de Piontkowski, il a

[5] British Library, Londres, MSS 62129, p. 41-60 verso.
[5a] W. Forsyth, o.c., vol. 2, p. 441.
[6] F. Masson, *Autour de Sainte-Hélène*, vol. 2, Paris 1909, p. 121-175, vol. 3, Paris 1912, p. IX.
[7] G. L. de St. M. Watson, *A Polish exile with Napoleon*, London-New York 1912, p. 176-235.

eu connaissance de divers bavardages de celui-ci, bavardages qui, ramassés par Cabany on servi à ce dernier à publier une biographie du capitaine polonais [8]. Selon Masson, Piontkowski était un fantoche mystérieux qui cachait son secret — "peut-être si médiocre" — sous une inépuisable source de mensonges.[9]. Quel était ce secret? D'abord, il faut noter que le vrai nom de Piontkowski était Borzecki.[10] Lieutenant en second Dominique Borzecki se distingua dans divers régiments polonais et fut fait prisonnier par les Espagnols le 6 septembre 1810. Il passa alors presque quatre années en Espagne comme prisonnier de guerre. Pendant ce temps là, il fut compromis aux yeux des Polonais et, après sa captivité, évita toujours tout contact avec eux. La raison en était la suivante. Plusieurs officiers, français et alliés de la France, étaient détenus par les Espagnols à Alicante. Parmi eux, il y avait une quinzaine d'officiers polonais; Borzecki était l'un d'eux. A Alicante, outre les troupes espagnoles, il y avait aussi une garnison anglaise. Et là, Borzecki prêta ses services au commandant anglais. Il y avait dans ses actions peut-être rien de plus reprochable que le fait d'être interprète. En septembre 1811, les Espagnols amenèrent à Alicante une centaine des soldats polonais, prisonniers de guerre. Borzecki fut alors accusé par les autres officiers polonais à Alicante d'avoir aidé les Anglais à persuader, voire même à forcer ces soldats, par la faim· à accepter du service dans l'armée anglaise[11]. Même si on avait exagéré en parlant de persécutions et si Borzecki n'était qu'un simple interprète dans cette affaire, cela aurait suffi pour que les autres officiers polonais l'excluent à jamais de leur compagnie.

Plus tard, les Anglais craignant la prise d'Alicante par les Français, transportèrent les prisonniers de guerre aux îles Baléares. Les officiers furent détenus à l'île d'Ibiza et mis en liberté le 2 mai 1814. Le ler juin 1814, un navire anglais évacua les officiers polonais d'Ibiza et, via Naples, les conduisit à Gênes où ils débarquèrent le 18 juin. Cette ville était occupée depuis le 17 avril 1814 par l'armée anglaise, commandée par Lord William Bentinck, qui arrivait de Sicile. Thiers a peint Lord Bentinck comme un Anglais simple, généreux et libéral [12]. Il appartenait au parti libéral. Il

[8] E. Saint-Maurice Cabany, "Le colonel comte Charles-Jules-Frédéric Piontkowski . . .", dans *Le Nécrologe Universel du XIXème siècle*, vol. 7, Paris 1852, p. 3-58.

[9] F. Masson, o. c., vol. 2, p. 175.

[10] S. Kirkor, *Polscy donatariusze Napoleona*, Londyn 1974, p. 299-301. S. Kirkor, "Un aventurier ou un missionnaire de Sainte-Hélène? Piontkowski", dans la *Revue de l'Institut Napoléon*, no. 132, Paris 1976, p. 185-193.

[11] S. Broekere, *Memoiren aus dem Feldzug in Spanien, 1808-1814*, Posen 1883, p. 146. Broekere n'a pas mentionné le nom de cet officier pour ne pas compromettre sa famille, mais toutes les circonstances démontrent que c'était Borzecki.

[12] M. A. Thiers, *Histoire du Consulat et de l' Empire*, Paris 1845-1862, vol. 15, p. 52-53.

admettait l'idée d'une Italie libre et il émit deux proclamations au peuple italien dans ce sens. Il promit l'indépendence à Gênes. Tout cela ne s'accordait pas avec la politique de Lord Castlereagh et bientôt Lord Bentinck fut rappelé d'Italie [13]. Entre-temps, les officiers polonais à Gênes profitaient de sa politique libérale. Ils furent bien traités; munis des passeports, quelques-uns se mirent en route vers la Pologne, les autres allèrent en France ou il y avait des dépôts de leurs régiments.[14] Borzecki pouvait suivre ni les uns ni les autres, l'affaire d'Alicante lui barrait ces chemins. Il alla donc à l'île d'Elbe et y arriva le 17 juillet 1814 [15].

A Alicante, les troupes anglaises appartenaient à l'armée de Sicile dont Lord Bentinck était le commandant en chef. Il est donc bien probable qu'il avait connaissance des services rendus par Borzecki et que, à Gênes, il l'aida à sortir de son embarras. Arrivé à l'île d'Elbe, Borzecki n'avait pas besoin de cacher ses relations avec Lord Bentinck auprès des généraux Bertrand et Drouot; au contraire, les informations qu'il leur apportait concernant celui-ci et les Anglais à Gênes pouvaient leur être utiles. Ainsi put-il dès le commencement entamer de bonnes relations avec eux et s'assurer leur protection. C'est ici, à l'île d' Elbe, qu'il changea son nom et prit celui de Frédéric Piontkowski.

Après la deuxième abdication de Napoléon et grâce à l'appui du général Bertrand, Piontkowski obtint la permission de suivre l'Empereur dans son nouvel exil. Il montra sa gratitude à la famille du général Bertrand en s'occupant d'eux pendant le voyage de Malmaison à Rochefort, ce qu'il décrit dans sa première lettre au général Wilson. Il ne fut pas compris parmi ceux qui furent choisis pour accompagner Napoléon à l'île de Sainte-Hélène. Cependant, il put s'y rendre quelques mois plus tard. Si on cherche à savoir les raisons pour lesquelles les Anglais on consenti à l'envoyer à Sainte-Hélène, on ne peut pas écarter le nom de Lord Bentinck. Il était alors à Londres et quoique n'ayant pas de fonctions officielles, il avait toujours beaucoup d'influence. On sait que Piontkowski avait des relations avec les circles libéraux anglais. Peut-être a-t-il entamé ces relations par l'intermédiaire de son ancien protecteur de Gênes Lord Bentinck. Peut-être est-ce grâce à son intervention qu'il a été envoyé à Sainte-Hélène. Peut-être faut-il y voir une récompense pour les services qu'il a rendus aux Anglais à Alicante. C'est la meil-

[13] M. A. Thiers, o. c., vol. 18, p. 525, J. W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, London 1899-1930, vol. 9, p. 483, vol. 10, p. 60-65; *Dictionary of National Biography*, London 1885, vol. 4, p. 292.

[14] S. Broekere, o. c., p. 205. 257.

[15] Ersilio Michel, "Napoleone all 'Elba, Documenti dell' Archivio del Generale Drouot", dans la *Collana Storica Provinciale Livornese*, No. 3, 1942, p. 38.

leure explication qu'on puisse donner à son départ pour Sainte-Hélène. Sa révocation fut provoquée par sa déclaration du 18 avril 1816, que les autorités britanniques trouvèrent outrageante et que la protection de Lord Bentinck ne put effacer. Il est possible que cette déclaration ait été dictée par Napoléon qui, forçant ainsi la révocation de Piontkowski, espérait pouvoir envoyer en Europe quelques messages par son intermédiaire, tout en se débarrassant en même temps d'une personne dont il n'avait pas besoin à Sainte-Hélène [16]. En réalité, quand Piontkowski quitta Sainte-Hélène, il reçut l'ordre d'apprendre par coeur la protestation du général Montholon.

Nous ne savons pas si Piontkowski a renouvelé ses relations avec Lord Bentinck après son retour en Angleterre. Mais peut-être n'était-ce pas sans raison qu'en 1817 le nom de Piontkowski fut mentionné auprès de celui de Lord Bentinck dans un rapport de la police royale française, dont Masson fait mention. Ce rapport décrit les menées des libéraux anglais, le départ de Lord Bentinck pour la Sicile, sa promesse renouvelée d'indépendance pour Gênes ainsi que le départ de Piontkowski qui, arrivé précisément à Gênes, y fut arrêté par la police du Royaume de Sardaigne pour être plus tard livré aux Autrichiens. Pendant son internement à Gratz, en Autriche, le gouvernement anglais envoya de l'argent pour son entretien. N'était-ce pas aussi dû aux relations qu'il avait eues avec les Anglais à Alicante? Piontkowski a toujours maintenu un parfait silence sur tous ces sujets.

Masson écrit que Piontkowski était "l'un de ces simulateurs de naissance, qui font à ce point dans leur vie, alterner le mensonge et la vérité, les événements qu'ils imaginent et ceux auxquels ils ont assisté, qu'ils n'arrivent plus à distinguer les uns des autres" [17]. L'exactitude de cette opinion est bien prouvée par les lettres de Piontkowski au général Wilson. Il n'y a pas de doute que tous les récits de Piontkowski concernant ses relations étroites et amicales avec Napoléon sont des mensonges. Il suffit de comparer la description qu'il donne dans sa quatrième lettre, de son arrivée à Sainte-Hélène et de sa réception par Napoléon, avec les mémoires de Marchand, premier valet de chambre de l'Empereur, pour voir que les fantaisies de Piontkowski n'avaient pas de limites. Marchand écrit:

> "Sur l'un des bâtiments venant d'Europe, se trouvait le capitaine Piontkowski que j'avais connu à l'escadron polonais de l'île d'Elbe, commandé par le brave colonel Jermanowski. L'Empereur se le rappelait peu, mais le grand maréchal (Bert-

[16] W. Forsyth, o. c., vol. 1, p. 298, vol. 2, p. 60-61, 158.
[17] F. Masson, o. c., vol. 2, p. 174.

rand) lui dit qui il était; l'Empereur ne comprenait pas comment cet officier était parvenu à obtenir du gouvernement anglais la permission d'être envoyé à Sainte-Hélène sans qu'il l'eût demandé, alors qu'on lui avait refusé d'emmener avec lui des hommes qu'il aurait eu le désir d'avoir. Lorsque cet officier vint à Longwood, amené par l'amiral, il était revêtu de l'habit d'officier d'ordonnance. L'Empereur en fut blessé et dit au grand maréchal: "Que veut dire cet uniforme? Il n'a jamais été mon officier d'ordonnance, dites à l'amiral que je ne le recevrai pas". Puis, après quelques secondes de réflexion, il décida de le recevoir peu après. Dans la soirée l'Empereur l'accueillit avec bonté, il me dit à son coucher qu'il aurait préféré qu'une semblable faveur fût tombée sur un officier qui lui eût offert des ressources qu'il ne trouverait pas dans celui-ci. Il me chargea de lui remettre 500 francs pour parer à ses premiers besoins et de lui compter chaque mois 250 francs; le capitaine Piontkowski cessa de porter l'habit d'officier d'ordonnance et reprit l'uniforme du corps auquel il appartenait. Il fut logé sous une tente près du Dr O'Meara et du capitaine de garde, en attendant qu'on pût le loger sous un toit goudronné" [18].

Les récits des autres auteurs des mémoires de Sainte-Hélène ne sont pas différents, quoiqu'ils soient moins détaillés. On trouve aussi des descriptions similaires dans les rapports officiels anglais. Le 4 octobre 1816, Sir Thomas Reade informa Napoléon de la part du gouverneur, que Piontkowski et trois autres personnes de l'entourage de l'Empereur devaient quitter Sainte-Hélène. Il rapporta alors ces mots de Napoléon:

"As to Captain Piontkowski, I do not even know who he is; they tell me he was a soldier in my guards at Elba, and that is all I know about him"[19]

Après le départ de Piontkowski, Sir Hudson Lowe dans son rapport du 30 décembre 1816 relata aussi ces mots de Napoléon et ajouta que "he (Piontkowski) was not admitted to his (Napoleon's) table of society during his stay here. These particulars may serve for refutation of any importance he may think fit to assume on his arrival in Europe".[20]

En vérité, Napoléon a quelquefois invité Piontkowski à déjeûner et lui a parlé de temps à autre. Mais tout cela ne ressemblait guère aux récits de Piontkowski sur ces sujets. Alors qu'il faut rejeter ces

[18] L. J. Marchand, *Mémoires*, Paris 1952, vol. 2, p. 67.
[19] W. Forsyth, o. c., vol. 1, p. 320.
[20] W. Forsyth, o. c., vol. 2, p. 60.

récits, le reste mérite attention non sans certaines réserves toutefois et qui sont les suivantes. Il faut distinguer entre les descriptions des événements auxquels Piontkowski a assisté et où il était lui-même un témoin oculaire, et les descriptions des événements, comme par exemple le voyage de Napoléon sur le "Bellerophon", dont il pouvait avoir eu connaissance grâce à ses contacts avec d'autres témoins oculaires. L'autre remarque concerne le rôle du préfet maritime Casimir baron de Bonnefoux. Piontkowski l'accuse d'être un traître qui a livré Napoléon aux Anglais. C'est certainement une exagération quoique le comportement du préfet maritime fût peut-être équivoque[21]. Enfin il faut tenir compte du fait que Piontkowski ne voulait pas se brouiller avec les Anglais et avait alors fait plusieurs révérences au gouvernement britannique et au peuple anglais. Il essayait de blâmer Sir Hudson Lowe l'accusant de tous les torts. En vérité, les choses étaient bien plus compliquées et Sir Hudson Lowe n'était pas le seul coupable.

Laissant de côté les fantaisies et tenant compte des observations et réserves mentionnées ci-dessus, on peut considérer les lettres de Piontkowski au général Wilson comme des documents importants pour les historiens. Ses descriptions ou s'accordent avec les récits des autres et leur donnent ainsi une confirmation additionnelle, ou servent à les compléter par quelques détails nouveaux. En ce qui concerne Piontkowski lui-même, ses lettres quoique inconnues à Masson s'accordent avec les opinions de celui-ci. On a pu éclairer plusieurs mystères. A Alicante pris fin, par faute de caractère, une belle carrière militaire et la vie d'un aventurier commença. Mais il n'était pas espion, il n'a pas été déloyal envers Napoléon. Masson a aussi noté qu'il ne commit point d'actes notoirement malhonnêtes, qu'il n'y avait pas eu de plaintes d'individus, qu'il avait été lésé. Il s'était contenté d'escroquer les gouvernments. Toutefois, à Alicante, ses collègues polonais l'ont considéré comme un mauvais sujet, digne de mépris. Depuis cette période, il n'osa jamais rejoindre ses compatriotes ni même sa famille. En changeant de nom, pour eux, il disparut dans le néant. Il n'avait pas de famille, pas d'amis polonais, pas de patrie. Il mourut en 1849, à Regensburg, en Bavière.[22]

Stanisław Kirkor

21 P. M. J. Bonnefoux, *Mémoires*, Paris 1900, p. 353-428, contiennent un chapitre sous le titre "Vie de mon cousin C. de Bonnefoux, ancien préfet maritime", qui donne plusieurs renseignements sur la conduite du préfet maritime pendant le séjour de Napoléon à Rochefort.

22 *Das Regensburger Wochenblatt*, 1849, p. 209.

ANNEXES

LES LETTRES DU CHEF D'ESCADRON FREDERIC PIONTKOWSKI AU GENERAL SIR ROBERT WILSON (Juillet 1817)
(*JUILLET* 1817)

Tout ce qui est entre parenthèses ne se trouve pas dans le texte original.

EXPLICATION DU RETARD (en deux versions)

Première version

Monsieur,

C'est avec beaucoup de plaisir que je m'empresse de vous donner quelques renseignements, que vous me faites l'honneur de me demander au sujet de la situation dans laquelle l'Empereur Napoléon se trouve à S(ainte)-Hélène. Votre nom, votre caractère et l'affection que vous manifestez pour les droits de l'humanité et des peuples sont pour moi la base d'une confiance complète, quand même votre noble conduite envers me femme ne m'eût déjà engagé à rompre le silence que j'ai observé jusqu'à présent et qu'on me reproche généralement. Permettez-moi, Monsieur, de vous faire connaître les raisons qui m'ont décidé de rester dans l'inactivité pendant que toute l'Europe partage mon indignation de la conduite du gouverneur de Ste Hélène.

L'Empereur, étant privé tout à fait de correspondance avec le monde et même sans recevoir des journaux, ignorait entièrement tout ce qui se passait en Europe et n'ayant pu donner de ses nouvelles, il m'a ordonné à mon départ forcé de Ste Hélène /ordonné par le Gouvernement anglais parce que j'avais signé une déclaration que l'Empereur m'avait dictée/ de me rendre auprès de sa famille pour lui faire un rapport exact sur la situation dans laquelle il se trouvait à Ste Hélène. Il m'a recommandé de ne point me priver par une conduite imprudente des moyens de remplir ce but — voilà la raison de ma conduite, mais je ne risque rien, en donnant à un homme d'honneur comme vous, des renseignements qui prouvent à l'évidence que Sir Hudson Lowe agit contre les instructions de son gouvernement et qu'il ne prend pas même la peine d'informer le Ministère anglais des restrictions barbares, ridicules et inutiles qu'il se permet d'imposer au Grand Napoléon, et qui sont contenues dans une lettre qu'il a adressée au Comte Bertrand en

date du 7 octobre dernier. Le Gouvernement anglais en donnant une place dont la mauvaise administration compromet naturellement l'honneur de la nation britannique, supposait à Mr. Lowe des sentiments d'honneur et de délicatesse; mais sa conduite et ses procédés nous ont prouvé qu'il n'en connaissait que le mot. Vous verrez même, Monsieur, que ce sont de vains efforts, si les amis ou défenseurs de Sir H. Lowe veulent trouver une excuse pour lui, dans la place même qu'il occupe — quelques comparaisons entre lui et Sir George Cockburn vous feront connaître le caractère impoli et méchant du Général Lowe.

(*Plan pour les lettres*)

Du enthousi (asme) — retour de l'Isle d'Elbe.
Départ de la Malmaison — Poitiers — aigles sur les voitures — Niort — l'Isle d'Aix — Bonnefoux — Ste Hélène — réception —bal de Balcombe — arrivée du Gouverneur — départ de l'Amiral — Amiral Taylor — Cap.

Deuxième version

C'est avec beaucoup de plaisir que je m'empresse de vous donner les renseignements que vous me faites l'honneur de me demander par votre lettre du avril au sujet de la situation dans laquelle l'Empereur Napoléon se trouve à Ste Hélène. Votre nom, votre caractère et l'affection que vous manifestez pour les droits de l'humanité sont pour moi la base d'une confiance complète et l'influence que vous pouvez avoir sur un changement heureux de la situation du grand homme m'engage à rompre le silence que j'ai observé jusqu'à présent et qu'on me reproche. Permettez, Monsieur, de vous faire connaître les raisons qui m'ont décidé de rester dans l'inactivité pendant que toute l'Europe partage mon indignation de la conduite du Gouverneur de Ste Hélène.

(*Partie biffée*)

L'Emp(ereur) était bien éloigné de croire que je débarquerai en Angleterre et que j'aurai ma liberté civile — car le Gouverneur de Ste H(élène) avait dit que je partirais du Cap de Bonne Espérance pour Malte où je serais obligé de rester pendant quelque temps — et c'est dans cette supposition que j'ai reçu l'ordre de joindre sa famille le plus tôt possible pour lui faire connaître la situation de l'Emp(ereur) mais je n'ai nullement d'en parler en public puisqu'on ignorait entièrement à Ste H(élène) ce qui se passe en Europe. J'ai cru que la lettre du Gal (général) Montholon/que j'avais appris par coeur et dont j'ai fait une copie pour les domestiques renvoyés avec moi, comme le seul moyen de la conserver, car on a visité même les collets des chemises/ suffirait pour faire connaître

la situation de l'Emp(ereur), quoiqu'elle est infiniment plus malheureuse qu'on puisse l'imaginer et que la dignité de l'Emp(ereur) permettait de supporter. Mon but principal était donc de joindre la famille de l'Emp(ereur) et de trouver des moyens pécuniaires pour y parvenir s'en (sans) me priver par une conduite imprudente des moyens pour venir à bout.

(*Fin de la partie biffée*)

L'Emp(ereur) ignorait tout à fait ce qui se passe ou a pu se passer en Europe et n'ayant pu donner de ses nouvelles il m'a ordonné de me rendre auprès de sa famille pour lui faire un rapport exact sur sa situation à Ste H(élène) — il m'a enjoint de ne point me priver par une conduite imprudente des moyens de remplir mon but. Jusqu'à présent je n'ai pu satisfaire à cet ordre faut(e) de l'argent nécessaire que l'Emp(ereur) n'avait pas à sa disposition à Ste H(élène) et qui me faut attendre du continent. J'ai donc cru qu'il était mon devoir de rester tranquil(le) mais il serait une lâcheté de ma part de refuser un rapport, qu'un homme de votre distinction réclame, d'autant plus que je suis en état de donner des renseignements qui prouveront à l'évidence que Sir H. Lowe agit contre ses instructions et qu'il ne prend pas même la peine d'informer son gouvernement des restrictions barbares qu'il a imposé à l'Emp(ereur) Napoléon et qui sont contenues dans la lettre qu'il a adressée à Longwood le 7 octobre dernier. Le Gouvernement supposait à Mr. Lowe de la délicatesse en lui donnant une place dont la mauvaise administration devait naturellement compromettre l'honneur de sa nation mais sa conduite et ses procédés nous ont prouvé quil n'en connaissait que le mot. Les défenseurs de S(ir) H. Lowe veulent trouver une excuse pour lui dans la place qu'il occupe — je n'y suis pas d'accord. C'est sur S(ir) G(eorge) Cob. (Cockburn) que tombait naturellement tout l'odieux de la place; il était le premier qui était chargé de la surveillance de l'Emp(ereur) qui venait du trône et se voyait tout d'un coup traité d'une manière également indigne pour lui comme pour le Gouvernement qu'il croyait généreux. L'Emp(ereur) donc et les officiers de sa suite ne pouvaient voir dans l'amiral Co(ck)burn que l'instrument de l'injustice et de la barbarie de son Gouvernement—on était prévenu contre lui avant même de le connaître. Cet officer avait des obstacles à vaincre à chaque moment — il arrive à Ste H(élène) pour y placer l'Emp(ereur) il n'y trouve ni habitation convenable — ni meubles — ni vivre. Son activité — et pourquoi ne dirais-je pas sa générosité a fait que l'Emp(ereur) ne manquait de rien, qui était possible d'avoir dans ce misérable païs — et la délicatesse qu'il observait dans ces démarches et dans les ordres pour le servir fit souvent oublier la place qu'il occupait. Aussi l'Emp(ereur) lui a rendu justice — il disait le jour du départ de l'amiral lorsque le

Cte (comte) Bertrand venait de dire adieu à Sir G(eorge) K. (Cockburn) — Co(ck)burn est un homme dur par caractère et plus dur encore par son métier mais il est juste et honnête et un homme à moyens. Les officiers de la suite de l'Emp(ereur) ne pouvaient pas refuser de l'estime à l'amiral et il n'y a pas doute qu'il serait venu à bout de vaincre la prévention que sa place devait naturellement donner contre sa personne. Quelle différence entre lui et le Général Lowe. Ce dernier arriva à Ste H(élène) six mois après l'arrivé(e) de l'Emp(ereur) dans cette Isle — il trouva l'Emp(ereur) et les officiers de sa suite presque accoutumés au malheur et au pais, aux restrictions vexatoires que Sir George Koburn (Cockburn) était obligé d'imposer pour répondre à ses ordres.

PREMIERE LETTRE
To General Sir R. Wilson

L'Empereur travailla beaucoup à la Malmaison où se trouvaient son frère Joseph et Hortense — le Duc de Rovigo — le Général Comte Becker et plusieurs des officiers de la maison. Madame mère et le Cardinal Fesch venaient souvent le voir. L'antichambre était toujours rempli(e) d'officiers généraux et supérieurs qui demandaient à suivre l'Empereur ou qui présentaient des adresses des corps d'armée, des fédérés et d'autres corporations. L'Empereur se montra rarement dans la salle, mais il se promenait souvent dans le jardin et y reçut quelquefois des officiers qui venaient en députation et qui lui furent présentés par le Duc de Rovigo. Il avait comme à Paris ses aides de camp de services, ses écuyers et chambelans et tout comme auparavant. Un détachement des Dragons de la Garde faisait le service du Palais à cheval et les grenadiers de la Garde-à-pied — comme il était de coutume — ces gardes qui venaient de Rouelle furent relevés toutes les 24 heures. La correspondance avec Paris par les courriers du Cabinet et par des ordonnances des Dragons était très fréquente même pendant les nuits. Le jardin derrière la maison était gardé par des troupes de lignes ou de la jeune garde. Un coup de fusil tiré la nuit devant le départ de l'Emp(ereur) de Malmaison— par un factionnaire qui probablement ne connaissait pas le service et qui voulait avoir vu des Prussiens, me fait croire qu'il n'y avait pas les grenadiers de la Garde — il est cependant possible que je me trompe. Le pont près (de) la Malmaison fut brûlé le 28 juin après-midi — puisqu'il y avait la Cavalerie prussienne dans les environs. Le Duc Decrès, ministre de la marine et le Comte Lavalette venaient à 2 heures dans la matinée du 29 à la Malmaison et avaient une longue audience chez l'Empereur. Ils partirent immédiatement après pour Paris. Vers midi nous reçûmes des passeports de la préfecture

de police pour Rochefort — ces passeports furent délivrés sur la requisition du Comte Bertrand. Il y avait quelque signé en blanc du Duc d'Otrante. Tous les chevaux de poste de Nanterre étaient mis en réquisition par le Comte Bertrand et l'Emp(ereur) partit à 3 h(eures) après-midi. La suite partit par différentes routes à cause des chevaux et pour n'être pas tant aperçue. Le rendez-vous général était à Niort. On avait effacé les armoiries impériales sur les voitures, mais les aigles parurent toujours et les habitants des étapes où nous changeâmes des chevaux dessinaient les aigles dans la poussière qui couvrait les voitures. Les gardes nationales étaient partout sous les armes et nos passeports furent souvent visités. J'étais avec la Comtesse Bertrand et sa famille, qui voyageait sous le nom de Madame Dillon, son nom de famille. Nous ne pouvions pas éviter, avec trois voitures-courriers et de domestiques en livrée impériale, d'attirer l'attention publique. Les enfants étaient si fatigués que Mad(ame) B(ertrand) résolut de rester la nuit à Poitiers, où se rassemblait beaucoup de monde à notre arrivée. Je disais à un des domestiques de prendre le petit Napoléon /fils aîné de la C(omtesse) B(ertrand)/ qui était endormi. A peine eut-on entendu le nom de Napoléon, que le bruit se répandait, que Napoléon II était là, que Mad(ame) B(ertrand) était Madame de Montesquiou et les deux autres enfants pour lui tenir société. Nous ne pouvions pas réussir de convaincre du contraire. On criait de tous les côtés que Napoléon II ne pouvait pas être mieux, que parmi son peuple fidèle, qui le saura défendre contre les Bourbons, comme contre les étrangers et que chacun était prêt à sacrifier sa vie pour le monarque de son choix, — on déclarait qu'on ne nous laisserait pas partir: Mad(ame) B(ertrand) avait beau d'assurer que c'était son fils et de prier le monde de se retirer —nous n'y avons réussi, que pendant la nuit — où la gendarmerie était dans la cour et Mad(ame) B(ertrand) n'était pas tranquil(l)e jusqu'à ce que je me plaçais sur une chaise devant la porte de sa chambre — et Gilis, un des valets de chambre de l'Empereur, sur l'escalier. Nous partîmes avant le lever du soleil pour éviter l'attroupement et arrivâmes à Niort le 1-er juillet vers midi. L'Empereur était logé à la préfecture et sa suite dans plusieurs maisons. Le Prince Joseph était le seul de la famille impériale. Le plus grand enthousiasme régnait partout et les autorités et le G(énéral) (je crois Devaux) reçurent les ordres de l'Emp(ereur) toujours comme s'il n'eût point abdiqué. Le départ de S(a) M(ajesté) de Niort pour Rochefort fixé pour 11 heures le soir le 2 juillet. Cette route n'était pas beaucoup fréquentée, on était obligé de demander les chevaux de poste longtemps auparavant — de sorte que toute la contrée savait qu'il y avait quelque chose d'extraordinaire. Il y avait des détachements du 2e des hussards et d'un régiment de chasseurs à cheval. Nous par-

tîmes avec la voiture de l'Empereur, et les escortes, tandis que S(a) M(ajesté) avec le Duc de Rovigo, Comte Bertrand et Comte Becker prenaient secrètement une autre route, à cause du voisinage de la Vendée. Cette précaution était inutile car nous trouvâmes jusqu'à Rochefort le plus grand enthousiasme et tous les villages et même les maisons sur la route illuminées. L'Empereur est arrivé à La Rochelle le 3, entre 3 et 4 h(eures) du matin, lorsqu'on tirait quelques coups de canons pour signaler l'échappe de quelques galériens, ce qui fit répandre le bruit qu'on avait tiré sur l'Empereur. Toute la suite arriva le même jour à Rochefort, sans avoir eu le moindre obstacle — car quelques coups de cravache qu'un page de l'Empereur, Mr de St. Catherine, avait donné à Xaintes (Saintes) à un insolent commissaire de police, ne méritent pas d'être mentionnés.

Je vous donne, Monsieur le Général, ces détails comme ils me viennent dans la tête — sans chercher des termes — je crois qu'il suffira ainsi pour votre dessein — vous choisirez ce que vous jugez à-propos et je continuerai mon récit de la même manière.

Piontkowski

(*Annotation sur la page d'adresse*)

G(énéral) Drouot, Labédoyère et Baron Jerzmanowski, le Colonel des Lanciers, ce dernier présentait une pétition des troupes polonaises en France, dans laquelle ils priaient l'Emp(ereur) de les prendre avec lui devaient suivre l'Empereur aussitôt que Napoléon II serait sur le trône. Les barrières de Paris étaient fermées et le pont entre P(aris) et Malm(aison) barricadé. C(omte) Becker avait défendu au maitre de poste et aux postillons de dire le chemin que l'Emp(ereur) avait pris — il fut si bien obéi, qu'en officier de la suite le Cap(itaine) Mercher, qui s'était retardé à Paris, offrit en vain 50 francs aux postillons qui avaient conduit l'Emp(ereur) et qu'il rencontrait lorsqu'ils revenaient à Nanterre. Mr Mercher n'est arrivé que deux jours plus tard à Rochefort.

DEUXIEME LETTRE

To Sir Robert Wilson

Général Comte Becker avait envoyé de Niort un ordre au Baron Bonnefoux — Préfet Maritime à Rochefort — de faire préparer la Préfecture pour l'Empereur. Il y avait avec Napoléon son frère Joseph, Bertrand et Madame, Rovigo, Lallemand, Montholon et Madame, Gourgaud, Lieutenant Colonel Planat, Résigny, Schultz, Capitaine Autry (Autric), Mercher, Rivière, Piontkowski, Las Cases père et fils, Colonel Baillon, adjudant du Palais, qui devait retour-

ner à Paris avec le Comte Becker, et St. Catherine page — un parent de la famille de l'Impératrice Joséphine. L'Emp(ereur) invitait à dîner presque toujours les dames, son frêre Joseph, Bertrand, Rovigo, Becker et quelquefois Lallemand. Nous autres avions notre table de service à laquelle les officiers de l'escorte de Cavalerie, le préfet maritime et quelques officiers de la marine étaient admis. La salle de billard était l'antichambre et Bertrand, Rovigo et quelques officiers de la suite étaient toujours là. Napoléon se promenait souvent dans le jardin sous les acclamations d'une quantité de monde qui était à la grille qui entourait le jardin. Toute la ville était enthousiasmé(e) et nombre d'habitants nous disait que le préfet maritime est traître et qui'il envoie toujours des paysans à La Rochelle pour avertir les Anglais — mais l'Emp(ereur) connaissait la duplicité du Baron Bonnefoux et il était gardé à vue, sans qu'il s'en aperçut. Comte Bertrand me disait qu'on n'a rien à craindre de lui à Rochefort où tout était pour nous et qu'on enfermerait le Préfet pendant l'embarquement de l'Empereur, si l'on s'apercevait de mauvaise volonté de sa part. Il n'y a pas (de) doute que le retardement que nous essuyâmes à Rochefort était (de) sa faute et je crois en partie du Capitaine Phylidor, commandant la frégate La Saale — car les frégates La Saale et Méduse et le brick l'Epervier devaient être prêts à l'arrivée de l'Emp(ereur) à Rochefort d'après les ordres exprès du Duc Decrès Ministre de la marine. Les effets furent embarqués à Rochefort et nous partîmes en voitures le 8 à 3 heures (de l') après-midi pour (Fouras?), village à 4 lieues de R(ochefort) où l'Emp(ereur) s'embarqua avec la marée à 5 heures pour se rendre à La Saale qui était en rade. Toute la route depuis R(ochefort) jusqu'à la mer était couverte de monde — la douleur et la tristesse était peinte sur les visages de ces braves paysans — et j'ai trouvé au départ de l'Empereur le même attachement et enthousiasme qui régnait partout pendant notre marche de Cannes à Paris.

Les dénonciations des habitants de Rochefort contre le préfet maritime étaient fondées, ce traître avait fait avertir par des paysans ou pêcheurs de La Rochelle les Anglais de l'embarquement de l'Emp(ereur), pendant qu'il avait tout fait pour empêcher l'approvisionnement de la flotte — les Bourbons au lieu de lui donner la croix de St Louis, qu'il attendait, l'ont remplacé pour n'avoir fait plus que n'était dans son pouvoir. Le Bellerophon étant déjà en vue, l'Emp(ereur) a tenu plusieur conseils. Le Cap(itaine) de la Méduse, j'ai oublié le nom de ce brave homme, proposait de sortir avec les deux frégates et le brick et d'attaquer le Bellerophon pendant que l'Emp(ereur) gagnerait le temps de passer sur le brick si l'on ne pouvait passer pendant la nuit sans être aperçu mais le Cap(itaine) de La Saale, qui était le plus ancien y trouvait des diffi-

cultés et une entreprise contre son opinion eût été dangereuse. Le vent continuait (à) être contraire et nous débarquâmes à l'Isle d'Aix (île) où l'Empereur occupait l'hôtel du Gouverneur. L'Emp(ereur) y vivait très retiré, dînait souvent seul et travaillait beaucoup. Il envoyait le Baron Lallemand à Bordeaux, qui y avait trouvé la meilleure disposition dans les officiers comme dans les troupes et la plus grande partie des habitants et je ne sais pas pourquoi Nap(oléon) ne prit pas le parti de s'y rendre pour l'embarquement. Nombre de députations conjuraient l'Emp(ereur) de rester en France mais sa réponse était toujours qu'il ne veut pas qu'une seule goutte de sang français devait couler pour lui — que la guerre si l'on ne la faisait que contre lui sera(it) finie le moment qu'il se rend(rait) lui-même sur un vaisseau anglais et qu'au contraire, comme il en était persuadé, une continuation de la guerre qui ne pouvait avoir aucun prétexte ouvrirait à tout le monde les yeux et prouverait que ni lui, ni sa famille, ni même la France, était le but de la guerre, mais que c'était la lutte des Rois, contre la liberté constitutionnelle des nations. Napoléon considérait la bataille de Waterloo comme le tombeau de la constitution anglaise et par là comme la ruine de l'Angleterre. Il y avait plusieurs projets pendant le séjour à l'Ile d'Aix avant que l'Emp(ereur) prit la résolution d'envoyer Gourgaud et Las Cases sur le Bellerophon — l'un et je crois le meilleur était que l'Emp(ereur) devait partir /ou dans des chasse-marée armés seulement d'officiers de marine et d'aspirants qui sollicitaient cet honneur—ou sur un vaisseau qui était près de l'Ile de d'Oléron/ accompagné seulement de Bertrand, Rovigo, Lallemand et d'un seul domestique, son premier chasseur Alix St Denis. Gourgaud et Las Cases furent envoyés je crois le 12 à la rencontre du Bellerophon, L'Empereur écrivait alors la lettre au prince régent. Gourgaud en a encore le brouillon autographe de l'Emp(ereur) dans lequel il n'a changé que le mot foyers au lieu de cendres qu'il a rayé. Les déclarations de Gourgaud et de Las Cases en date du 18 avril 1816 dont je vous parlerai à l'occasion de l'arrivée du Général Lowe à Ste Hélène /dont nous avons donné des copies à Warden/ contiennent les détails de cette négociation. Gourgaud partit le 13 ou 14 sur la corvette Slaney pour l'Angleterre avec la lettre de l'Emp(ereur) pour le Prince Régent. Il avait l'ordre de remettre lui-même au Prince Régent la lettre de l'Empereur mais il ne pouvait pas quitter le vaisseau et nous le trouvâmes à notre arrivée à Torbay où il était arrivé 24 heures avant nous. Le récit de Warden sur l'arrivée de Napoléon sur le Bellerophon est assez exact. L'Amiral Hotham qui était sur le Superbe venait complimenter l'Emp(ereur) et restait longtemps causant avec Madame Bertrand. C'est un homme très agréable et qui donnait à Napoléon une très bonne idée des officiers

anglais. Cap(itaine) Maitland ne lui cédait point en délicatesse et la conduite de ces deux chefs nous fit regarder le choix de l'Emp(ereur) comme bien heureux d'autant plus que cet accueil était conforme à l'idée que Napoléon et ses principaux officiers avaient du caractère franc et généreux des Anglais. Nap(oléon) parut très satisfait, les moindres détails sur le vaisseau n'échappaient pas à son attention — il demandait même aux aspirants l'usage de plusieurs utiles qu'il ne connaissait point — il regardait et examinait longtemps l'exercice des marins — en un mot, il était comme sur son propre vaisseau et à l'honneur des Anglais, il me faut dire que leur respect et leur conduite l'autorisaient à oublier qu'il se trouvait sur un vaisseau ci-devant ennemi. Il s'invitait lui-même à déjeuner chez l'amiral Hotham, qui savait en homme bien né profiter de cette confiance honorable — il a reçu l'Emp(ereur) avec la plus grande distinction.

(*Annotation sur la page d'adresse*)

Le Prince Joseph restait incognito dans les environs de Rochefort. Le Comte Becker avec le Colonel Baillon, qui devait ramener les 60 chevaux de l'Emp(ereur) qui étaient arrivés pendant ce temps à La Rochelle avec les bagages, retournait à Rochefort avec la moitiè de domestiques que l'Emp(ereur) renvoyait de l'Ile d'Aix.

TROISIEME LETTRE

Londres

To Sir Robert Wilson

L'Emp(ereur) avec les Dames et les officiers généraux restaient sur le Bellerophon. Planat, Schultz, Résigny, Autric, Mercher, Rivière, St Catherine et Piontkowski avec la moitié des domestiques se rendaient sur le Myrmidon, Capitaine Gambier un jeune homme bien né, très aimable et très complaisant comme tous les officiers de cette corvette. Le chirurgien Maingaud était resté sur le Bellerophon — ce misérable a quitté l'Emp(ereur) au moment du départ pour Ste Hélène — lui qui avait eu le bonheur d'être a(d)mis à le suivre — l'honneur auquel des centaines de docteurs et chirurgiens aspiraient. Ce n'est rien pour l'Emp(ereur) qui n'a point de confiance en (la) médecine et qui n'en prend jamais — mais c'était une perte pour les dames. Ce misérable Maingaud s'est voué au mépris général. Mr. O'Meara — chirurgien major du Bellerophon — qui parle très bien la langue italienne et qui a appris le français en très peu de temps — l'a remplacé — c'est un très honnête homme et l'Emp(ereur) et toute sa suite l'estiment. Napoléon disait que la seule médecine pour

lui, quand il se trouvait indisposé était une grande partie de chasse à Fontainebleau où il fatiguait 8 chevaux dans une journée. En voyage et en campagne il n'était jamais malade — son corps comme son âme sont extraordinaires et supérieurs aux circonstances — il n'y a que la faute d'exercice qui lui peut nuire — comme il est le cas à Ste Hélène. Nous arrivâmes à Torbay le juillet où nous trouvâmes Gourgaud. Cap(itaine) Maitland reçut l'ordre d'arborer le pavillon jaune. Nous partîmes de là et arrivâmes à Plymouth le 1er août. Le Morning Chronicle donne les détails avec assez d'exactitude à l'exception des mensonges sur l'empoisonnement de l'Emp(ereur); il est toujours plus fort et plus grand que la destinée mais la suite était désolée surtout lorsqu'il était décidé que seulement 3 officiers et 12 domestiques devaient partager le sort de leur souverain. Nous partimes le 7 août de grand matin de Plymouth à la rencontre du Northumberland. Nous étions alors sur la frégate Eurotas, Cap(itaine) Lilicrap /on nous avait fait changer le Myrmidon avec la fregate Liffey, que nous quittâmes ensuite pour l'Eurotas/. L'Empereur toujours grand et généreux fit partager parmi les officiers de sa suite et parmi ses domestiques le peu d'argent qui lui était resté de sa grandeur passée — il n'a gardé qu'environ 4.500 Napoléons d'or, dont 4.000 furent pris en dépôt, et qui ont été employés pour payer les livres qu'il avait demandés sur le Northumberland et le reste pour acheter des vivres et d'autres besoins urgents à Ste Hélène. L'argenterie de l'Emp(ereur) que nous avons brisée et vendue et qui pesait 87300 francs en argent — a été employée pour le même usage et cela pendant le temps que le Gouvernement a dépensé plus de 20.000 livres sterlings par an. On peut donc juger dans quelle situation Napoléon se trouve dans ce moment où il n'a plus d'argent, ni argenterie et où il est entièrement exposé à (la) discrétion d'un Sir H. Lowe — Sir Thomas Reade et Balcombe et comp(anie) que personne peut contrôler et qui sont même à Ste Hélène les seuls qui savent (sachent) ce qui se passe à Longwood. La tête me tourne si j'y pense. — Passons à la scène des adieux sur le Northumberland. Les officiers avaient prié l'Emp(ereur) de comprendre ceux /qui ne pouvaient le suivre en qualité d'officiers/ dans le nombre des 12 domestiques, qui lui étaient accordés, mais il n'était pas dans le pouvoir de l'Amiral Lord Keith d'y consentir — je suis persuadé qu'il l'eût fait avec plaisir et c'est à sa bienveillante intercession que j'obtins alors la permission de rejoindre l'Emp(ereur) à Ste-Hélène. — Pourquoi ne peut-il pas me rendre à présent le même service si Napoléon est assez malheureux d'y rester encore quelques temps car je ne perdrai qu'avec mon dernier soupir l'espérance qu'il quittera ce rocher pour le bonheur de l'Europe. Les malheurs qui pèsent depuis son bannissement presque sur chaque

pays de l'Europe prouvent assez la nécessité. On nous disait que nous pouvions aller sur le Northumberland pour y voir encore une fois Napoléon. L'Emp(ereur) demandait premièrement les officiers supérieurs auxquels il donnait des certificats signés de lui-même et puis il demandait les autres officiers. Il y avait dans l'antichambre Lord Lowther /que j'ai vu ici à Alien-office avec Mr. Beckett sous-secrétaire d'Etat/ et Mr. Lyttelton, qui s'étaient chargé de faire passer des lettres des officiers et Dames, qui devaient partir avec l'Emp(ereur) La plus grande tristesse régnait partout. Napoléon seul qui nous demandait dans le salon n'était point changé — il parlait à chacun de nous — demandait si nous voulions retourner en France et me disait à moi qui le priait encore de me prendre avec lui (:) je n'ai aucun devoir — j'ai demandé que vous deviez me suivre — on ne l'a pas accordé. Le Comte Bertrand qui me disait aussi qu'il avait fait tout ce qu'il était possible pour obtenir pour moi la permission de venir à Ste Hélène et qu'il regrettait que ses démarches n'avaient pas eu de meilleurs effects. — Il nous donnait des certificats dictés par l'Emp(ereur) et signés par le Grand Maréchal. J'y joins une copie. On renvoyait alors le Duc de Rovigo et Baron Lallemand sur le Bellerophon et nous autres sur l'Eurotas. Le Northumberland fit voile pour Ste Hélène et nous autres retournâmes à Plymouth où nous n'avions point de communication avec Rovigo et Lallemand. Une semaine après nous reçûmes la nouvelle que les officiers de la suite serait (seraient) envoyés à Malte. Le chirurgien Maingaud et 14 domestiques, ainsi le page M. de St. Catherine lequel avait demandé et obtenu la permission de joindre sa famille à la Martinique, se rendaient sur le Bellerophon à Portsmouth et de là à Havre de grâce. Rovigo et Lallemand venaient sur l'Eurotas qui fit voile pour Malte et c'était alors que j'appris que Lord Keith avait obtenu pour moi la permission de rejoindre Napoléon à Ste Hélène. Je fus envoyé sur le St George — vaisseau du pavillon de l'Amiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth, pour y attendre le départ d'un vaisseau pour Ste Hélène. Je serais ingrat si je ne voulais pas reconnaître la bienveillance et générosité avec laquelle j'y fus traité, ainsi que sur le Cormorant /qui m'amenait à Ste Hélène/ et à Ste Hélène même pendant le temps que l'Amiral Cockburn y était. Ma femme avec laquelle j'étais fiancé en France venait me joindre sur le St George peu de jours avant mon départ — ne pouvant obtenir la permission de la prendre à Ste H(élène) — je me suis marié sur le St George.

(*Partie biffée*): La situation seule dans laquelle je me trouvais alors peut me servir d'excuse que j'ai fait ce pas sans en avoir demandé la permission de l'Empereur. (*fin de la partie biffée*)

Je vous donnerai demain quelques détails sur Ste H(élène). Vous aurez de la peine à débrouiller ce chaos — mais je n'ai pas le temps de l'écrire de nouveau et j'ai la tête trop troublée si je pense à ces choses là. Je partirai dans 3 jours pour l'Italie.

(*Signature illisible*)
Ridgway Piccadilly

QUATRIEME LETTRE

To
Sir Robert Wilson

L'Amiral Duckworth et les officiers Anglais à Plymouth m'ont traité avec la plus grande bienveillance — ainsi que le Cap(itaine) du Cormorant sur lequel je fus embarqué pour Ste-Hélène. L'Emp(ereur) était logé au commencement à Briars chez M. Balcombe où il n'avait avec lui que Las Cases faute de place — car l'Emp(ereur) n'y avait qu'un petit salon. Les Généraux et Dames de la suite étaient à Jamestown mais on avait occupé Longwood quelques jours avant mon arrivée dans l'île.

L'Amiral Cockburn envoyait le Cap(itaine) Ross du Northumberland à bord du Cormorant — qui avait jeté l'ancre vers les 5 heures (de l') après-midi — pour me dire qu'il a fait prévenir l'Empereur de mon arrivée et que je débarquerai aussitôt que Napoléon me demanderait, mais je ne pouvais débarquer que le lendemains puisque toute communication avec la mer cesse au coucher du soleil toujours à 6 heur(es), et qu'il est impossible d'avoir jusqu'à ce temps l'autorisation de l'Emp(ereur). Mr. O'Meara le chirugien anglais de Napoléon était chargé de le prévenir de mon arrivée dans l'île. L'Emp(ereur) demandait au Comte Bertrand : Est-ce P(iontkowski) le même officier qui m'a suivi dans l'île d'Elbe et qui voulait être compris dans le nombre des domestiques pour pouvoir venir à Ste H(élène)? Et lorsque le Grand Maréchal lui disait que je suis le même, il chargea Mr. O'Meara de demander à l'Amiral que je vien(ne) tout de suite à Longwood, mais le soleit étant couché, j'étais obligé de rester à bord jusqu'au lendemain. Sir George Cockburn m'a reçu avec la plus grande bonté, il m'a donné un de ses chevaux pour aller à Longwood — il m'accompagnait lui-même jusqu'à Hutt's Gate /le logement du Comte Bertrand qui venait me parler sur la route et me dire que l'Emp(ereur) m'avait déjà attendu le soir passé et que je ne devais descendre chez lui pour ne pas retarder la satisfaction de voir l'Emp(ereur)/. Mr. Glover le secrétaire de l'Amiral venait avec moi jusqu'à Longwood, où je trouvais

Général et Madame Montholon, Gén(éral) Baron Gourgaud et le Comte Las Cases avec son fils Emmanuel à déjeuner. L'Emp(ereur) me fit demander dans sa chambre à coucher où il était seul et m'a reçu avec une bienveillance qui eût surpassé les espérances les plus exaltées que j'eusse pu m'en faire. Il me demandait ensuite si je savais de(s) nouvelles de son frère Joseph, qui était resté caché dans les environs de Rochefort et m'examinait sur toute sa famille dont j'ignorais tout à fait le sort, car je n'ai jamais pu débarquer à Plymouth et les journaux n'en parlaient pas. Il se promenait après dans le jardin toujours seul avec moi et m'ordonnait de l'informer de tout ce que j'avais entendu dire de lui soit de bien ou de mal.—Il y ajoutait, on ne me rend point de services en me cachant le mal qu'on dit de moi—ainsi parlez avec franchise. J'ai obéi exactement et racontais tout ce que j'avais lu ou entendu. Il ne perdit point de patience—quelquefois il disait—ho-ho—d'autres temps (:) ce n'est pas vrai—s'il y a quelque chose de vrai cela pique mais des histoires à la Pradt ne me touchent plus que quand on dit que j'ai fait assassiner le cap(itaine) d'un petit brick anglais. J'avais alors l'idée que le gouvernement anglais n'avait cédé que momentanément à la nécessité de répondre si mal à la noble confiance que l'Emp(ereur) lui avait témoigné, la générosité du gouvernment anglais envers moi et la bienveillance et civilité que les officiers et particuliers me témoignaient m'avaient tellement justifié mes idées flatteuses au sujet de l'Emp(ereur) que je le voyais déjà de retour à Paris et en paix avec l'Angleterre. J' arrivais donc à Longwood rempli d'enthousiasme pour le gouvernement comme pour la nation anglaise.—Je parlais à l'Emp(ereur) sans la moindre réserve comme si j'étais sûr qu'il partageait mes sentiments et malgré la situation dans laquelle Napoléon se trouvait et que j'ignorais tout-à-fait — il n'était pas fâché de ma franchise — il disait (:) cette conduite honore les Anglais et votre attachement à moi l'a mérité. Il m'a parlé plus de 4 h(eures) de cette manière—il me disait à la fin que je devais voir le Comte Bertrand et sa famille et que je devais retourner à 8 h(eures) pour dîner, il joignit (:) je vous donne un couvert à ma table /des circonstances rendaient ensuite un changement—de sorte que je déjeunais avec les généraux et dînais avec Poppleton et O'Meara, si l'Emp(ereur) ne me fit pas inviter à dîner/. Ce trait de bienveillance m'a confondu d'autant plus que je savais que l'Emp(ereur) n'avait accordé cette distinction (mots biffés: qu'au Général Drouot pendant les derniers mois à l'île d'Elbe) à un officier subalterne. J'étais logé sous une tente comme le Général Baron Gourgaud—j'ai presque honte de donner ces détails si flatteurs pour moi et auxquels je n'avais pas même une idée d'aspirer car je ne connaissais aucune autre ambition que de con-

tinuer mes services auprès de l'Emp(ereur) dans telle qualité qui lui pourrait être utile et de voir quelquefois le plus grand homme de tous les siècles.—Mais pour vous donner une juste idée du caractère de l'Emp(ereur) et de sa bonté de coeur il faut que je vous dise que son attention allait jusqu'à envoyer M. Marchand son premier valet de chambre à 7 heures du matin le lendemain de mon arrivée à Longwood sous ma tente pour s'informer si j'étais pourvu de linges propres avec l'ordre de me donner de sa garde-robe tout ce dont je pourrais avoir besoin. L'Emp(ereur) me fit demander dans le jardin—où il me fit de(s) questions sur les détails de mon voyage et il me disait que je ferai le service d'écuyer sous les ordre(s) du G(énéral) Gourgaud, qui était chargé de la Direction de la petite écurie.—Il disait qu'il n'avait point d'argent, mais qu'il pouvait disposer de fonds qu'on avait pris en dépôt sur le Bellerophon et que je devais dire au Comte Bertrand de me porter sur l'état des dépenses pour la somme de mille francs par trimestre—ce qui faisait environ la 6Oéme partie de l'argent déposé chez Balcombe et la moitié de ce qu'il pouvait faire donner au Comte Montholon, Gourgaud et Las Cases. Il disait encore qu'il faut renoncer à tout ce qui peut rendre la vie un peu supportable—que c'est un pais (pays) barbare—l'Isle (île) des brouillards et des nuages—et qu'on lui a imposé de(s) restrictions qui n'ont pas de sens commun mais qui éloignent Longwood de Ste-Hélène, comme cette Isle (île) l'est du reste du monde. La grandeur d'âme et la force de caractère avec laquelle Napoléon supporte son sort le rendent digne de l'admiration de l'univers quand même sa vie glorieuse ne l'eusse (eût) déjà gagnée. Il est difficile à (de) se faire une juste idée des difficultés qu'il a à vaincre — et je suis sûr qu'il est le seul homme au monde qui dans une telle situation peut se faire respecter par un gouverneur muni d'un pouvoir illimité et qui ne manque pas de mauvaise volonté d'en abuser — de se faire admirer par les officiers de la garnison et les habitants de l'Isle (île)—de supporter la séparation de sa femme, son fils et d'une famille pour laquelle il a les plus tendres sentiments. /Mr. Urmston, un des principaux agents anglais dans (en) la Chine, que l'Emp(ereur) avait une fois invité à déjeuner pour savoir de lui des détails sur ce pais (pays), envoyait à Longwood une tradiction (traduction) anglaise des lois pénales de le Chine—il y a des punitions extrêmement sévères pour ceux qui manquent de respect à leurs parents même éloignés et qui négligent les soins pour leur rendre la vie aussi agréable que possible et qui après la mort d'un parent fréquentent des sociétés pendant un terme fixé. Napoléon disait alors que les Chinois sont (étaient) plus civilisés que les Européens—que ces punitons quoique très sévères son (étaient) justes parce que celui qui manquait aux pre-

miers devoirs de la nature envers sa famille ne peut (pouvait) jamais être bon citoyen/. Cet attachement pour sa famille que Napoléon montre à chaque moment lui fait, j'en suis presque sûr, la séparation d'elle sans pouvoir même avoir ou donner des nouvelles, plus pénible que la perte du trône. De soutenir par son example et son courage, les dames et officiers de sa suite, qui lui ont sacrifié leurs familles—fortunes—espérances et tout ce qui peut rendre la vie agréable—pour souffrir, en partageant son sort, la misère et (les) privations dont on n'a pas même une idée—même le peu de domestiques qui lui restent, quoique absolument dévoués, savent bien qu'ils sont nécessaires—et pourraient faire valoir leurs services—si Napoléon tant par force et inflexibilité de son caractère que par une bonté touchante ne savait les ménager. (*Partie biffée avec annotation*: ces détails pourraient fâcher l'Empereur. Les 4 premiers domestiques ont une table séparée /la table du premier valet de chambre, qui est servie du dessert de la table et du vin de l'Empereur/ ce sont M. Marchand, premier valet de chambre, M. Cipriani, maître d'hôtel, M. Pierron, Chef d'office, et M. Alix St.-Denis, premier chasseur. Les autres domestiques français — Noverraz /un Suisse/ 2ème chasseur — Santini, huissier du cabinet, deux frères Archambault, piqueurs—Le Page, cuisinier, Rousseau, chef de l'argenterie, et Gentilini /Elbois/, chef des valets de pied — composaient la seconde table, à laquelle ils avaient admis par complaisance une femme de chambre française de Mme La Comtesse de Montholon. Les aides cuisiniers, valets de pied et palefreniers anglais qui étaient matelots ou soldats et auxquels le gouvernement fournissait les rations des matelots—composaient la troisième table avec les domestiques particuliers des officiers de la suite de l'Emp(ereur)—on déjeunait à 11 h(eures) et dinait après 8 heures quand l'Emp(ereur), qui ne reste que 20 minutes à table, était rentré dans le salon—ces détails sont nécessaires pour comprendre ce que je raconterai. Colonel Skelton, Lt.-gouverneur de l'Isle (île) qui quittait Ste-Hélène après l'arrivée de Sir H. Lowe, avait recommandé au Général Montholon un domestique persan. Montholon, étant à la tête de la maison parce que le Comte Bertrand demeurait à Hutt's Gate, faute de logement à Longwood, avait placé ce Persan à la seconde table des domestiques français, sans avoir pensé que les domestiques particuliers des autres officiers généraux n'y étaient pas admis, et que les domestiques de l'Emp(ereur) n'avaient invité que par complaisance à leur table la femme de chambre de Mme de Montholon. Les domestiques se fâchaient que le C(omte) de Montholon plaçait de sa propre autorité son domestique particulier à leur table. — Ils déclaraient qu'ils mangeraient plûtot (plutôt) chacun seul ou qu'ils quitteraient

le service de l'Emp(ereur) si l'on voulait les forcer à garder le Persan à leur table. — Les têtes s'échauffaient à un tel point que le désordre devint général et que l'Emp(ereur) en fut instruit — puisque le maître d'hôtel et même le G(énéral) Montholon ne pouvaient arranger cette affaire. Napoléon fit donc appeler Santini, qu'il appelait en badinant le chef des révoltés, et Noverraz—il leur disait qu'il était très sensible à l'attachement qu'ils ont toujours prouvé pour lui, que le G(énéral) Montholon n'avait eu aucune mauvaise intention et qu'il n'aurait pas placé le Persan à leur table s'il eût cru que cela leur serait désagréable, mais qu'ils ont eu tort de vouloir forcer Montholon au lieu de lui faire des représentations modestes.—Il leur parlait avec la plus grande bonté, mais il déclarait que leur conduite inconsidérée méritait que le Persan reste (restât) à leur table et qu'il ne souffrirait jamais que l'anarchie règne (régnât) dans sa maison. — Cette petite leçon était nécessaire, puisqu'on avait déjà manqué de respect à plusieurs occasions aux Officiers Généraux. Les domestiques de la seconde table—fidèles et dévoués comme ils sont, et dont chacun préférerait de manquer plutôt à Napoléon sur le trône qu'à Ste-Hélène—perdaient la tête à un (au) point de vouloir faire la loi et déclaraient qu'ils quitteraient plutôt le service de l'Emp(ereur) que de souffrir que le Persan reste à leur table. L'Emp(ereur) fit des reproches à Montholon de (pour) n'avoir pas eu plus d'égards pour (envers) ses fidèles domestiques; mais il ordonnait positivement que chacun des domestiques de la seconde table devait être à 11 h(eures) précises à déjeuner à table avec le Persan et Santini, l'auteur de cette dispute, à côté de lui. Il fit régler le décompte de chacun et ordonnait de renvoyer à midi ceux qui refuseraient de se mettre à table et défendit de lui faire des remontrances sur cet objet. J'étais dans une anxiété pénible — je savais positivement que l'Emp(ereur s')était résolue de (à) vivre plutôt sans un seul domestique (plutôt) que de permettre qu'on lui manquât après qu'il avait (eût) daigné de leur parler lui-même et d'autre part je voyais les têtes des domestiques plus échauffées que jamais vers le temps du déjeuner; mais tous rentraient dans le devoir et étaient à table un quart d'heure plutot (plus tôt) qu'à l'ordinaire et Santini à côté du Persan. *Fin de la partie biffée*).

Les matelots anglais, que Sir G. Cockburn avait envoyé(s) pour domestiques à Longwood et qu'il était obligé de retirer, puisque Sir H. Lowe voulait envoyer des soldats pour les remplacer — quittaient le service de l'Emp(ereur) en pleurant. — Ils priaient de leur laisser la livrée de l'Emp(ereur) pour souvenir d'avoir servi un si grand homme.—Ils déclaraient tous qu'ils attachaient plus de prix aux vieilles livrées qu'à leurs gages /40 livres sterlings par an/.

L'Emp(ereur) disait de le(s) leur laisser et de donner à chacun 3 Napoléons d'or, pour boire à sa santé. Ces honnêtes gens restaient avec permission de l'Amiral Cockburn 15 jours plus longtemps à Longwood—et ils portaient au G(énéral) Montholon les 3 Napoléons d'or qu'ils avaient reçus — et le priaient de les garder pour eux parce qu'ils craignaient de les dépenser et ils voulaient montrer à leurs amis en Angleterre le portrait de Napoléon. Les matelots du Northumberland qui travaillaient à Longwood sous la direction de Mr. Cooper, charpentier du Northumberland /à qui l'Emp(ereur) fit donner une tabatière d'or avec son chiffre/ ont continuellement observé les plus grands égards pour (envers) l'Emp(ereur). La grandeur malheureuse leur imposait un tel respect que la plus grande tranquillité régnait continuellement parmi tant d'hommes qui campai(en)t si longtemps à quelques pas de l'Emp(ereur) et nous n'avons jamais entendu parler du moindre excès. Napoléon, qui sait estimer le mérite partout où il le trouve, a fait mettre 8000 francs, la dixième partie de la fortune qui lui était restée (qui lui restait) à la disposition de l'Amiral Cockburn avec la demande de les faire distribuer parmi l'équipage du Northumberland.— Je crois avoir entendu que Sir George (Cockburn) a voulu attendre l'autorisation de son Gouvernement pour la distribution des 8000 francs. J'ai vu parmi ces braves matelots le même enthousiasme, si l'Emp(ereur) leur demandait quelquefois quelque chose, pour voir s'ils le comprenaient quand il parlait Anglais, que j'ai observé tant de fois si Napoléon aux revues demandait à un vieux soldat s'il n'a(vait) pas été présent à une telle ou telle bataille.

(*Partie biffée*) Je me suis aperçu dans les premiers huit jours à Longwood que les marques si extraordinaires de la bienveillance de S(a) M(ajesté) envers moi, qui n'avait d'autre mérite que de partager avec les personnes de sa suite l'admiration pour le grand homme, ne faisaient pas plaisir aux Généraux, d'autant plus que les idées favorables que j'avais des Anglais et que je ne cachais point, leur firent craindre que ma présence à Longwood pourrait devenir fâcheuse pour l'Empereur, Je ne puis point les blâmer que le dévouement qu'ils devaient à Napoléon rendait suspect dans (à) leurs yeux la permission que j'avais obtenue moi-seul de rejoindre l'Emp(ereur) — à tout cela venait encore que le bonheur inattendu m'avait tellement ébloui que j'avais oublié les marquent (marques) de soumission et de respect qu'un officier subalterne doit aux Généraux et surtout aux amis de Napoléon. Sans que j'eusse manqué envers eux, je les avais négligés et il (c') était ma faute qu'ils (s'ils) ne me voyaient pas d'un oeil favorable. J'entendis même, étant sous ma tente, un discours qui m'ouvrit les yeux et me fit connaître que

les Généraux regardaient la faveur d'être admis à la table de l'Emp(ereur) comme une indemnité de tous les sacrifices qui avaient (été) faits pour lui — et que cette faveur cessait de l'être, s'ils devaient la partager avec un officier subalterne. Le Comte Las Cases y ajoutait que la distance entre eux et moi est (était) si énorme que le grade de Colonel que l'Emp(ereur) me pourrait accorder n'y changerait rien. Je pris donc brusquement le parti de parler au Général Montholon et de lui dire que j'étais arrivé à Ste-Hélène pour pouvoir être utile à l'Emp(ereur) mais nullement pour causer d'embarras. — Je le priais donc de faire des arrangements pour me donner une table de service, ou de faire des arrangements que j'eusse la table du Capit(aine) Poppleton et(du) Docteur O'Meara. Comte Montholon en était content, il me disait qu'il n'y a (avait) que des généraux à la table de l'Emp(ereur), que le Comte Las Cases, comme chambellan et conseiller d'Etat avait le rang de L(ieutenant) Général et que Emmanuel Las Cases est (était) un enfant qui ne compte (comptait) pour rien. Il me promit de me donner une réponse. — Il ne m'en parlait plus toute la journée et je ne voulais pas aller dans cette situation à la table de l'Emp(ereur). Ils se passaient de même manière deux jours, sans que Montholon eût quelque chose fixé au sujet de moi et cette circonstance fit alors répandre le bruit que Napoléon m'avait mal reçu, lorsqu'au contraire trop de bonté de sa part en était la cause. (*Fin de la partie biffée*).

Ces détails découvrent trop l'intérieur de la maison de l'Empereur et j'aime mieux les supprimer que de compromettre Montholon, Las Cases et Gourgaud quoiqu'ils méritent guère de ménagement — car on n'est que trop incliné à mettre leurs bêtises sur le compte de Napoléon, comme on lui a toujours imputé les fautes de ses Ministres et Généraux. Il faut le connaître à Elbe et (à) Ste-Hélène et voir les chicanes dont il est entouré, pour le pouvoir juger.

L'Emp(ereur) m'avait accordé sa table — des difficultés ont causé un changement — de sorte que j'ai déjeuné au salon avec les Généraux et dîné avec Poppleton et O'Meara. L'Emp(ereur) m'a invité presque toujours à déjeuner avec lui, quand il déjeunait sous la tente /car ordinairement il déjeunait seul/ et bien souvent à dîner.

Il s'est passé rarement un jour sans que j'eusse occasion d'admirer un trait de bonté de Napoléon, je ne finirai pas si je voulais entrer dans des détails, d'autant plus que je n'y suis pas autorisé et que l'Emp(ereur) n'aime pas qu'on agisse sans ordre. Napoléon se lève de bonne heure — prend du café au lait à 8 heures — déjeune à la fourchette à 11 h(eures) /généralement seul ou dans le jardin où il invite alors les officiers de sa suite et quelquefois des étrangers qui se trouvent par hasard à Longwood/ il dîne à 8 heures le soir. Il

n'y a pas un homme plus sobre que lui: c'est son principe de se lever de table ayant encore appétit et il ne boit qu'environ un quart de bout(eille) de vin de Bordeaux avec de l'eau par repas — après le dîner avec le dessert il prend un petit verre de vin de Constance. Il ne boit jamais de liqueur et ne reste que vingt minutes à dîner et passe alors au salon où il prend immédiatement après une tasse de café au lait. Avant l'arrivée du Général Lowe à Ste-Hélène, il montait souvent à cheval, quelquefois à 5 h(eures) du matin — quelquefois le soir — mais le Général Lowe, qui fait fermer à clef Longwood depuis 6 heures le soir jusqu'à 6 heures du matin, l'a privé par cela de la seule récréation que l'Emp(ereur) avait, car on ne peut se promener pendant la journée sans exposer sa santé. — Par les restrictions qu'il a imposé(es) de nouveau le 7 oct(obre) 1816, il a rendu impossible toute promenade, en bornant les limites sur un seul chemin de Longwood jusqu'à vis-à-vis d'Alarme House, ce chemin large de 12 pieds court entre une montagne arride et une vallée, qu'on nomme même à Ste-Hélène, *Devil's Punchbowl,* et toute communication entre l'Emp(ereur) et sa suite et les officiers de la garnison et les habitants de l'Isle (île) est tellement interdite qu'on ne peut pas même parler aux personnes qui se trouvent sur ce chemin. Il donne dans sa lettre pour raison de cette mesure, que l'Emp(ereur) ne s'est jamais promené plus loin pendant que lui, H. Lowe, est gouverneur de l'Isle (île), mais il se garde bien de dire comme Lord Bathurst l'a rapporté dans la Chambre des Pairs, que nous avons voulu séduire les habitants — car on pourrait bien prouver le contraire sur les lieux-mêmes. Napoléon monte toujours le même cheval qu'il aime beaucoup, qu'il caresse et appelle son fidèle, et s'amuse si le cheval le reconnaît de loin. L'Emp(ereur) porte toujours à Ste-Hélène des habits bourgeois — généralement un habit vert — que Santini, qui était devenu par nécessité son tailleur et même son cordonnier, lui a fait d'un habit de chasse à tire — avec le crachat de la Légion d'Honneur, gilet et culotte blanche et des souliers / il a la (les) plus belle(s) jambe(s) et main(s) qu'on puisse avoir et toute la figure est très proportionnée/ — il ne met de bottes que pour monter à cheval — il ne porte que rarement un habit gris ou brun et jamais (d')uniforme. Il passe toute la journée à lire, à écrire ou à dicter les mémoires de sa vie. On se rassemble à 6 h(eures) du soir dans le salon — où l'Emp(ereur) parle très souvent de sa jeunesse — de laquelle il se rappelle les plus petites circonstances. Le Roi de Corse lui avait déjà alors dit (:) Napoléon, tu es un homme de Plutarque. — Quelquefois il joue aux cartes ou aux échecs — ou M(esdames) Bertrand et Montholon touchent le piano. S'il y a des dames étrangères, il les invite à jouer aux échecs ou aux cartes. Les dames et officiers anglais qui ont eu l'honneur

de s'entretenir avec lui savent bien qu'il est impossible d'être plus aimable et plus affable que lui — il s'amuse même d'envoyer des bonbons aux dames et personne ne l'a jamais quitté sans être enchanté de sa bonté et de ses manières agréables. — Il paraît qu'il est fait pour être admiré sous tous les rapports.

Le malheur est un si juste titre pour inspirer de la délicatesse, que même un géôlier ordinaire, qui a sous ses gardes un prisonnier de quelque distinction, ne se permet jamais d'entrer dans la prison sans s'informer si sa visite ne gêne pas et sans laisser fixer le temps au prisonnier. Sir H. Lowe ne connaît pas cette civilité ordinaire des géôliers. Il arriva à Ste-Hélène le 15 avril au soir et écrivit tout de suite au Comte Bertrand qu'il viendra le lendemain matin *à 9 heures* /temps peu propre/ voir l'Emp(ereur) — sans s'informer si l'Emp(ereur) serait disposé à le recevoir à ce temps (à ce moment). Il passait la maison du Comte Bertrand sans y entrer et arriva à Longwood à 9 heures du matin sans le Grand Maréchal, malgré qu'il savait (sût) que l'Emp(ereur) n'a (avait) jamais personne reçu à Longwood sans qui (qu'il) ne lui était (fût) présenté par le Comte Bertrand. Cette conduite étrange et le manque absolu de respect dû à un grand homme dans le malheur, obligeait l'Emp(ereur) à refuser de recevoir le Général Lowe. — Il était obligé de retourner comme il était venu et on lui fit savoir qu'il devait s'adresser au Comte B(ertrand) pour savoir quand Napoléon serait en état de le voir. Bertrand, après avoir pris les ordres de l'Emp(ereur) fit connaître à Sir H. Lowe, qu'il serait reçu le lendemain à 4 h(eures) (de l') après-midi — le temps où l'Emp(ereur) toujours reçut les personnes qui étaient autorisées à le voir. Le Gouverneur arriva avec l'Amiral Cockburn et avec son état-major. Nous étions dans la salle de billard lorsque le Comte Bertrand disait au (à l') huissier que l'Emp(ereur) demandait le Gouverneur. Etant toujours accoutumé de ne laisser entrer que la personne désignée, l'huissier fermait la porte derrière Sir H. L(owe), sans (s') apercevoir que Sir G(eorge) Cockburn était avec lui. L'Amiral a pris ce mépris du domestique pour un ordre de l'Emp(ereur) et se croyait offensé. Ce n'était point du tout le cas et le Comte Bertrand lui a expliqué cela et l'Emp(ereur) a même envoyé le Grand Maréchal à Jamestown le jour du départ de Sir George Cockburn, pour lui souhaiter un bon voyage. Mais il ne voulait pas consentir à renvoyer le domestique qui avait fermé la porte, comme l'Amiral (le) désirait, car c'eût été une injustice envers un homme, qui n'avait pas manqué à son devoir. L'Emp(ereur) disait, lorsque le Maréchal Bertrand lui parlait du départ de l'Amiral, (:) c'est un homme dur par caractère et plus dur encore par son métier — mais il est juste et homme à moyens — il n'eut dû (n'aurait pas dû) accepter la place de géôlier. —

L'Amiral Malcolm était très estimé par Napoléon — j'ai plusieurs fois entendu l'Emp(ereur) demander si notre anglo-écossais n'est (n'était) pas arrivé. Il voyait aussi avec plaisir Lady Malcolm, nièce de Lord Keith et l'a plusieurs fois promenée en calèche.

L'Emp(ereur) a toujours montré le plus grand intérêt pour les personnes de sa suite — pendant les maladies de Mad(ame) de Montholon et du Baron Gourgaud il n'a pas manqué un seul jour de les voir lui même quoique leurs maladies étaient dangereuses et qu'il s'exposait lui-même. Il a vu chaque fois Madame Bertrand à Hutt's Gate quand elle était un peu indisposée — il était même aux petits soins et contribuait beaucoup à leur rétablissement par l'intérêt qu'il témoignait prendre à leur sort. Il questionnait toujours Mr. O'Meara sur l'état de la santé des personnes de sa suite et si longtemps que quelqu'un était malade on était sûr que le premier ordre qu'il donnait en se levant était d'envoyer son valet de chambre pour s'informer de la situation du malade.

Vous avez entendu les éloges qu'on fait généralement au Comte Bertrand, mais il faut le connaître pour le juger — il est vraiment digne de sa renommée. Madame Bertrand me disait un jour (:) il n'existe pas un second Bertrand — je crois que le moule pour former des (de) pareils hommes est cassé — il est parfait sous tous les rapports — voulez-vous un officier distingué et la fidélité pour son maître personnifié, voyez Bertrand — voulez-vous un modèle d'un bon fils et parent, d'un époux et père tendre, d'un ami sincère, d'un homme agréable en société, vous trouvez tout cela réuni en lui. Madame Bertrand ne dit pas trop et je suis sûr qu'on ne trouverait (pas) un seul homme qui le connait (connaisse) bien, qui ne partagerait de bon coeur l'opinion que Madame B(ertrand) a de son mari — il est toujours le même et je n'ai jamais vu un homme si aimable — les officiers du brave 53ème Rég(iment) en peuvent juger. Je vous parlerai plus tard des autres officiers Généraux de la suite de l'Emp(ereur) — leur dévouement mérite bien d' (des) éloges.

Napoléon me disait lorsqu'il était informé que je devais quitter l'Isle (île)(:)on veut vous renvoyer, allez—vous trouverez partout des amis — et partout vous serez mieux que dans ce misérable pais (pays) — On veut vous punir pour avoir fait votre devoir — je vous donnerai de bons certificats et le grade de Chef d'Escadron — allez joindre ma famille. Votre déclaration et la lettre de Montholon suffiront pour lui faire connaître notre situation — il faut en garder des copies. J'observais à l'Emp(ereur) la difficulté que j'éprouverrais de prendre des papiers avec moi et je proposais d'apprendre par coeur /le seul moyen de les soustraire aux recherches de Général Lowe/ ces deux pièces — ce que j'ai fait pendant le temps que je restais encore à Longwood. J'en ai fait en route trois copies, que j'ai don-

nées aux 3 domestiques de l'Emp(ereur) — lorsqu'on les a débarqués à Portsmouth et qu'on m'a encore retenu sur la frégate /on avait visité à mon départ de Ste-Hélène jusqu'aux collets des chemises, même des domestiques/. Je comptais que les domestiques réussiraient plutot (plus tôt) (à) arriver auprès de la famille de l'Empereur et je leur recommandais bien de ne faire aucun bruit et de ne faire d'autre usage de ces copies que de les remettre à la Famille Impériale. Rousseau et Archambault sont partis tranquillement pour l'Amérique pendant que Santini s'est amusé à écrire ici sans l'autorisation de l'Empereur et contre les conseils exprès du Comte Bertrand. Je suis persuadé que Napol(éon) sera très fâché de cette démarche inconsidérée d'autant plus que Santini n'a pas même compris (les) quelques détails que je lui avais donnés. L'Emp(ereur) n'a jamais dit au Gouverneur de sortir de sa présence — mais il avait donné l'ordre de ne lui jamais annoncer Sir H. Lowe à moins qu'il n'ait auparavant présenté un ordre de son Gouvernement de l'assassiner. — C'est l'Empereur même qui a fixé la quantité de vin pour les officiers de sa suite et non le gouverneur — et il est infiniment au-dessous (de) la dignité de l'Emp(ereur) de faire mention de ces misérables détails de vivres. Napoléon l'homme le plus sobre qui a jamais (qui n'ait jamais) existé, n'en daigne jamais parler, et les officiers de sa suite ne se sont jamais plaints de la quantité de vivres, mais quelquefois de la qualité et du manque de bonne eau et de pain.

Comte Bertrand m'a autorisé d'assurer positivement la Famille Impériale qu'il ne quittera(it) jamais l'Empereur — et qu'il ne retournera(it) en Europe pour arranger l'éducation de ses enfants que sous la condition que le gouvernement anglais lui garantisse la permission de pouvoir rejoindre l'Emp(ereur).

Copies des documents et notes additionnelles aux lettres du chef d'escadron Frédéric Piontkowski au général Sir Robert Wilson.

Copie 1

Je certifie que Mr. Piontkowski a montré pendant son séjour dans l'Isle d'Elbe et pendant la marche de l'Empereur, le plus grand zêle et le plus grand dévouement pour Sa Majesté; je n'ai que des éloges à donner à sa conduite.

Paris le 1er Juin 1815.

Le Lieut.-Général, Aide de Camp de Sa Majesté
/Signé/ C(om)te Drouot

2.

Au palais de l'Elysée le 23 Juin 1815.

Monsieur Piontkowski, Capt. aux chevau-légers Lanciers.

L'Empereur me charge de vous prévenir, Monsieur, que vous êtes admis à la faveur de le suivre dans sa retraite.

Le Grand Maréchal
/signé/ Bertrand.

3.

Monsieur Piontkowski, Capitaine au chevau-légers Lanciers

Les circonstances forçant L'Empereur Napoléon à renoncer à vous conserver près de lui — Sa Majesté me charge de vous assurer qu'elle a été contente de votre conduite dans ce dernier tem(p)s, qu'elle a été digne d'éloges et confirme ce que Sa Majesté attendait de vous.

à bord du Northumberland ce 7 Août 1815.

Le Grand Maréchal
/signé/ C(om)te Bertrand.

4.

Ste-Hélène ce 19 Oct. 1816

Monsieur le Chef d'Escadron Piontkowski.

Les preuves d'attachement que vous avez données en suivant l'Emp(ereur) Napoléon à l'Isle d'Elbe, où vous avez voulu servir comme soldat n'y ayant pas de place d'officier vacante, et en venant le rejoindre à Ste-Hélène — seront toujours pour vous un titre à sa bienveillance et de la famille et des amis de l'Empereur.

Veuillez agréer les sentimen(t)s avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être

Votre
très humble et très obéissant serviteur

/signé/ le C(om)te Bertrand

5.

Par Ordre exprès de l'Empereur Napoléon
Livret du Chef d'Escadron Piontkowski

Le Chef d'Escadron Piontkowski ayant donné des preuves d'attachement en suivant l'Empereur Napoléon à l'Isle d'Elbe, depuis à

Ste-Hélène et ayant dû quitter ce dernier séjour; l'Empereur n'étant que satisfait de sa conduite, recommande à ceux de ses paren(t)s ou amis qui verront cet écrit de l'employer dans son grade de Chef d'Escadron de Cavalerie et de lui faire compter une gratification de deux années de ses appointements en écrivant le montant de la dite gratification au bas du livret. Enfin il leur recommande de l'aider et assister.

Ste-Hélène 19 Oct. 1816
signé, le C(om)te Bertrand.

Reçu de Paris le 8 Mai 1817 d'une source inconnue la somme de 2.000 francs. Soldé(e) à Mr. le chef d'escadron Piontkowski la somme de 6.000 francs d'ordre de Mr. Torlonia et Comp. et pour le compte de Madame mère de l'Empereur Napoléon par Messrs Baring frères et Comp. Londres 12 juillet.

Copie de la déclaration, dictée par l'Empereur pour répondre à la demande de Sir H. Lowe, après laquelle chaque individu de la suite de Napoléon devait se soumettre par écrit aux restrictions, que lui Mr. Lowe jugerait nécessaire d'imposer à l'Empereur — ceux qui ne voudraient donner cette déclaration devaient quitter immédiatement l'Isle de Ste-Hélène — Chaque officier et même les domestiques se soumettaient aux restrictions. —

J'ai suivi l'Empereur Napoléon sur le Bellerophon, n'étant pas admis à la faveur de le suivre j'ai continué de rester (je suis resté) sur un vaisseau anglais dans le port de Plymouth. J'ai depuis obtenu la permission de rejoindre l'Empereur à Ste-Hélène — où je suis depuis quatre mois. Je n'ai rien trouvé de ce qu'on disait à Plymouth de la beauté de l'Isle, de la salubrité de son climat et des égards dont on disait être entouré l'Empereur et les officiers de sa suite. L'Isle est affreuse, c'est proprement dit l'Isle de la désolation — son climat ne ressemble à aucun climat de la terre, on y est perpétuellement dans les nuages au milieu des brouillards, ou exposé à un soleil ardent, bienfait dont on est même privé les trois quarts du temps. L'humidité ordinaire de cette partie de l'Isle que nous habitons mettra un terme prompt à la vie de l'Empereur et des personnes de sa suite. Je suis cependant constant dans mon ardent désir de rester auprès de l'Empereur et je me soumets aux restrictions qu'on nous impose quoiqu'elles soient injustes, arbitraires, vexatoires et motivées par aucune nécessité puisqu'il suffit de garder le rivage par terre et par mer pour ôter tout moyen de s'échapper de ce rocher escarpé.

Longwood dans l'Isle de Ste-Hélène ce 18 Avril 1816
/signé/ Piontkowski, Capitaine

Cette déclaration a décidé le Gouvernement anglais à m'éloigner de la personne de l'Empereur — ainsi que trois autres personnes dont le choix était laissé au jugement du Général Lowe — après avoir hésité longtem(p)s pour faire craindre que son choix tomberait sur quelques officiers généraux ou leur famille, il a laissé au C(om)te Bertrand le choix de trois domestiques — la seule civilité que nous avons vu de sa part.

Copie de la lettre de Sir Hudson Lowe au C(om)te Bertrand.

Plantation House Octobr(e) 18th 1816

Sir

In persuance of instructions I have received from my Government of which a verbal communication has been already made to Général Bonaparte to remove *at least* four of the persons who followed him to this Island, the selection of whom is left to my judgement, I have to acquaint you, that I have fixed upon the following persons to depart, viz Captain Piontkowski, Santini, Rousseau and one of the Archambaults, or two Archambaults without Rousseau.

It is my desire they should embark before two o'clock tomorrow and I shall direct Captain Poppleton to give any assistance that may be required in regard to their baggage.

I have the hono(u)r to be

Sir

Your most obedient humble servant

/signé/ H. Lowe Lt.-Général

pour copie conforme

Le C(om)te Bertrand.

La haine du Gouverneur et principalement de Sir Thomas Reade /son adjudant général/ envers moi allait si loin de ne pas seulement vouloir me nuire en Europe mais encore à vouloir me faire mépriser par l'Empereur et sa suite en faisant répandre les bruits les plus ridicules sur mon compte après mon départ de l'Isle (île) — comme je viens d'apprendre.

Quoique je ne pouvais parler qu'à un seul officier /qui était envoyé avec moi au Cap de Bonne Espérance et dont la conduite dès le premier moment m'empêcha d'entrer avec lui en conversation/ on avait répandu dans l'Isle que je m'étais vanté que l'Emp(ereur) avait pleuré toute la nuit à cause de mon départ. L'Emp(ereur) qui

est séparé de sa famille, qui a perdu le trône et tant de mil(l)ions de partisans et qui supporte son malheur avec un courage sans pareil — il faut avoir perdu la tête pour croire qu'un seul homme pourrait ajouter foi à de telles misérables calummiations (calomnies).

NOTE DU CHEF D'ESCADRON FREDERIC PIONTKOWSKI CONCERNANT LE DISCOURS DU LORD BATHURST A LA CHAMBRE DES PAIRS LE 18 *MARS* 1817

On a rétréci les limites que l'A(miral) Cockburn avait fixées. Sir H. Lowe dans sa lettre du 7 Oct(obre) en donne pour raison — que l'Emp(ereur) ne paraît (pas) avoir besoin des limites dans lesquelles il ne s'est jamais promené pendant le tem(p)s que lui, /H. Lowe/, est Gouverneur de l'Isle (île) — mais il se garde bien de parler d'un commerce dangereux avec les habitan(t)s de la vallée puisqu'il est facile d'en prouver la fausseté sur le lieu même — mais il devient impossible de contredire en Angleterre des histoires prises en l'air depuis que le Gouvernement anglais s'est privé lui-même de tout moyen de connaître la vraie situation de l'Empereur, en le mettant tout-à-fait à la discrétion d'un homme comme Mr. Lowe. Le discours du Comte Bathurst prouve évidemment qu'on ne s'est jamais trompé à Longwood en croyant que le G(énéral) Lowe agit (agissait) contre ses instructions et qu'il cache (cachait) à son Gouvernement soigneusement sa conduite tyrannique. Le Gouvernement anglais n'a pas même connaissance des restrictions imposées à l'Emp(ereur) et à sa suite, en un mot, il n'a aucune connaissance du contenu de la sus-mentionnée lettre que Sir H. L(owe) a adressée au C(om)te Bertrand en date du 7 Octob(re) dernier. L'Emp(ereur) a dicté au G(énér)al Gourgaud de remarquer sur chacun des articles de cette lettre pour en prouver la barbarie — la fausseté et le ridicule — ces remarques ont été communiquées au Gouverneur et l'Emp(ereur) y dit en outre (:) Ne serait-il pas plus généreux de me tuer ? puisqu'on oublie jusqu'à l'ombre des égards. Les limites fixées par cette lettre se bornent au seul chemin de Longwood jusque vis-à-vis d'Alarm House. Ce chemin rempli de postes et duquel on ne peut dévier, est large de 15 pieds entre une colline inculte et une vallée arride, nommée Devil's Punchbowl, de punch du diable — la vallée à la main gauche de Longwood est défendue — il n'y a d'autres maisons que la cahute, que le C(om)te Bertrand habite et une autre qui servait de corps de garde et est actuellement occupée par le Brigade major. Si le Gouverneur dans la sus-mentionnée lettre défend d'entrer dans des maisons, qui n'existent point, il ne peut avoir pour but que de faire croire que les limites se trouvent dans une partie habitée et c'est faux. J'en fais la demande à l'hon-

neur de Sir George Cockburn et aux témoignages des habitan(t)s et militaires de Ste-Hélène. L'Emp(ereur) se promenait toujours dans la matinée ou dans la soirée puisqu'on s'expose pendant la journée d'attraper le mal au foie — ou la dysenterie qui a mis au tombeau nombre d'habitan(t)s, de soldats et de matelots — j'en demande le témoignage de l'Amiral Cockburn — pour empêcher les promenades de l'Emp(ereur) ou pour le forcer de (à) se promener pendant un tem(p)s qui menace ses jours, le Gouverneur a inventé le moyen de fermer Longwood depuis six heures du soir jusqu' à six heures du matin. La communication avec les officiers et les habitan(t)s — bien éloignée d'être libre comme le Comte Bathurst l'annonce dans la Chambre des Pairs — est interdite à un tel point qu'il est même défendu de parler aux personnes qu'on pourrait rencontrer sur la promenade le long de Devil's Punchbowl — il n'est permis d'écrire qu'aux fournisseurs en donnant des lettres ouvertes au Cap(itaine) Poppleton. Sir H. Lowe s'est donc permis cette conduite tyrannique contre ses instructions et même sans prendre la peine d'en informer son Gouvernement. Il a déclaré dans le mois d'Août, qu'il n'enverrait point de provisions si l'Emp(ereur) ne mettait pas de fonds à sa disposition. L'Emp(ereur) a répondu (:) Je n'ai rien demandé de votre Gouvernement — il m'est égal si vous envoyez des vivres ou non — je suis militaire et j'ai mangé plus d'une fois aux camps — il y a au camp qui n'est pas loin d'ici de braves militaires qui ont gagné ce titre au prix de leur sang — ils estiment en moi un officier distingué et les larmes leur viennent aux yeux quand ils voient l'indigne manière dont je suis traité — j'irai leur demander une soupe — il n'y a pas un officier, ni même un soldat qui ne me donnera avec plaisir la moitié de la sienne. — L'Emp(ereur) a répété à table ce discours. On regarde à Longwood comme de(s) bagatelles le manque de vivres et leur mauvaise qualité, ainsi que toutes les privations — on s'en plaint rarement — mais on se plaint et avec raison de l'humidité perpétuelle du logement — du climat — des restrictions inutiles et barbares, ainsi que de la conduite du Général Lowe et des officiers de son état major, qui se font un plaisir de faire sentir le misérable pouvoir d'offenser impunément. Le C(om)te Bathurst dit que le Lt. Gouverneur n'aura pas choisi un mauvais logement — je réponds (:) Le Lieut(enant) Gouverneur a un bon logement à Jamestown et ne s'est servi de Longwood que d'une maison de campagne, que Longwood qui appartient au Gouvernment était à sa disposition, mais qu'il eût été obligé d'acheter ou de louer toute autre maison de campagne — l'humidité ordinaire de cette partie de l'Isle (île) a causé une attaque de dysenterie à M(adame) Montholon et au G(énér)al Gourgaud qui a été pendant un mois dans une situation qui nous fit craindre pour leurs

jours. — Tous les officiers ont souffert par le (du) climat, dont le rhumatisme est une suite naturelle. — Le Comte Bertrand seul n'a pas été malade puisqu'il ne demeurait pas à Longwood. — Les remarques journalières que le docteur O'Meara fait sur ce climat, pour le baromètre comme pour le thermomètre, prouveront ce que j'ai dit de son insalubrité. (*Phrase biffée*: Le Gouverneur est bien éloigné de la délicatesse dont le C(om)te Bathurst fait mention dans son discours. *Fin de la phrase biffée*). Quant à la délicatesse du G(énér)al Lowe, dont le C(om)te Bathurst fait mention dans son discours — sa conduite et ses procédés nous ont prouvé qu'il n'en connaissait que le mot, comme on verra par quelques traits que je veux rapporter. Il nous avait demandé des soumissions par écrit aux restrictions qu'il jugerait à propos à (de) nous imposer. Le Comte Bertrand lui a envoyé une déclaration que nous avions signée — pour insulter cet officier si respectable — le G(énér)al Lowe vient à Longwood nous présenter à chacun sa signature pour les légaliser! L'Amiral Cockburn avait donné l'ordre que les étrangers ou habitan(t)s de l'Isle (île) qui désireraient voir l'Empereur se devaient adresser au Comte Bertrand, pour savoir si et quand l'Emp(ereur) les recevrait. — Les invitations du Grand Maréchal servaient de passeports pour entrer à Longwood et furent envoyées chaque soir à l'Amiral par l'officier de garde. Le G(énéral) Lowe donnait des passeports à une quantité d'étrangers, sans demander si l'Emp(ereur) voulait ou pouvait les voir — il avait pour but de dégoûter l'Emp(ereur) des visites. Les étrangers venaient se placer devant ses fenêtres ou sur la promenade de l'Emp(ereur) croyant qu'un passeport du Gouverneur était un droit de le forcer de (à) se faire voir. L'Emp(ereur) ne peut pas toujours être de l'humeur de se donner au (en) spectacle à des gens dont il ne connaissait seulement pas le nom et il a été souvent obligé de ne point sortir pour éviter ces importunités. Il fit connaître au G(énéral) Lowe son désir de ne voir à Longwood que de(s) gens munis d'une autorisation du C(om)te Bertrand — comme il faisait pendant le tem(p)s de l'Amiral Cockburn. — Le Gouverneur a répondu que l'Emp(ereur) ne voulait voir personne et c'est faux. Il y a à Ste-Hélène un état major assez nombreux pour un corps d'armée et dont un Capitaine est payé à raison de 45 sterlings par jour — ces officiers viennent à Longwood où ils n'ont rien à faire — crier indecemment et galopper avec un train de dragons et de domestiques jusque sous les fenêtres de l'Emp(ereur) — qui mécontent d'une telle conduite a fait écrire au Gouverneur à ce sujet. — On a transformé cette lettre dans une déclaration par laquelle l'Emp(ereur) se plaint que les officiers du 53ème Régiment /pour lesquels l'Emp(ereur) a beaucoup d'estime/ viennent à Longwood. Les vivres que le Gouverneur envoie à Long-

wood sont jetés pêle-mêle dans une charette — viande — pain — beurre — poulets — légumes — sucre — tout l'un sur l'autre — de sorte que chacun de ces articles y arrive rempli de substances étrangères et gâté par la pluie ou le soleil, ou la poussière. — On a empêché les esclaves qui portent des vivres pour la maison du Comte Bertrand d'entrer dans la cour et les vivres sont restés sur la grand-route. La délicatesse si vantée de Mr. Lowe l'a porté à vouloir faire pendre un homme devant la porte de Madame Bertrand à qui cet évènement n'eût pas manqué de causer des impressions fâcheuses vu qu'elle était très avancée dans sa grossesse. Je pourrais citer plusieurs traits semblables — mais je me borne à donner une idée juste de la manière délicate dont Sir H. Lowe traite l'Emp(ereur) et les personnes de sa suite — il n'a pas même dédaigné d'arrêter en personne et de renvoyer sans dire pourquoi un domestique que le G(énér)al Montholon avait pris sur la recommandation du dernier Gouverneur. Les livres envoyés à Longwood sont payés sur les 4,000 Napoléons, qu'on avait pris à l'Empereur en dépôt sur le Bellerophon et dont le reste ainsi que l'argenterie de l'Emp(ereur) a été mangé à Ste-Hélène.

L'Editeur de l'Anti-Gallican annonce qu'on s'est servi de son journal pour la correspondance en chiffre, que le C(om)te Bathurst donne pour raison de refuser des journaux à Longwood. — Il me paraît étrange que les personnes qui ont voulu entrer en correspondance avec Ste-Hélène par le moyen des journaux au lieu de prendre la peine de s'informer quels sont les journaux qui parviennent à la connaissance de l'Emp(ereur) se sont adressés à un journal qui est inconnu à Longwood jusqu'au nom. Le C(omte) Bathurst ne connaît pas les raisons, que l'Emp(ereur) pourrait avoir pour (de) demander correspondance libre, afin de tirer de l'argent pour subvenir à ses besoins — ne serait-il pas possible que la conduite du G(énér)al Lowe, qui demanda à l'Emp(ereur) des fonds, dont il le sait (savait) dépourvu à Ste-Hélène, eût fait naître des soupçons qu'on désire connaître si l'Emp(ereur) a des fonds en Europe et les endroits où ils sont placés — et serait-il étonnant si l'Emp(ereur) ne s'empresse pas de donner ces informations? Le Comte Bathurst dit que le départ précipité pour Ste-Hélène à empêcher de faire les arrangements pour l'agrément de l'Emp(ereur) — ce n'était pas pendant le tem(p)s de l'Amiral Cockburn — mais depuis l'arrivée de Sir H. Lowe qu'on manque de tout à Longwood. Le seul moyen de sauver la vie de l'Em(pereur) à Ste-Hélène est de lui donner une maison dans une partie de l'Isle (île) où le climat est salubre — de ne point le gêner dans son habitude de prendre exercise — de le soustraire aux insultes du Général Lowe et de lui fournir une nourriture saine. — Tout cela se comporterait avec la sûreté de la per-

sonne de l'Em(pereur) si l'on bornait le Gouverneur à la défense et surveillance de l'Isle (île) et de la côte — par terre et par mer — et que tout ce qui regarde l'Emp(ereur) et sa maison fut réglé par un conseil indépendant du Gouverneur et composé d'officiers supérieurs et des principaux officiers civils. L'Emp (ereur) s'est bien souvent exprimé de cette manière.

(*Annotations concernant la publication*: *"Appel à la Nation anglaise sur le traitement éprouvé par Napoléon Buonaparte dans l'isle de Sante-Hélène. Par M. Santini, huissier du cabinet de l'Empereur. Suivi de la lettre adressée à Sir Hudson Lowe. Troisième édition, augmentée d'une préface. Londres. Imprimé pour MM. Ridgway, Piccadilly,* 1817" — *en français et en anglais*).

page 14.5. On fait venir du lait de Sandy Bay à la distance de 8 miles — l'esclave qui le porte en vend la moitié en route et le remplit d'eau, (*Partie biffée*) s'il ne le vend pas tout-à-fait, ce qui se passe bien souvent. Le lait est gâté et n'arrive que rarement à tem(p)s. Cependant il y a une ferme à 200 pas de Longwood, mais il faut bien empêcher que nous ayons du bon lait et dans le tem(p)s quand on en a besoin.

page 20. ligne 19 — il a causé la dysenterie à Madame de Montholon et au Général Gourgaud.

page 26. hormis moi-même et le Colonel Piontkowski, qui était désigné exprès par le Gouverneur pour être séparé de la personne de l'Empereur et qui a été confiné à Longwood plusieurs semaines avant le départ.

page 26. ligne 16. L'Empereur ayant vendu son argenterie a pu se passer du chef de l'argenterie, de même que d'un des piqueurs, ne pouvant se promener à cheval par (pour) des raisons susmentionnées et n'ayant plus de correspondance le gardien du portefeuille lui fut devenu également superflu; ce sont les raisons qui consolent les trois domestiques qui ont été renvoyés de Ste-Hélène.

page 12. ligne 17. Mille livres st(erlings) entre les mains d'un homme qui les emploie pour lui-même sont une somme plus considérable que celle de 8 000 ou 12 000 livres sterlings entre les mains de ceux qui fournissent la maison de Longwood. Je ne sais pas si les dépenses pour Cap (itaine) Poppleton et Docteur O'Meara, pour leurs cinq domestiques et leurs chevaux, (ne) sont (pas) payées sur la somme fixée pour les dépenses de Longwood.—(*Fin de la partie biffée*)

Préface

Le Comte Bathurst a refusé les copies des instructions pour le Gouverneur de Ste-Hélène — et de la correspondance avec les officiers de la maison de l'Empereur.—Pouvait-il donner une meil-

leure preuve que tout ce qui est contenu dans la lettre du G(énéral) Montholon est non seulement la vérité — mais encore que le traitement que l'Emp(ereur) essuie est de beaucoup plus dur qu'on ne le dit dans cet exposé? Les déclarations du Général Gourgaud et du Comte Las Cases eussent fait connaître les arrangements faits avec le Capitaine du Bellerophon — et la lettre du Gouverneur en date du 7 Octobre 1816 eût fait connaître les restrictions qu'on a imposées à l'Empereur et aux personnes de sa suite.

Lorsqu'on a débarqué les 3 domestiques à Portsmouth, où mon passeport fut retenu par le Cap (itaine) de la frégate l'Orontes — j'ai fait une copie pour chacun des trois domestiques de la lettre de Montholon que j'avais apprise par coeur par ordre de l'Emp(ereur) — comme le seul moyen de la faire connaître en Europe-croyant que je serais envoyé à Malte comme le Lowe avait dit.

NOTES BIOGRAPHIQUES

AUTRIC, capitaine français, officier d'ordonnance de Napoléon.

BAILLON, chevalier, fourrier du Palais à Paris.

BALCOMBE, propriétaire d'une maison de campagne "Briars" à Sainte-Hélène où Napoléon habita du lendemain de son débarquement à Sainte-Hélène (17 octobre 1815) jusqu'au 10 Décembre 1815. Napoléon y occupait une salle de bal. Balcombe fut ensuite chargé d'approvisionnement de Longwood. La fille de M. Balcombe, Mme Elisabeth Abell, publia "Recollections of the Emperor Napoleon".

BATHURST, Henry, Earl of Bathurst (1762-1834), secrétaire d'Etat britannique à la Guerre et les Colonies, responsable pour les instructions concernant la captivité de Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène.

BECKER, Leonard Nicolas, comte, général français (1770-1840), chargé par le gouvernement provisoire d'accompagner Napoléon jusqu'à Rochefort.

BENTINCK, William, Lord, général britannique (1774-1839). Gouverneur-général des Indes de 1827 à 1835.

BERTRAND, Henri Gratien, comte, général français, grand maréchal du Palais (1773-1844), resté à Sainte-Hélène jusqu'à la mort de Napoléon. Ses "Cahiers de Sainte-Hélène" furent publiés à Paris en trois volumes en 1949, 1951 et 1959.

BONAPARTE, Hortense née de Beauharnais, fille de Joséphine (1783-1837) Mariée à Louis, roi de Hollande, frère de Napoléon. Mère de Napoléon III.

BONAPARTE, Joseph, frère aîné de Napoléon, roi de Naples, puis d'Espagne (1761-1844), De Rochefort il se rendit à Bordeaux d'où il partit pour les Etats-Unis d'Amérique. Revenu en Europe en 1832.

BONAPARTE, Marie Laetizia, née Ramolino (1750-1836), mère de Napoléon. Après sa seconde abdication elle vivait à Rome.

CASTLEREAGH, Robert Stewart, vicomte, marquis de Londonderry (1769-1822), secrétaire d'Etat britannique aux Affaires Etrangères, jouait un rôle important au Congrès de Vienne.

COCKBURN, Sir George, amiral britannique (1772-1853), amena Napoléon sur "Northumberland" à Sainte-Hélène et y était responsable pour sa captivité jusqu'à l'arrivée de Sir Hudson Lowe.

DECRES, Denis, duc, amiral français (1761-1820), ministre de la Marine sous Napoléon et dans le gouvernement provisoire en 1815.

DILLON, nom de famille de la comtesse Bertrand, d'origine irlandaise.

DROUOT, Antoine, comte, général français (1774-1847), accompagna Napoléon à l'île d'Elbe, combattit à Waterloo. Pendant la "terreur blanche" fut emprisonné et jugé, se défendit avec dignité et fut acquitté.

DUCKWORTH, Sir John Thomas, amiral britannique (1748-1817), nommé en 1815 commandant a Plymouth.

FESCH, Joseph, archevêque de Lyon, cardinal (1763-1839). Demi-frère de Mme Laetizia Bonaparte, oncle de Napoléon.

FOUCHE, Joseph, duc d'Otrante (1759-1820), ministre de la Police sous Napoléon, jusqu'en 1810 et pendant les Cent-Jours. Après la seconde abdication de Napoléon, chef de la Commission exécutive des Chambres des Représentants (gouvernement provisoire).

FOX, Charles James, troisième fils du 1er Lord Holland, un des plus importants hommes d'Etat anglais (1749-1806). Vrai créateur du parti liberal moderne anglais, succédant au parti whig. L'architecte principal de la paix d'Amiens de 1802.

GOURGAUD, Gaspard, baron, général français (1783-1852), accompagna Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène. Il quitta Sainte-Hélène le 14 mars 1818. Son "Journal inédit. Sainte Hélène" fut publié à Paris en 1889. Dernière réédition en 1947.

HOLLAND, Henry Richard Vassall Fox, 3ème Lord Holland (1773-1840), homme d'Etat anglais. Sa femme, Elisabeth, Lady Holland, envoyait des livres à Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène et fut mentionnée dans son testament.

HORTENSE. V. Bonaparte Hortense.

HOTHAM, Sir Henry, amiral britannique (1777-1833). En 1815 nommé commandant de l'escadre de la Baie de Biscaye.

JERZMANOWSKI, Jean Paul, baron, major au 1er régiment de chevau-légers de la Garde (1779-1862). Accompagna Napoléon à l'île d'Elbe. Nommé colonel pendant les Cent-Jours, combattit à Waterloo. Rentré en Pologne à la fin de 1815, revenu en France en 1819.

JOSEPH, V. Bonaparte Joseph.

JOSEPHINE, née Tascher de la Pagerie, mariée en premières noces au vicomte de Beauharnais, mort sur l'échafaud en 1794, en deuxièmes noces au général Bonaparte (1763-1814). Elle mourut à Malmaison pendant que Napoléon était à l'île d'Elbe.

KEITH, George Elphinstone, vicomte, amiral britannique (1746-1823), nommé en 1812 commandant-en-chief de la Manche. Il était responsable pour les arrangements concernant Napoléon et sa suite à Plymouth.

LABEDOYERE, Charles Huchet, colonel français, nommé général pendant les Cent-Jours (1786-1815). Emprisonné et fusillé pendant la "terreur blanche" pour avoir passé avec son régiment à Napoléon près de Grenoble au retour de l'empereur de l'île d'Elbe.

LALLEMAND, Frédéric Antoine, baron, général français (1774-1839), Pendant la "terreur blanche" en France condamné à mort en contumace. Revenu en France après la révolution de juillet 1830.

LAS CASES, Emmanuel, comte, chambellan, historien français (1766-1842), accompagna Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène. Fut arrêté par l'ordre de Sir Hudson Lowe le 25 novembre 1816 et renvoyé de Sainte-Hélène le 30 décembre 1816. Il publia ses "Mémoires" à Bruxelles en 1818 et "Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène ou Journal . . ." à Paris en 1823. Dernière réédition complète du "Mémorial" en 1968.

LAVALETTE, Antoine Marie Chamans, comte de la Valette directeur des Postes (1769-1855). Il publia ses "Mémoires et souvenirs" à Paris en 1831.

LOWE, Sir Hudson, général britannique (1769-1844), nommé gouverneur de Sainte-Hélène, il y arriva le 15 avril 1816 et y resta jusqu'à la mort de Napoléon. En 1822 il entama une action judiciaire contre le docteur O'Meara à cause de ses publications. Cette action n'aboutit point à une conclusion. Après Sainte-Hélène il avait des postes peu importants à Antigua et à Ceylan. Revenu en Angleterre en 1831, il passa le reste de sa vie en récriminations contre ses critiques et son gouvernement. En revenant de Sainte-Hélène il avait 20,000 livres en argent et des objets de valeur, mais il mourut paralysé, un homme pauvre. En 1830 on publia à Paris son "Mémorial relatif à la captivité de Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène", c'est un apocryphe. En 1853 William Forsyth publia à Londres "History of the captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena" en trois volumes, où il entreprit la défense de la conduite de Sir Hudson Lowe à Sainte-Hélène. C'est une oeuvre importante mais extrêmement tendancieuse.

LOWTHER, William, Earl of Lonsdale (1787-1872). En 1809 nommé Junior Lord de l'Amirauté britannique.

LYTTELTON, William Henry, baron, membre de la Chambre des Communes, politicien actif du parti whig (1782-1837). Il publia "Account of Napoleon Buonaparte's coming on board H.M.S. Northumberland 7 August 1815", un des meilleurs témoignages des adieux de Napoléon.

MADAME MERE. V. Bonaparte Marie Laetizia.

MAITLAND, Sir Frédéric Louis, capitaine de "Bellerophon" (1777-1839). Il publia en 1826 "Narrative of the surrender of Bonaparte and of his residence on board H.M.S. Bellerophon". Nommé amiral en 1832.

MALCOLM, Sir Pulteney, amiral britannique (1768-1838), assuma le commandement maritime à Sainte-Hélène après le départ de Sir George Cockburn. Quitta ce poste en 1817.

MARCHAND, Louis Joseph, premier valet de chambre de Napoléon à l'île Elbe et à Sainte-Hélène. (1791-1876). Il fut un des trois exécuteurs testamentaires de Napoléon qui le fit comte à son lit de mort. Ses "Mémoires" ont éte publiés à Paris en 1952-1955.

MERCHER, capitaine français, officier d'ordonnance de Napoléon.

MONTESQUIOU-FEZENSAC (Madame Anatole de), gouvernante du roi de Rome, fils de Napoléon et de Marie Louise.

MONTHOLON, Charles François Tristan, comte, général français (1783-1853), resté à Sainte-Hélène jusqu'à la mort de Napoléon. Il publia en 1823 "Dictées de Sainte-Hélène". En collaboration avec gen. Gourgaud il publia en 1822-1827 huit volumes des "Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France sous Napoléon, écrits à Sainte-Hélène. Par les généraux qui ont partagé sa captivité et publiés sur les manuscrits entièrement corrigés par la main de Napoléon". En 1847 il publia ses "Récits de la captivité de l'Empereur Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène".

NAPOLEON, empereur des Français, né à Ajaccio le 15 août 1769, mort à Sainte-Hélène le 5 mai 1821. Son corps fut ramené en triomphe en France en 1840 sous le règne de Louis Phillippe.

NAPOLEON II, roi de Rome, fils de Napoléon et de Marie Louise (1811-1832). Napoléon abdiqua le 23 juin 1815 en sa faveur et il fut reconnu empereur par les Chambres. Il n'était pas en France en ce temps là, étant retenu en Autriche.

O'MEARA, Barry Edward, chirurgien au service de la marine britannique (1786-1836), accompagna Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène comme son médecin. Il y avait des désaccords entre lui et Sir Hudson Lowe et il fut renvoyé de Sainte-Hélène le 2 août 1818. Il publia à Londres en 1819 "Exposition of affairs at St. Helena during the captivity of Napoleon", suivi en 1822 de "Napoleon in exile or a Voice from St. Helena", où il critiquait en termes trés forts le traitement accordé à Napoléon par Sir Hudson Lowe, en particulier les restrictions imposées le 9 octobre 1816.

OTRANTE, duc de. V. Fouché.

PERSAN, un domestique à Longwood, arrêté par l'ordre de Sir Hudson Lowe pour avoir accepté cet emploi sans sa permission.

PLANAT DE LA FAYE, Nicolas Louis, colonel français. Ses "Souvenirs, lettres et dictées, recueillis et annotés par sa veuve" ont été publiés à Paris en 1895.

POPPLETON, Thomas, capitaine du 53ème régiment britannique, officier de la garde, chargé de la surveillance de Napoléon à Longwood.

PRADT, Dominique Georges (de Fourt de), archevêque de Malines, écrivain politique (1759-1837), fut ambassadeur extraordinaire de Napoléon à Varsovie pendant la campagne de Russie en 1812. Passé à ses ennemis, il publia à Paris en 1815 "Histoire de l'ambassade dans le Grand-duché de Varsovie". Napoléon était fort mécontent de sa conduite à Varsovie.

READE, Sir Thomas, assistant principal, avec le titre de Deputy Adjudant-General, du gouverneur à Sainte-Hélène, Sir Hudson Lowe.

RESIGNY, capitaine français, officier d'ordonnance de Napoléon.

RIVIERE, capitaine français, officier d'ordonnance de Napoléon.

ROVIGO, duc de. V. Savary.

SANTINI, Jean Noél, d'origine corse, (1790-1862), un des trois domestiques de Napoléon, renvoyés de Sainte-Hélène le 19 octobre 1816. Arrêté par les Autrichiens en Italie, emprisonné dans la forteresse de Mantou, mis en liberté après la mort de Napoléon. En 1840 il accompagna comte Bert-

rand et Marchand dans l'expédition à Sainte-Hélène pour ramener le corps de Napoléon en France. Ses réminiscences "De Sainte-Hélène aux Invalides" furent publiées à Paris en 1853 et — édition élargie — en 1854.

SAVARY, Anne Jean Marie René, duc de Rovigo, général français, ministre de la Police de 1810 à 1814 (1774-1833). Après la déportation de Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène il fut amené avec le général Lallemand et quelques autres officiers français à l'île de Malte et detenu dans la forteresse, d'où il s'évada avec le général Lallemand.

SCHULTZ (Szulc),Jean, né en 1768, commença son service militaire en 1783 dans l'armée polonaise. Capitaine des chevau-légers lanciers polonais en —1814, accompagna Napoléon à l'île d'Elbe et puis pendant son retour en France. Il combattit à Waterloo. Nommé colonel et chef d'escadron aux chevau-légers lanciers de la Garde Impériale, il fut choisi pour suivre l'empereur dans sa nouvelle retraite. Detenu par les Anglais dans la forteresse de Malte, mis en liberté le 6 août 1816, il menait ensuite la vie pleine d'infortune et de privations et mourut probablement en France aprés 1821.

SKELTON, colonel britannique, était lieutenant-gouverneur à Sainte-Hélène avant l'arrivée de Sir Hudson Lowe.

WARDEN, William (1777-1849), chirurgien sur le "Northumberland" et à Sainte-Hélène, publia en 1816 "Letters written on board H.M.S. Northumberland and at St. Helena", où il critiqua la conduite de Sir Hudson Lowe.

WILSON, Sir Robert Thomas, général britannique (1777-1849). Auteur de divers ouvrages militaires et politiques. En 1818 fut élu à la Chambre des Communes, devint politicien trés actif du parti whig. En 1842 nommé gouverneur et commandant à Gibraltar. Sa biographie par Michael Glover "A very slippery fellow: the life of Sir Robert Wilson" parut eu 1977 à Londres.

S T U D I A

BOLESŁAW JAKIMOWICZ, M.I.C.
(Rome)

THE MARIANS IN PORTUGAL

The search for documents relating to the history of the Polish Order of the Marian Fathers in Portugal and particularly about Father Casimir Wyszyński, the first Marian in Portugal, was very interesting and resulted in the discovery of a number of precious documents. The ancient archives of the Marian convents in Portugal were either confiscated by the Government in 1834 or taken away by individual collectors of antiquities. The best known and largest collection of confiscated monastery archives, Torre de Tombo in Lisbon, contains only a very few documents relating to the Marians. Nothing was found in the fine archives of Braga and Porto. Also, Coimbra's famous University Library yielded no references to the Marians. Therefore, the only possibility of finding some vestiges of the old Marian archives was to search for them in private collections or archives inaccessible to the public.

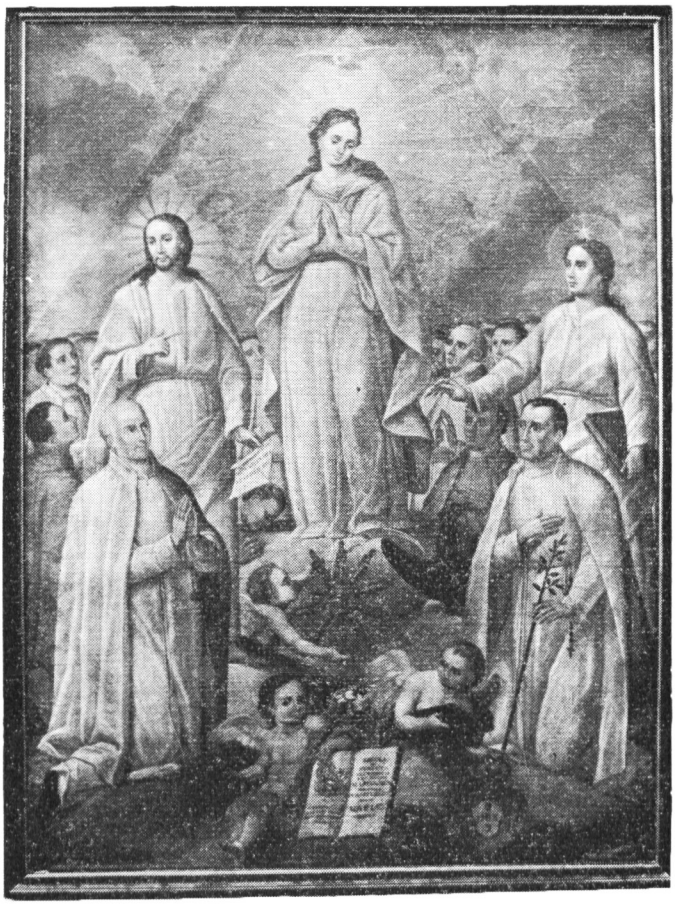
The first such search was made among the books and manuscripts stored in a haphazard manner in the municipal building in Vila Real. Although the local city government officials were opposed to admitting anyone to this collection, nevertheless, permission was finally granted just to enter and look at the pile of old books and manuscripts deposited there with no semblance of order. This brief entry and glimpse was sufficient to find one of the most precious manuscripts taken from the convent of Balsamão, the old mother-house of the Marian Fathers in Portugal. This document, entitled PROTOCOLLUM ORDINIS MARIANI,[1] was written by

[1] "*Protocollum Ordinis Mariani Immaculatae Conceptionis B.V. Mariae Animabus in suffragium. Parochis in adiutorium in Regno Poloniae Anno Domini 1679 per Venerabilem P. Stanislaum a Jesu Maria Papczyński canonice erecti, noviter vero per V.P. Casimirum a S. Josepho Wyszyński ejusdem Ordinis Ex-Praepositum Generalem in Balsamaum Regni Portugallicae. Episcopatus Mirandensis Anno Domini 1754 introducti consciptum a P. Fr. Alexio a S. Octaviano Fischer, ejusdem Ordinis indigno post obitum V.P. Casimiri Commissario in Balsamão Anno Domini 1758.*" (Quoted later on as Protoc. Balsamanen.)

The original manuscript of this *Protocollum* is now located in Biblioteca Municipal Dr. Julio A. Teixeira in Vila Real, Portugal.

Father Alexius Fischer. The PROTOCOLLUM is a collection of documents, copies of letters sent and received, minutes of canonical visitations and activities of the Marians in Portugal.

Sometime later, several other very precious manuscripts and documents had been found in a private collection in Lisbon. Permission was also eventually granted to search in the Museum of



Pictorial representation of the Marian foundation in Portugal

Abade Baçal in Bragança where manuscripts and documents, taken from confiscated monasteries in 1834, documents from the local diocesan chancery as well as parochial archives from that diocese, are still deposited in utter confusion without any system or cata-

logues. The findings in the Bragança collection are the most valuable in relation to the history of the Marian Order in Portugal.

All the documents discovered thus far brought to light one of the most interesting persons in the history of the Marians in Portugal, Father Alexius Fischer. He had been the immediate successor and continuator of the work of Father Casimir Wyszyński, founder of the Marians in that country.

The Marians come to Portugal

On October 10, 1753 two Polish Marian priests, Casimir Wyszyński and Beno Bujalski, arrived in Portugal. They were sent from Poland to establish the (Polish) Marian Order in the Kingdom of Portugal.[2] This mission, however, proved to be very complicated and involved.

According to official letters received from John de Molina, the Minister General of the Franciscan Order, at that time residing in Madrid, the King of Portugal, Joseph I, was to have invited the Marians to his Kingdom.[3] Unfortunately, this was not true. The man responsible for inviting the Marians to Portugal had been Doctor Antonio de Sousa Teixeira Salazar, who wanted to found a new religious institute of the Immaculate Conception.[4] He had come into possession of an old convent abandoned by the Augustinian Fathers at Monte Aboboda near Cascais, a suburb of Lisbon. Together with some men who associated themselves with him, he asked the Minister General of the Franciscans to take it under his protection. The Minister General replied to Dr Salazar that there already exists such an Order of the Immaculate Conception, founded in Poland, and he may ask them to come to Portugal and together (with Salazar) establish a foundation of that Order in Portugal.[5] Dr Salazar, being well acquainted with the Lady Marchese of

[2] *Protoc. Balsamanen.*, p. 19.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 6.

[4] *Ib.*, p. 3 and p. 10. Antonio de Sousa Salazar Teixeira, priest of the diocese of Coimbra. Particulars unknown.

[5] Fr. Wyszyński's letter to the Superior General in Poland: "Panu Bogu niech będzie cześć y chwała, że dla honoru Niepokalanego Poczęcia N. Panny nas nie zapomina, ale in multis tribulationibus consolatur humiles, et humiliatos kiedy oto iuż wzgardzonych prawie od wszystkich, et de stercore erigit pauperes, ut colocet eos apud Principes inter populos suos, a to w ten sposób: Król Imć Portugalski pisze ad Reverendissimum Ministrum Generalem Seraphici Ordinis żądaiąc aby naszych dwóch zakonników z Polski sprowadził do Portugallij, chcąc nas królewskim nakładem tamże fundować, Reverendissimus zaś z Hiszpanij pisze ad Reverendissimum Commissarium Generalem do Rzymu aby naszych ad hunc effectum iako nayprędzey wokował..."
Letter from March 11, 1752. Original in Archiwum Archidiecezjalne w Poznaniu, sign. APS/7

Cascais, asked her to approach the Spanish ambassador in Lisbon to write to the Minister General of the Franciscans that Joseph I, King of Portugal, invites the Marians to his country. Father John de Molina was not aware of this subterfuge. He therefore wrote to his Commissar in Rome to contact the Marians there and present to them the King's invitation to come to Portugal. Since Fr. Casimir Wyszyński was in Rome at that time, the Commissar of the Franciscans presented this letter of the Minister General to him, whereupon Fr. Wyszyński immediately contacted his own Superior General in Poland. (Incidentally, it should be noted that from 1699 till 1787 the Marians were incorporated to the Franciscan Order, for this reason the Minister General of the Franciscans was also the highest superior of the Marians.)[6]

When Fr. Wyszyński and his companion, Fr. Beno Bujalski,[7] reached Portugal they soon discovered this fraud of Dr. Salazar. They were faced with a difficult problem: either to return to Poland or to remain in Portugal despite the fact that Dr Salazar treated them as his subjects and indeed almost like his own slaves. They found that the King never even heard about the Marians and had not invited them to his country; in fact, he could even send them to prison as foreigners coming to his country without royal permission. In this situation, after about two months in Lisbon, Fr. Bujalski left Portugal December 26, 1753 and returned to Poland. Meanwhile, Fr. Wyszyński trusting in Divine Providence decided to remain in Portugal and seek to implant the Marians there.[8]

After many hardships, with the help of a rich nobleman, Marcello de Figueiredo y Sylva,[9] he was freed from the despotic dominance of Dr. Salazar and by order of the Papal Nuncio, Melchior Tempi, was housed at the convent of Saint Peter of

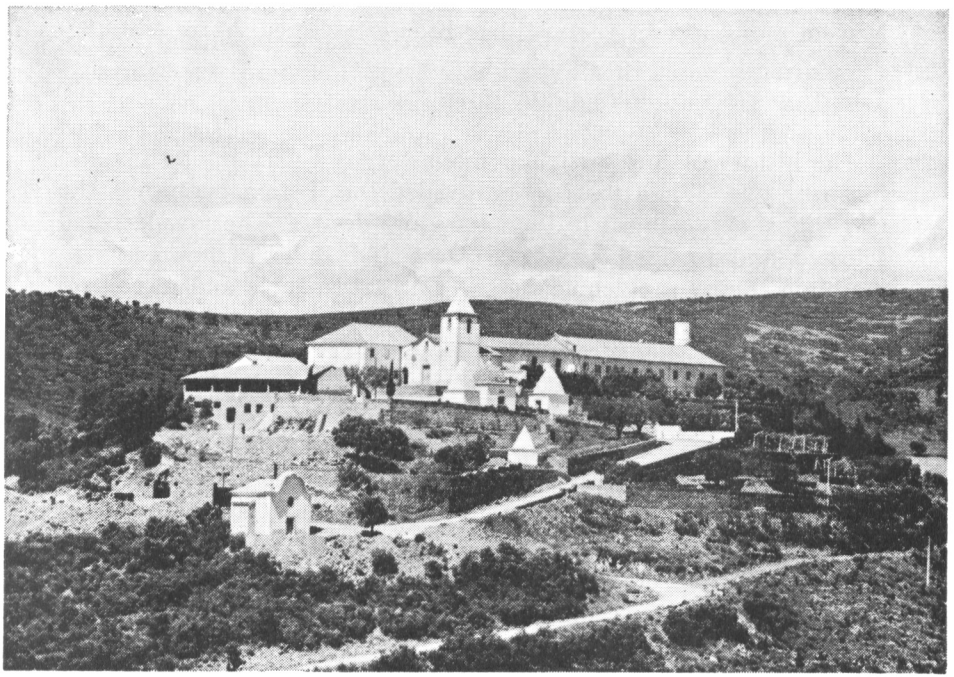
[6] "Cumque pariter sit, quod RR.PP Mariani Ordinis Immaculatae Conceptionis Beatae Mariae Virginis eorum trahentes originem et fundationem ex incorporatione ad Seraphicum Ordinem S. Francisci de Observantia in Regno Poloniae..." Archive di Stato di Roma, *Instrumenta*, Quintilius, 9 Iulij 1731.

[7] Benon Bujalski born in Cyranowicze near Drohiczyn in the Dukedom of Lithuania, joined the Marian Fathers in 1743, ordained priest 1746, died October 1, 1788.

[8] "Nestes circumstancias, P. Benno deixou Lisboa a 26 de Dezembro e regressou a Polonia, e P. Casimiro te-lo-ia feito tambem, se as forças e a idade lho houvessem permittido, conforme as suas proprias palavras, que porei neste logar: Die 26 Decembris socius meus migravit in patriam, volui et ego quidem cum eo pergere, sed inter nos consilio inito decidimus, ut ego remanerem, si Deus non provideret aliquem modum ad reparandam confusionem nostram, per hunc hominem (refere-se ao Dr. Salazar) nobis factam . . ." *"Memoria acerca de Balsamão"* por A. J. de S. V. (Antonio Julio de Sá Vargas), Typ. de Bragança 1859, p. 102.

[9] Particulars about this person are unknown.

Alcantara in Lisbon.[10] It was there that Fr. Casimir met a certain João de Deus da Conceição [11] who also was intent on founding an institute of the Immaculate Conception, and even had associated himself for a time with Salazar at Monte Aboboda. Fr. Wyszyński



General view of the Monastery of Balsamão

[10] "Pela presente mandamos ao Reverendo Padre Casimiro Wyszyński da Congregaçao da Immaculada Conceiçao de Nossa Senhora do Reino de Polonia se recolha para o Convento de S. Pedro de Alcantara desta Cidade, e o Reverendo Padre Guardiano de dito Convento o aceitera com toda a benignidade, e caridade. Lisboa no Palacio da Nunciatura Apostolica, 15 de Março de 1754.

L. Cardinale Tempi
L.S. J. Barberi, Secretario"
Protoc. Balsamanen. p. 12.
Luca Melchior Tempi, born in Firenze, Italy, studied at Pisa, nominated Protonotary Apostolic and Governor of Faenza 1719, Vice-Legate to Ferrar 1722; Archbishop of Nicodemia Feb. 4, 1736; Nuncio to Fiandra April 21, 1736—Feb. 1744; Nuncio to Portugal January 19, 1744—October 1, 1754. Created Cardinal November 26, 1753. Died at Rome 1762.

[11] João do Deus da Conceição—by baptism João Ferreira de Sousa e Abreu, born in Moncorvo, archdiocese of Braga, son of Captain Emmanuel Ferreira de Andrade and Magdalen de Sousa e Abreu. Date of his death is unknown.

accepted him into the Marian Order on March 25, 1754.[12] With the help of this first Marian Portuguese vocation, Wyszyński made contact with the tertiaries of St. Francis living in Balsamão, near Chacim in the diocese of Miranda. With permission of the local bishop, João da Cruz, and agreement of the said tertiaries, he arrived with his new companion to Balsamão on September 4, 1754 and incorporated them into the Marian Order. Thus the first Marian monastery in Portugal had been established.[13]

The Monastery of Balsamão

The history of this particular monastery is a very interesting and inspiring one. When the Moors invaded the Iberian peninsula, the Christians were subject to their laws and desires. The invaders had selected and fortified strategic places and suitable mountains to maintain their stranglehold on the Christian people and to control their movements. One of these mountains is in northern Portugal and dominates the surrounding countryside. Encircled on three sides by small rivulets it is particularly beautiful in itself. The local Christians used to call this mountain "the black Moor" or "the face of the black Saracene" (caramouro). On the summit of this mountain the Moors built an impressive fortress together with a Mohammedan mosque. The high walls around this fortress prevented easy access to it. The top of this fortification commands an uninterrupted panoramic view for miles and miles around. A uniquely beautiful sight !

According to local tradition there was at one time a fierce battle between Christians and Moslems. The Christians promised the Blessed Mother of God to build a chapel in her honour on the mountain and establish a monastery in the castle if they should win

[12] "Successit fortunatae unioni in festo Annuntiationis Beatae Virginis, quod Frater Ioannes Habitum nostrae Religionis e manibus P. Casimiri in domo Domini Antonii Joaquim coram privilegiato ad missas celebrandas crucifixo susceperit". ib.

and also in the letter of Father Wyszyński to the Superior General in Poland June 13, 1755: "Pan Bóg opatrzył mnie Protektorami, którzy mnie z rąk X. Salazara per vim prawie wydarłszy do lepszey promocji Zakonu naszego drogę mi otworzyli, co widząc Instytutor Portugalski, Fr. Joannes de Deo tym ochotnieyszy przyłączył się do mnie, człowiek niepodłey Familij, któregom anno 1754 25 Martii in Festo Annuntiationis Beatissimae w kaplicy szwagra jego Pana Oliveira Kawalera Sanctae Crucis przy konkursie godnych w nasz oblókł habit cum consuetis caeremoniis..." *Protocollum Triennale Adm. Reverendi Patris Caietani Wetycki,* Wileńska Biblioteka Naukowa im. V. Kapsukas'a, Dział rękopisów, F4—A 4559, f.77v.

Nothing is known about Antonio Joaquim nor Oliveira.

[13] "Pater Casimirus cum socie Balsamaum properarunt ubi attingentes 4 Septembris benevolentissime excepti fuere a communitate", *Protoc. Balsamen.* p. 15.

a victory over the Saracenes through her assistance. The prayers of the faithful people were not left unanswered. The Virgin Mary herself descended from heaven with a vase of balm in one hand and with flowers in the other, walking among the wounded and dying Christians, anointing them and sprinkling them with a mysterious dew. The battle was won. The victorious Christians placed a statue of Our Lady in the mosque of the infidels. Pilgrims began to come to this mountain which, since then, was called the mountain of Balsamão, or the mountain of Our Lady "with balm in her hand".

Later on, a monastery was built on the ruins of the Saracene castle. Crowds of pilgrims began coming to the shrine to thank Our Lady for favours received.

Towards the end of the XVII century and the beginning of the XVIII there were some hermits and priests living on the mountain, caring for the chapel and serving the pilgrims in their spiritual needs. About 1733 a certain Antonio Pires Corças, born in the city of Outeiro and a fourth-year student of Law at the University of Coimbra, came to Chacim and resolved to stay in Balsamão. His father, a rich man, was a major in the Portuguese army in Brazil. From the money he sent his son, a new monastery was built in Balsamão. A few priests and laymen who were looking for spiritual direction joined Antonio Pires Corças.[14] Then, in 1754 a Marian Father, Casimir Wyszyński, seeking to introduce his Order to Portugal, arrived to take charge of the hermits and monastery. Eventually, the group of men in Balsamão received the white Marian habit. It was in such a manner that the Marians became the guardians of the miraculous statue of Our Lady of Balsamão and ministered spiritually to pilgrims until 1834, when the Portuguese Government expelled all religious Orders and confiscated their monasteries.

In 1954 the Marian Fathers returned to Balsamão.

The Founder of the Marians in Portugal

Father Casimir of St. Joseph (his baptismal name was January Francis) Wyszyński was born of a noble family in Jeziora Wielka near Grójec in Poland, August 19, 1700. Educated in schools of the Piarist Fathers in Góra Kalwaria and Warsaw, he was sent by his father to the chancery of the royal court to prepare for a career in law and diplomacy. At the age of 20 he vowed to make a pilgrimage to St. James at Compostella in Spain. After overcoming many

[14] Antonio Pires Corças, known also as Brother Antonio de S. José, natural de Vila Outeiro, studied at the University of Coimbra, then came to Balsamão and constructed the convent, taking care of the hermits there. This convent was dedicated in solemn ceremony April 12, 1740. There is no further information about him. cf. '*Memorias acerca de Balsamao*", p. 80-88.

difficulties and the protests of his father, he came to Rome November 1, 1721 and from there, with some companion pilgrims, he left for Compostella. By the time he reached Spain he got sick and on the advice of physicians he had to return to Rome to ask the Holy Father to dispense him from the vow of pilgrimage. Back in Rome, he obtained the dispensation and remained there working in salt refineries as secretary in some offices and visiting the churches in the Holy City.[15] Then in 1723 he met the Marian Procurator in

Portrait of Fr. Wyszyński located in his cell in Balsamão

Rome, Fr. Joachim Kozłowski. He joined the Marian Order and returned to Poland. There, he entered the novitiate.[16] After one year of training he took his religious vows on March 19, 1725. One year

[15] "... Domini Medicinae Doctores ei regressum propter periculum maioris infirmitatis evaderent, redux Roman Servus Dei (Casimirus Wyszyński) ibidem tempore mihi ignoto morabatur, ecclesias visitando, modum victitandi se et vestiendi quaesivit de labore manuum suarum, laborando in fabrica Salinaria Papali et exinde mercedem reportando, praeterea ad quendam advocatum scripturas faciendo aliquid lucrabatur". *Apostolic Process for beatification of Father Wyszyński*, Testimony of Father Bujalski, Copia Publica, f.45.

[16] *Ib.*, f.91v.

later, April 20, 1726, he was ordained priest.[17] Already in 1728 he was appointed novice master and general councillor of the Order. From the very beginning of his religious life he made efforts to reorganize the Marian Order, to reinforce interior discipline and to extend the Order to other nationalities. He was twice elected Superior General of the Order (1737-1741; 1747-1750). He introduced Bohemians, Italians and Lithuanians into the Marian Congregation. He translated from Latin into Polish the book of Fr. F. Arias about the Imitation of Our Lady, as well as the Constitutions of the Order. He reorganized the novitiate of the Marians. Finally, in 1750 he was elected Procurator General to be sent to Rome to defend the Marians against pseudo-Marians, founded in Vilna by Rev. Joseph Stephen Turczynowicz.[18] During his stay in Rome he collected all the necessary instructions to begin the process of beatification of the Founder of the Marian Order, Fr. Stanislaus Papczyński. While working in Rome he received the news from the Minister General of the Franciscans, John de Molina, that the Marians are invited to establish their Order in Portugal.

As it was said above, he came to Portugal October 10, 1753 and then after many difficulties and sufferings, on September 4, 1754 he arrived with his Portuguese companion, João de Deus da Conceição, in Balsamão near Chacim in the Province of Tras-os-Montes to establish a Marian Portuguese Community.

After his installation at Balsamão, he immediately began to prepare the candidates to receive the white Marian habit and to educate them in the Marian spirit and traditions. April 13, 1755 he accepted the first five Portuguese vocations into the ranks of the Marians.[19] During his stay in Lisbon he already impressed many Portuguese by his saintly life, his dedication to spread the cult of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady and to make known the Founder of the Marians to the Portuguese people. For this purpose he wrote a biography of Fr. Papczyński and found a friend who translated it into Portuguese. (This work was printed posthumously in 1757).[20]

The Bishop of Miranda, impressed by his virtues, made him superior of the monastery of Balsamão and gave him all faculties

[17] *Acta Sacrarum Ordinationum Stanislai Hosii, Episcopi Posnaniensis*, mnscr. Sign.ASO/7, 1719-1731, f. 52r. Arch. Archidiec. w Poznaniu.

[18] Joseph Stephen Turczynowicz, born at the end of the XVII century, canon of Pilten, founder of the Society of women *Maria Vitae*. He tried also to found a society of men, based on the Rule of the Marian Fathers without their consent. He had been the rector of the Church of Saint Stephen in Vilna. Died 1773.

[19] *Protoc. Balsamanen.*, p. 21.

[20] *"Vida do Veneravel Servo de Deos o Padre Estanislao de Jesus Maria, Fundador da Congregação, e ordem dos Religiosos do Immaculada Conceição da Beatissima Virgem Maria... que expoem a luz do publico... João Teixeira Coelho de S. Paio"*, Lisboa 1757.

and jurisdiction in his diocese. In a short time, many candidates were asking for the Marian habit. The fame of his holy life and charity attracted many people who were eager just to see him, talk to him and assist as he celebrated Holy Mass. Unfortunately, after just a short illness, he died October 21, 1755. None of the Portuguese Marians who joined him had as yet been ordained priests in Balsamão.[21]

Soon after his death, people came to his tomb to pray and reported receiving many spiritual favours and miracles through his intercession. Already one year after his death, the Bishop of Miranda initiated the process of his beatification.[22] The bishop's death interrupted this process only for a few years, because his successor, Alexius de Miranda Henriques, reopened it again in 1763 and it continued successfully until the death of Fr. Alexius Fischer. After a very long period of interruption, the process of beatification of Fr. Casimir Wyszyński was again re-opened in 1955 and at this writing is still in progress.

After the death of Fr. Wyszyński

The premature death of Fr. Casimir Wyszyński was a great shock to the Portuguese Marians who felt this loss profoundly. There was as yet no Marian priest in Balsamão to take care of their spiritual needs. As a result, they felt lost. God's watchful Providence brought it about that within a few days after the death of Fr. Wyszyński a priest, João de Rosario Dias, a close personal friend of Father Casimir in Lisbon, came to Balsamão. He actually came there to become a Marian. Meanwhile, João de Deus da Conceição, the first Portuguese Marian and companion of Fr. Casimir's from Lisbon, assumed leadership of the community in Balsamão. Hence, both of these men went to the bishop of Miranda to report to him on the

21 ". . . pela falta do dito R. (everendo) P. (adre) defunto (Casimiro Wyszyński) no perigo de a não haver na congregação sacerdote com habito nem faculdade . . ." Letter of the Portuguese Marians to the Bishop of Miranda, Oct. 23, 1755. The original is in Museu Abade Baçal, Bragança.

22 ". . . constare etiam famam illius sanctitatis et miraculorum a morte illius Servi Dei mox crescente ex libello supplici, quem Pater Ioannes a Rosario Praesidens hujus Communitatis Excellentissimo et Reverendissimo D. Episcopo Mirandensi Domino Fr. Ioanni a Cruce anno nondum elapso a morte Servi Dei, cui dictus Episcopus dedit sequens rescriptum, scilicet: Reverendus Archi-Presbyter Districtus inquirat per testimonia de omnibus in hac petitione expositis in forma juridica cum Notario Suae Jurisdictionis, et de omnibus processum authenticum formabit, quem nobis cum omni securitate remittat. Miranda 4 Augusti 1756. Ioannes Episcopus".
Mirandensis, postea Brigantinen. Beatificationis et Canonizationis S. Dei Casimiri Viszinski a S. Iosepho Ordinis PP. Marianorum Processiculus . . . super cultu antedicto Dei Famulo non exhibito, Mnscr. ,————, Archivum S. Congr. pro Causis Sanctorum, vol. 171, p.9-10.

plight of their community and ask his authority to petition the Superior General in Poland to send a Marian priest to continue the work of Fr. Wyszyński. Bishop João da Cruz approved this request and at the same time consented to have Fr. João de Rosario receive the Marian habit. It was to the latter he entrusted the spiritual welfare of the Balsamão community, while the material administration was left in the hands of João de Deus da Conceição.

The original text of this petition to the Bishop of Miranda has been preserved and is excellent proof how Fr. Casimir Wyszyński was highly esteemed and loved by his Portuguese confreres. At the same time it reveals why they insisted so strongly on continuing the same spirit of formation which he had begun. Here is the actual text:

"Excellency,

João de Deus da Conceição, General Procurator of the Sacred Order of the Immaculately conceived Mother of God in the kingdom of Portugal and the religious community of Our Lady of Balsamão, makes known to Your Excellency that because of the death of the Very Rev. Fr. Casimir of St. Joseph Wyszyński, former Superior General of this Order in Poland and superior of Balsamão (he died October 21, 1755) the petitioners were left without authority to continue, to expand, or even to exist — unless they have recourse to the Superior General to send them a guide and teacher so that this foundation, which was begun by the late deceased Father, can continue. Inasmuch as this monastery is under the jurisdiction of Your Excellency, therefore we need your permission to do this. We sorely miss our deceased Father. We can't accept any new candidates to this Sacred Order and we feel ourselves in danger of complete spiritual ruin. We have no Marian priest among us and there is danger of a total collapse of this Sacred Order. Not only do we lack priestly ministry and the Eucharist, but the local populace insist and want this community to continue because of its great spiritual assistance... Therefore we petition and beg Your Excellency to permit us to write to our Superior General, we all the members of the monastery of Our Lady of Balsamão.
October 23, 1755."

The petition was personally signed by seven persons.

The Vicar General of the diocese of Miranda, in the name of the Bishop, by his own hand wrote the following comment on the actual letter of petition:

"By authority of His Excellency the Bishop, the same discipline without change is to be maintained in the monastery, observed with great humility and mutual love and unity. Because of the loss of the

deceased Very Rev. Father (Casimir) who guided and governed you, His Excellency hereby permits you to have recourse to the Superior General to make necessary provisions to carry on the life of the community and the spirit of dedication to the Most Blessed Immaculate Mary; and that he send you someone from the Seraphic Order, one who is capable of governing this monastery . . .

Miranda, October 27, 1755
Chancellor, Vicar General
Cunha mp."[23]

The text of the letter sent to the Superior General in Poland is even more revealing of how much the Portuguese Marians in Balsamão esteemed Fr. Wyszyński and how deeply they felt the loss of their former superior. Only two copies of this letter are extant, one in Portugal and one in Poland. Both copies are identical.

"Most Reverend Father,

Although we have personally never met and we are separated by such a tremendous distance, we fly to your Reverence prostrate at your feet. What news can we give you? Unfortunately, it is very sad news: our Rev. Father and master, Casimir, has gone to heaven. You sent him here so that in these Mediterranean lands he would implant the Institute of the Immaculate Mother of God. After patiently suffering many and difficult oppositions in the royal city of Lisbon, led by the Holy Spirit he came to this province which we call Tras-os-Montes, where he found us, all laymen — gathered in community by royal authority for nigh twenty years — living an ascetical life under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary near the chapel of Balsamão which is visited and reverenced by the local populace. Fr. Casimir Wyszyński approached the Most Rev. Bishop of Miranda and presented to him our mutual desire of spreading the cult of Mary's Immaculate Conception. His Excellency the bishop acceded to his petition and made him our superior. And by his decree gave this hermitage to your Institute in perpetuity. We had hoped that Fr. Casimir would be with us for a long time, to give us proper formation according to the spirit of the Institute. However, this was not to be, according to the disposition of the ever-adorable Divine Providence. Inexorable and premature death took away from us our best Father, leaving us inconsolable in our sorrow. Yes, the examples of his many virtues are with us still, but now we are deprived of his so very prudent leadership. This is why, most Reverend Father, on bended knees we earnestly beg and implore you, don't leave us orphans. Send us another Casimir who could properly prepare us for life in this new Institute and whose spirit we would all want to receive. Our House in

[23] Museu Abade Baçal, Bragança, Sign. *Frades.*

Balsamão can in no way compare with your community in Warsaw. Still, we don't want to be a financial burden to your House for this long journey of our new superior and his companion. Therefore, we are prepared to reimburse as quickly as possible the expenses they incur on their journey. Meantime, we commend your Reverence to God and pray Him to keep you for many long years for our sanctification and our happiness.

The House of Our Lady's Immaculate
Conception of Balsamão,
8 September 1756
in the absence of our superior,
Brother João a Monte Policiano, eldest
of those present." [24]

A similar letter was later sent by the superior of the Balsamão community, Fr. João de Rosario Dias, to the Superior General in Poland. The tenor of this letter was an urgent plea to send two priests as soon as possible to continue the work begun by the deceased Fr. Casimir Wyszyński.

As a result of these petitions and pleas from Balsamão, the Marians in Poland, gathered together at a chapter of elections in September 1757, decided to send to Portugal the Bohemian Fr. Alexius Fischer, Master of novices. He was being sent as the Commissar with full authority to act in the name of the Superior General. For his companion they designated Fr. Raphael de Buffa, an Italian who recently completed his studies in Poland and was ordained priest. In the words of Fr. Alexius Fischer, this was the "second mission" of the Marians in Portugal.[25]

Fr. Alexius of St. Octavius Fischer

In the Apostolic Process of Beatification of the Servant of God, Casimir Wyszyński, which was being conducted in Poland, one of the witnesses, Fr. Isidor Taudt, testified that during Fr. Wyszyński's first term of office as Superior General (1737-1741) twenty-two candidates were recruited for the Marians from Bohemia... "I am an eye-witness to the fact that ... not once but three times, that is three years running, the Servant of God Casimir sent Fr. Casimir Polak to the University of Prague to recruit candidates for this holy Marian Order. In 1738 six candidates were recruited; in 1739 five, and in 1740 eleven candidates accompanied Fr. Casimir Polak, the

[24] *Protoc. Balsamanen.*, p.55.
[25] *Ib.*, p.68.

vocation director, to Poland; I was one of those who answered the vocation appeal of Fr. Polak in 1739." [26]

Similar testimony is on record in this beatification Process submitted by Fr. Benon Bujalski who asserted that Fr. Polak was instrumental in attracting many Bohemians to Poland who received the Marian habit and became exemplary religious and exercised various duties in the Congregation. From this time forward the Marian Order began to grow in number and in prestige." [27]

From among the many outstanding Marians of Bohemian origin, Fr. Alexius of St. Octavius Fischer merits the position of honour and should be mentioned before all others.

He was born in Prague June 23, 1721. Inspired by Fr. Casimir Polak he was one of the Bohemian youths who went to Poland to join the Marian novitiate in Puszcza Korabiewska November 30, 1740. After his religious profession he was assigned to Skórzec where the school of Philosophy was situated. In the roster of the members of the House in Skórzec for the year 1743 we find listed the Bohemians: Wojciech Strach, Bernard Machaczek, January Podpusz, Izydor Taudt and Alexius Fischer. The School of Theology was also situated at Skórzec and there too we find the Bohemian students: Wacław Bayer, Marian Czech, Florian Machaczek, Michał Senel and Francis Raabe.

In 1744 Alexius Fischer is listed among the members of the Skórzec House as a student of theology. In 1746 he is already a priest. In 1749 he became Professor of Moral Theology and assistant Superior in Gozlin.[28]

During the Congregation's annual congress held in Gozlin June 30, 1752 it was decided to send Fr. Alexius Fischer and Benon Bujalski to Rome where the Procurator General, Fr. Casimir Wyszyński, already resided for one year. Fr. Alexius Fischer was meant to succeed Fr. Wyszyński in the office of Procurator of the Order in Rome, because Fr. Wyszyński was already designated with Fr. Benon Bujalski to go to Portugal.

[26] *"Acta Originalia Processus auctoritate Sedis Apostolicae et respective S.ae Rituum Congregationis super fama sanctitatis, vitae, virtutum et miraculorum V. blis Servi Dei P. Casimiri Wyszyński in anno Domini 1783 terminati"*. ff.137v; 138r. Mnscr.

[27] *Ib.*, f.82v.
Father Isidore Taudt and Father Bujalski both knew Casimir Wyszyński personally. Father Taudt, born 1715 in Nowy Dom, near Prague, Bohemia, for 20 years theologian at the Court of Prince Czartoryski, Great Chancellor of the Dukedom of Lithuania,died in Warsaw November 22, 1792.

[28] *Protocollum Conventus Corabieviensis ab anno Domini 1731 usque ad annum Domini 1752 conscriptus et annotatus*, ff. 33-49. Tabulae Conventus Corabieviensis, Mnscr. conserved in Archives of the Polish Province of the Marian Fathers.

To cover expenses for this trip to Rome both Fr. Fischer and Fr. Bujalski were given ten Hungarian dollars (thalers) from the funds of the Congregation. In addition, each monastery contributed one Hungarian dollar. To further supplement their needs, Fr. Fischer was to take along a certain sum of money which he had brought with him upon entrance into the Congregation. In Prague he was also to receive the rest of his inheritance from the family estate. Since Fr. John Kanty Skraffer also had some money due him after the death of his parents, held in trust by his uncle in Prague, Fr. Fischer was authorized to collect this money as well.

Since the latter part of April 1751, two Marians, Fr. Casimir Wyszyński and Fr. John K. Skraffer, were already living in Rome. They had with them their own valet from Poland. But since they were unsuccessful in locating a permanent residence in Rome and their expenses continued to increase, Fr. Wyszyński decided to have his companion and the valet return to Poland. He made a record of this in his diary: "28 August my assistant is leaving for Poland. I am left alone in the monastery of Ara Coeli." [29]

From a letter written by Fr. Wyszyński November 18, 1752 to the Superior General in Poland we learn of the arrival in Rome of Fr. Alexius Fischer and Fr. Benon Bujalski. He writes: "Our confreres came to Rome penniless. They even had to sell their horses along the journey, since they could not afford to keep them. The reason was, because in Prague they received very little money, that is, only six Hungarian dollars. The money from the sale of the horses went to pay the driver who brought them to Rome and for personal expenses along the way." [30]

In his next letter to Poland the same Fr. Wyszyński gave more detailed information about this trip. He revealed the tremendous difficulties these Marians had to overcome in their travels as a result of their religious poverty. "Our men came to Rome November 2. They didn't have a penny to their name because they received only six Hungarian dollars in Prague from Fr. Alexius' uncle and nothing for Fr. Kanty. That's why these poor chaps, not having enough for themselves and their horses, were compelled to sell them on the

[29] "28 Augusti wychodzi moy X. Socyusz do Polski, Ia sam in Aracoelitano Conventu maneo, relictus solus et undique derelictus". *Protokuły Czynnościów w Rzymie Sługi Bożego Kazimierza Wyszyńskiego i Notaty Jego względem Kanonizacyi Instytutora służące.* Mnscr. Archivum Archidiecezjalne w Poznaniu, APS/7, Cz. I, f.3r.

[30] "Nasi tu stanęli bez grosza, y konie w drodze zbydź musieli, nie mając ich czym sustentować y siebie, bo w Czechach mało bardzo dano, alias tylko 6 czerw. Złot. y to co za konie wzięli, to na Wekturyna wyszło, co ich do Rzymu dowiózł, y systentował . . . " *Ib.*, Cz. III, f.32v.

way. Whatever they got for the sale, they spent it all on the driver and for meals on the journey to Rome." [31]

From November 1752 to May 1753 Fr. Fischer lived with Fr. Wyszyński and Fr. Bujalski at the monastery of Ara Coeli in Rome. His health deteriorated rapidly because of the climate. In a letter dated May 10, 1753 Fr. Wyszyński informed the General in Poland that Fr. Alexius will soon have to return to Poland because the Roman climate does not suit him and he even now lies sick in the infirmary. As soon as he feels better he will have to return. He will be accompanied by a candidate to our Community, a fine young Italian, who is highly recommended. "I also personnally recommend him to your Reverence. He could eventually be very useful to us in Rome for the good of the Order." [32]

Fr. Wyszyński and Fr. Bujalski began their journey to Portugal, leaving Rome May 14, 1753 via the land route to Genoa and from there by ship to Lisbon where they arrived October 10, 1753. Meanwhile, Fr. Fischer who had remained behind to put in order any unfinished and urgent business eventually left Rome with the young Italian, the future Marian, Fr. Raphael de Buffa.[33] At the chapter held in Puszcza Korabiewska June 30, 1754 Fr. Fischer was designated Master of novices. He remained in this capacity until the next chapter of 1757 at which time he was made General Commissar for Portugal after the death of Fr. Casimir Wyszyński.

Departure for Portugal

Information about this assignment of Fr. Fischer to Portugal is recorded in his diary "Protocollum Balsamanense":

"After the chapter of 1757 at which a new Superior General, Fr. Cyprian Fiałkowski, was elected the Venerable Council elected me,

[31] "Nasi iusz w Rzymie stanęli 2 Novembr. pieniędzy żadnych z sobą nie przywieźli, bo im w drodze tylko 6 Czerw. Zło. od stryja X. Alexego dano a X. Kantego nic dać nie chciano, dlaczego niebożęta nie maiąc czym siebie y koni sustentować, one musieli w drodze sprzedać, y co za nie wzięli to wszystko na furmana do Rzymu y na wikt dla nich wyszło". Ib., f.33r.

[32] "PS. X. Aleksy wkrótce z tąd migrować musi, bo mu aerya nie służy, y teraz actu in Infirmaria decumbit, iak mu się cokolwiek zdrowie polepszy to do Polski powróci. Bierze ze sobą pro socio Aspiranta Włocha do naszego Zakonu, iuvenem bonae indolis, y od godnych zaleconego a którego y ia Adm. R.dae Paternitati zalecam, przyda się zaś, y może w Rzymie nam bydź potrzebny, y do promocyi Zakonu pożyteczny". *Ib.*, f.35r.

[33] Giovanni Battista de Buffa (religious name Raphael a S. Giovanni Baptista) born 1732 near Torino, Italy, entered the Marian Order 1753, ordained priest in Poland 1755, left Poland November 1757, arrived together with Fr. Fischer to Balsamão, Portugal March 8, 1758, Superior in Balsamão, then Procurator of the Marians in Lisbon, where he died September 3, 1782.

assigned me and sent me on a new mission to Portugal. They sent me, Fr. Alexius of St. Octavius (who began this PROTOCOLLUM), unworthy as I am, with the authority of Commissar, professor of this sacred Marian Order, former Master of novices; they sent me not because of my merits, nor special talents, but only by virtue of Holy Obedience, from Poland to Portugal, to stabilize and help nurture this new plant of the Congregation, giving me for companion the beloved Fr. Raphael de Buffa, a member of this Order."[34]

Before setting out on this journey, they obtained letters of introduction from King August III to the Portuguese monarch, Joseph I; and from the Polish Primate, Adam Komorowski and the bishop of Łuck, Anthony Wołłowicz, to the Bishop of Miranda, Dom Fr. Aleixo de Miranda Henriques, and several others. Together, they left the monastery of Raśna November 17, 1757 and on March 4, 1758 reached Miranda, a city near the Spanish border.[35] Since the Ordinary of the diocese was absent, they requested permission of the diocesan Chapter to continue their journey to Balsamão and for faculties to exercise priestly and religious functions.

The only copy of this petition is preserved by Fr. Fischer recorded in his PROTOCOLLUM BALSAMANENSE:

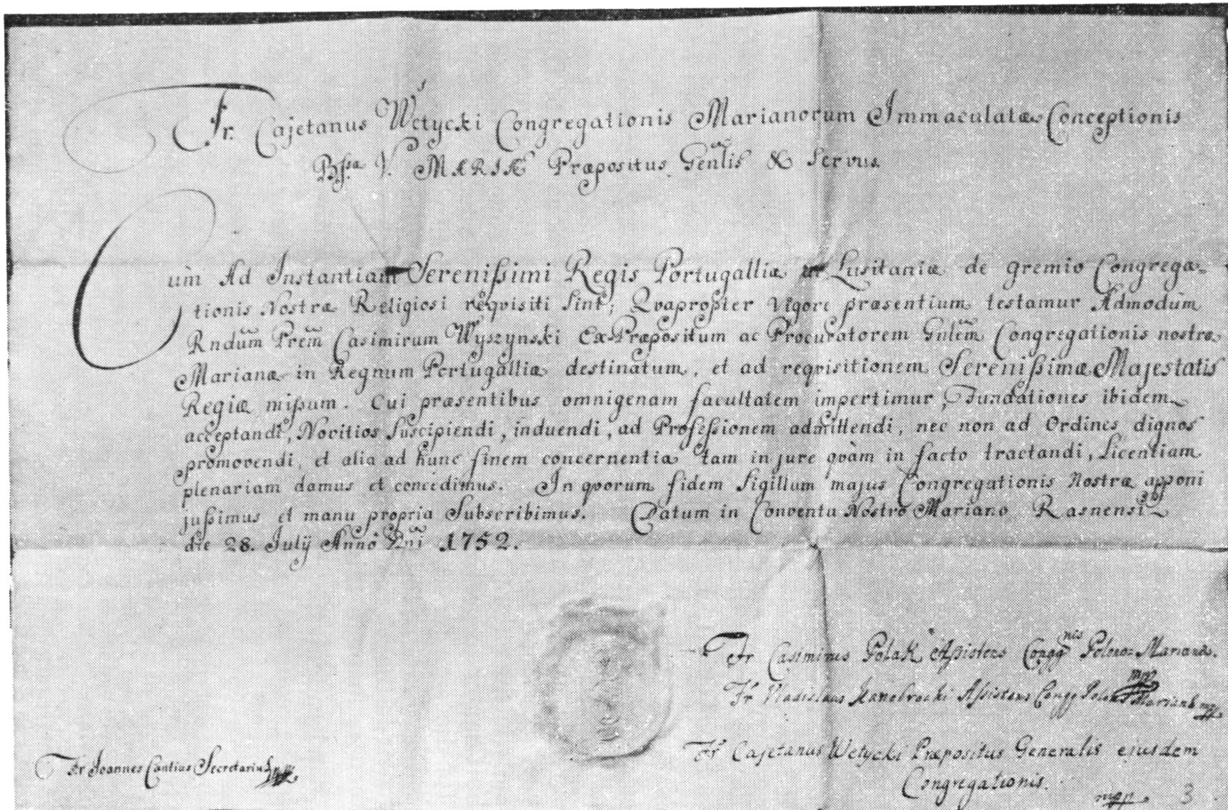
"Illustrious and Reverend Honorable Gentlemen —

The Marian Fathers of the Immaculate Conception of the Most Pure Virgin Mary, coming from Poland to the monastery of Our Lady of Balsamão in Portugal, possessing authorized documents, presently in the city of Miranda, hereby humbly request permission of the Chapter to go to the monastery of Our Lady of Balsamão and for diocesan faculties to exercise priestly ministries (exercendi officia Divina), offer the Sacrifice of the Mass, and other ceremonies particular to the Marian Order, until the time when we will present matters pertinent to this..."

A handwritten reply was added to this request: "We grant permission as requested until the return of his Excellency the Bishop.

34 "Celebrato in Polonia Capitulo generali ac Eclectione novi Praepositi Generalis scilicet P. Cypriani Fiałkowski Venerabile Assessorium elegit, determinavit, ac expedivit novam missionem in Portugalliam; mandavit igitur cum plena Commissione me scilicet indignissimum (:qui hoc Protocollum inçepi:) ejusdem Sacrae Religionis Marianae professum Fr. Alexium a S. Octaviano Fischer Ex-Magistrum Novitiorum sola virtute obedientiae, non meritis, nec capacitate idoneum e Polonia in Portugalliam ad hanc novellam Congregationem stabiliendam et augendam, adjuncto mihi ejusdem Ordinis Charissimo Socio RP. Raphaele de Buffa". *Protoc. Balsamanen.*, p.68.

35 *Ibidem.*


Fr. Cajetanus Wetycki Congregationis Marianorum Immaculatæ Conceptionis Bssæ V. MARIÆ Præpositus Genlis & Servus.

Cum Ad Instantiam Serenissimi Regis Portugalliæ et Lusitaniæ de gremio Congregationis Nostræ Religiosi reqvisiti sint; Quapropter Vigore præsentium testamur Admodum Rndum Prem Casimirum Wyszynski Ex-Præpositum ac Procuratorem Genlem Congregationis nostræ Marianæ in Regnum Portugalliæ destinatum, et ad reqvisitionem Serenissimæ Majestatis Regiæ missum. Cui præsentibus omnigenam facultatem impertimur, Fundationes ibidem acceptandi, Novitios suscipiendi, induendi, ad Professionem admittendi, nec non ad Ordines dignos promovendi, et alia ad hunc finem concernentia tam in jure qvàm in facto tractandi, Licentiam plenariam damus et concedimus. In qvorum fidem Sigillum majus Congregationis Nostræ apponi jussimus et manu propria Subscribimus. Datum in Conventu Nostro Mariano Rasnensi die 28. July Anno Dni 1752.

Fr Casimirus Polak Assistens Congregnis Polono-Marianæ.

Fr Vladislaus Kanetrocki Assistens Congg Polon Marian mp

Fr Cajetanus Wetycki Præpositus Generalis ejusdem Congregationis. mpp.

Fr Joannes Cantius Secretarius mp

3

Letter of appointment of Father Casimir Wyszyński to Portugal

Miranda, the Chapter, March 5, 1758
M. Escola Archdeacon of the Cathedral
Delgado mp." [36]

With this written permission of the diocesan Chapter, Fathers Fischer and de Buffa came to Balsamão March 8, 1758.

On the authority granted by the Superior General, Fr. Cyprian Fijałkowski, on June 11, 1757 Fr. Fischer assumed full jurisdiction over all the Marians in Portugal. His title was equivalent to that of General Commissar (Plenipotentiary). In the text of the Superior General's instructions we read:

> "We hereby grant every necessary faculty to negotiate all matters pertaining to accepting novices, admitting to religious professions, accepting new foundations according to the laws of our original Polish Marian Institute. Whatsoever shall be undertaken and ratified and negotiated by him is to be accepted as if it had been undertaken and ratified by us personally".[37]

In conformity with this authorization, Fr. Fischer as soon as he arrived in Balsamão initiated a canonical visitation. He interviewed each religious individually, he carefully studied the relationships prevalent in the monastery, so that (as he noted in the PROTOCOLLUM): "he would assume authority over the community in a more judicious manner without antagonizing anyone" (ut via magis tenua procederemus pacifica possessione) for the purpose of stabilizing the Congregation and to know how to resolve any eventual problem.[38]

Early difficulties

Shortly after their arrival in Balsamão, Fathers Fischer and de Buffa set out for Lisbon where on April 27 they presented to the

[36] "Illustrissimi, Admodum Reverendi Domini, Domini Colendissimi. Patres Mariani immaculatae Conceptionis Purissimae Virginis Mariae ex Polonia ad Lusitaniam ad coenobium Beatae Virginis de Balsamão venientes cum legitimis testimoniis suis, praesentes nunc in Civitate Miranda Illustrissimo Capitulo humillime supplicant, Licentiam accedendi ad hocce Coenobium Beatae Virginis de Balsamão, ibique, et in Diocesi Mirandensi exercendi officia Divina, scilicet, celebrandi missas, et alia Religiosis Marianis Communia ad tempus ulterioris praesentationis in sui negotio. Quam gratiam etc.

Concedemos a Licença pedida até a vinda de Sua Ex.cia Rev.ma. Miranda, o Cabido 5 de Março de 1758. M. Escola. Arc. do da Sé Delgado mp." *Ib.*, p. 71.

[37] "Vigoreque praesentium omnem facultatem committimus, tractandi et exequendi omnia, quod ad susceptionem Novitiorum, admissionem Professionum, stabilimentum fundationum juxta formam Regulae ac instituti nostri Polono-Mariani sive ibi sive in alijs Exteris tractanda et exequenda omni meliori mode expedient caeteraque per eum tractanda atque expedita eadem auctoritate, ac si per nosmetipsos facta forent valitura declaramus". *Ib.*, p. 69.

[38] *Ib.*, p. 71-72.

king, Joseph I, the following letter of introduction from the Polish king:

> "To the Most Distinguished and Supreme Prince, Joseph, by the grace of God most worthy King of Portugal etc . . . our most beloved Cousin—August III, by the grace of God king of Poland . . .
> GREETINGS.
>
> In as much as the Marian Order of the Immaculate Conception of the Most Blessed Virgin has been granted special protection by us and by the Polish Government and recently established in the kingdom of Portugal, two priests (Fr. Alexius Fischer and Fr. Raphael de Buffa) of the Polish Marian Congregation from the monastery in Raśna in Lithuania, have been sent fully authorized by their superiors to further solidify and support the foundation of that Congregation (established there).
>
> I recommend to Your Royal Highness, by virtue of your affection for our holy Christian religion, to place this Order, established in honour of the Immaculate Conception of the Most Blessed Virgin, and all of its members whether in community or each one separately under your protection so long as they reside in your kingdom, and most especially do I warmly recommend the above-mentioned Fathers, that they enjoy your personal Royal protection and assistance in fulfilling their pious duties, their works and endeavours.
>
> Warsaw, November 4, 1757"[39]

After they presented this letter, the Fathers had an audience with the King and his Interior Minister. They also visited the Apostolic Nuncio and the Bishop of Miranda who happened to be in Lisbon at that time.

Despite these efforts to obtain approval of the Order and royal protection for which August III appealed in his letter, nonetheless the Marians did not receive official permission to establish the monastery with the possibility of accepting novices and pronouncing solemn profession.

During Fr. Fischer's entire stay in Portugal, from early 1758 until his death, most probably towards the end of 1783, he expanded all his efforts to guarantee a secure future for this young Marian foundation. Fr. Fischer made strenuous efforts to find ways of helping the growth of the Order. Alternately with Fr. de Buffa he visited Lisbon, trying every possible way to reach the King and

[39] *Correspondencia com os Reis do Portugal,* Arquive Torre de Tombo in Lisbon, Estante N.1.07.—There is also one copy of this letter written by hand of Father Fischer, now in the Museu Abade Baçal, Bragança, Sign. FRADES.

secure confirmation of their monastery and for permission to make solemn profession. This was eventually granted May 15, 1779. But even then, the fate of the Marians in Portugal was not guaranteed.

The work of Fr. Wyszyński was very dear to his heart. He strenuously defended the Order against efforts to deform it by João de Deus, the first Portuguese Marian who had been accepted into the Order by Fr. Wyszyński March 25, 1754, while still in Lisbon From his very arrival in Balsamão he suffered much at the hands of this man.

As soon as Fr. Wyszyński had died, João de Deus (who had earlier left Balsamão) returned immediately and assumed command, usurping the title of General Procurator of the Marians in Portugal. In this guise he wrote to the Marian Superior General in Poland, to the Franciscan General in Madrid. In like manner he presented himself to the bishop of Miranda, to the King and to other civil authorities in Lisbon. He had several books printed, among which was the biography of Fr. Stanislaus Papczyński, Founder of the Marians. When Fr. Alexius Fischer arrived on the scene, Brother João de Deus realized that this signalled the end of his usurped rule. He began to incite the Portuguese confreres to rebel against this newly-arrived Commissar. He himself openly manifested his hostility towards him, letting him know he was in no way happy with his arrival.

In the face of all this, Fr. Fischer proceeded very calmly and very prudently with him and with all the others. When Brother João de Deus ostensibly absented himself from common prayers and devotions he delicately tried to convince him and win him over. This had the opposite effect. It aggravated the antagonism of this self-centered rebel who relentlessly manifested his displeasure and lack of confidence in the Commissar.

Even though many of the Portuguese who lived in Balsamão wore the Marian habit, Fr. Fischer was convinced that only a select few were qualified as suitable candidates for religious profession.

On Holy Thursday in 1758 Fr. Fischer encouraged all the brethren to receive the Holy Eucharist. Brother João de Deus in all his fury burst into Father's room and in a loud voice told him there was no priest to hear his confession. He was not going to confess to any Polish priest (although neither Fr. Fischer nor Fr. de Buffa were Poles) because they don't speak Portuguese. He was not about to make his confession to the superior because he had an aversion to him and on many occasions had even quarrelled with him. In fact, he added, all the brethren are actually devils. According to him, in Balsamão, there is no order and terror reigns supreme. For this

reason he let it be known that he will no longer wear the Marian habit and he will leave Balsamão. He had left it already once previously during the days of Fr. Wyszyński! However Fr. Fischer prevailed upon him to settle down and to return to his cell, reflect upon what he had said, pray over it and only then let him act as he saw fit.

Meanwhile Fr. Fischer in the company of the rest of the brethren went to chapel and begged Our Lady through the intercession of Fr. Wyszyński to remedy this evil which looked more and more threatening. The result, wonderful to relate, was that Brother João de Deus went to confession to Father superior and received Holy Communion. Unfortunately, this change of heart was not for long. Some days later he lashed out again with relentless fury against the Commissar. He categorically refused to obey him. He incited others to rebel. What is more, he even demanded that all the brothers obey only him, otherwise they would regret it. As a result, the whole House was in total confusion.

Finally, seeing that he made no headway, on the Saturday before Low Sunday (first Sunday after Easter) while the entire community was in choir, he packed his things taking many other items besides, especially from the sacristy, and left the cloister. When Fr. Fischer pleaded with him with love and goodness to realize what he was doing, to refrain from making so much noise and to cease getting on other peoples' nerves, Brother João de Deus, in a spasm of hatred, screamed DEVIL! During the evening meal he rushed into the refectory and threatened that he would tell the King in Lisbon about everything that was going on in Balsamão. On the Sunday after Easter he finally left Balsamão. Everyone heaved a sigh of relief and calm was restored.

Understandably, Fr. Fischer suffered dreadfully during all this turmoil. Still, he was able to write in his diary:

> "Let nobody in future ever think that we nurtured any hard feeling towards him, or that the Order was ever ungrateful to him, or that we banished him from our midst. After all, he was our first Portuguese vocation. Especially, we feel deeply indebted to his family and relatives who were our benefactors. We shall always remember him with gratitude."[40]

The experiences of his first few months in Portugal reveal the unusual strength of character of this Marian, Fr. Fischer. He does not break under pressure of difficulties facing him. He does not get discouraged or call it "quits". For the love of the Order and in a special way for his love of Fr. Wyszyński who accepted him into the

[40] *Protoc. Balsamanen.* p.71-73.

Marians, for which he will be manifestly grateful all the days of his life, he carried forward his work to solidify the Congregation in this country. He frequently called upon the Bishop, sought his advice, directives how best to obtain royal approbation for the Order. For this purpose Fr. Fischer received from the bishop of Miranda on November 4, 1758 a written introduction to the King. Here is the text of the document:

> "The Fathers who make this appeal are very much needed in the diocese and for this reason I do not object to their having a foundation. In fact, I support it for many reasons. especially that they are sons of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately conceived, Patronness of this Kingdom and also because this Religious Order has no other foundation in this country.
> Lisbon, November 4, 1758
> Fr. Alexius, Bishop of Miranda"[41]

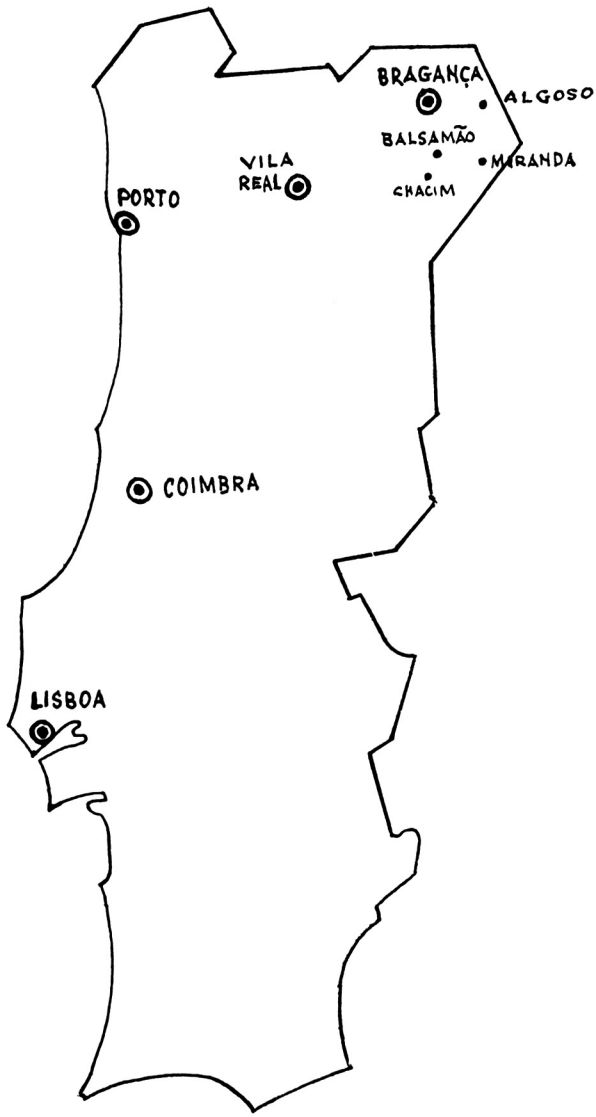
After getting letters of recommendation of yet other people, he set our for Lisbon together with the superior of Balsamão, Fr. João de Rosario Dias, in an effort to secure an audience with the King. He was still unsuccessful. Therefore, he sent the Superior back to Balsamão while he himself sought out various lords and benefactors who had known Fr. Wyszyński. He left no stone unturned in his efforts to obtain official approbtion for the Order. But always the result was the same—no success. He placed his only hope in the hands of Mary Immaculate through the intercession of Fr. Casimir Wyszyński whose fame of holiness was even now ever growing in crescendo.

Efforts for Beatification of Fr. Wyszyński

While he was still alive Fr. Wyszyński was convinced that the Marians would be blessed according to the measure with which they concerned themselves with the person of their holy Founder, Fr. Stanislaus Papczyński. So now, Fr. Fischer was determined to make known the person who most faithfully followed in the footsteps of the Founder of the Marians.

On March 12, 1759 he presented a petition to the bishop of Bragança for permission to exhume the body of Fr. Wyszyński be-

41 "Os Reverendos Supplicantes são muito convenientes ao Bispado, por cuja causa me não opponho a sua fundaçao antes desejo promover, e concluir eficazmente por muitas razoens, a mais principalmente por serem Filhos de Nossa Senhora da Conceição, Padroeira deste Reynos, e que desta Sagrada Familia não tiverãe nem ten outra alguma fundação. Lxa 4 de Novembro de 1758.
Fr. Aleixo Bispo de Miranda mpp." *Ib.*, p. 79.



Map of Portugal indicating location of places involved in the history of the Marians in Portugal

cause his reputation of holiness was spreading more and more. There were reports of miracles at his grave. Many people prayed to him in their needs and received graces for which they asked. That very day the bishop agreed to the exhumation and transfer of the body to a new location to safeguard against profanation.[42]

[42] *Ib.*, p.87.

Even before Fr. Fischer came to Balsamão, already the local Ordinary, Bishop João de Cruz, had given the order to conduct the informative process of Fr. Wyszyński. He died soon after that (October 20, 1756) and as a result the preparation for this process was cut short. Eight years later, on the anniversary of the death of F. Wyszyński, October 21, 1763, the informative process has officially begun.[43] Fr. Fischer, despite his poor health, did all he possibly could to see this process concluded with dispatch and the documents of this process sent to Rome. Everything looked very promising. Unfortunately, Fr. Fischer's health broke down and the process was interrupted for the winter months. Actually it was not resumed again until September 12, 1765 and finally concluded in June 1767. Since Fr. Fischer's health continued to be a problem and precluded his journeying to Rome, the acts of the Process were sent to Rome only in June 1771. One has to admire the constant efforts of Fr. Fischer, so completely dedicated to promote the cause of the beatification process of the Servant of God Fr. Casimir Wyszyński. After all, consider what he had to cope with: so many other duties to perform, so much infirmity, so many disappointments from every side, a crucial lack of funds . . . and yet, he went on. The best proof of his untiring energy was the fact that after he died, the beatification process of Fr. Wyszyński in Portugal made no further headway and no one concerned himself with it any more.

Concern for liaison with Poland

A concern of top priority of Fr. Fischer was to see the Marian foundation in Portugal solidified and secure. Not only did he expand his efforts in educating the Portuguese candidates in the true Marian spirit, but he went out of his way to maintain contact with the Superior General in Poland. This latter proved to be the cause of no little vexation. On the one hand, the local Ordinary insisted that the Marians be entirely subordinated to him; at the same time the civil authorities pressured them by legislative means to sever contact with superiors abroad. Fr. Fischer prudently but firmly explained to the bishop that the Congregation must maintain its canonical union with its own General, otherwise it would lose its purpose of existence. The bishop of Bragança in his report about the Marians to the Apostolic Nuncio in 1781 complained about Fr. Fischer's firm and obstinate position.[44]

To maintain this close unity of the Portuguese Marians with the

[43] *Bragança et Miranda*, por Pe. José de Castro, Porto 1947, vol. II, p.268.

[44] "La Congregazione o Convento dei Chierici Regolari Mariani dell'Immacolata Concezione de Balsamão non può essere da me più favorita: Io concorsi per ottenere una provisione Regia, che gli confermasse la

Marians in Poland, Fr. Fischer asked the Superior General to send some young Marians who would eventually take over and carry on this work.

On October 26, 1764 he received a letter from the Superior General which informed him that at the last Congress held in Góra Kalwarja the decision was made to send Fr. Narcissus Rychter, Fr. Valentine Czubernatowicz and Bro. Emmanuel Saroszek to Portugal. At the same time Fr. Raphael de Buffa was to leave Portugal for Rome. His companion was to be Fr. Czubernatowicz who was to continue his studies in the Eternal City. In June 1765 these three, Fr. Narcissus Rychter, Bohemian, Fr. Valentine Czubernatowicz, a Pole, and Bro. Emmanuel Saroszek, probably a Lithuanian who came from Kowno, arrived in Balsamão. There was with them a fourth person, a certain Polish young man who served as valet. In his letter of introduction the Superior General, Fr. Hyacinth Wasilewski, explained that these men are assigned to Portugal to help expand the Order. But he did not indicate in what capacity and for how long they were to be in Portugal. A short while after their arrival, Fr. Narcissus publicly commented that he did not intend to remain in Portugal permanently. In fact, after only a month's sojourn he left to return to Poland. In June 1766 Fr. Valentine Czubernatowicz left Balsamão for Poland via Rome. Only the lay-brother, Emmanuel Saroszek remained and he died the following year on September 19.[45] Some time after these events the Superior General sent a sharp letter to Fr. Fischer rebuking him for not being able to retain the Marians sent from Poland to Portugal. Their return, after the apparent "excursion" to Portugal, was greeted with surprise in Poland as they told of the situation and life of the Marians in the only Marian monastery in Portugal.

Fr. Fischer resigns from the office of Commissar

Besides efforts to maintain liaison with Poland it seems that there was still another reason why three Marians were sent from Poland to Portugal. On Christmas day 1765 Fr. Fischer received a letter

fondazione che un mio Predecessore gli aveva concesso senza pregiudizio della giurisdizione Ordinaria, e dei dirittii Parochiali; ... I Religiosi non mi hanno corrisposto tanto in questa parte, quanto in quantunque gli sia data facoltà di professare. Assicuro a Vostra Eccellenza, che io desidero promuovere efficacemente, e con singolare affetto la medesima Congregazione, ma il punto è che non abbia ugual corrispondenza da sua parte, e che non senta più la violenza che riconosco nella Soggezione di questa giurisdizione, che devo conservare, abusandosi dell'intelligenza di non aver Religione senza stata unita al Prelato Maggiore della sua Congregazione". Arch. Secr. Vatic., *Nunz. Lisbona*, Div. II, Posizione XLI, Sez. 5a. This is a fragment of the copy of the letter sent by the Bishop of Bragança to the Apostolic Nuncio in Lisbon.

[46] *Protoc. Balsamanen.*, pp.151-167.

from the General in Poland informing him of the decisions taken at the chapter on September 11 in Puszcza Korabiewska. Among others, was the decision to transfer Fr. Raphael de Buffa from Portugal to Rome to be Procurator General of the Order. He was to be accompanied by a Portuguese Marian. This news almost crushed the over-worked and sickly Fr. Alexius Fischer. After consulting with Fr. Raphael, he decided to write to Poland and explain their lack of personnel and the need for Fr. Raphael to remain in Lisbon where he is constantly pressing for the King's approbation of the Marian Order. It was because of these very urgent needs that they found it impossible to fulfill the decisions of the Chapter. The reaction of the General to all this had been his decision to send the Marians from Poland to Portugal.

After Fr. Narcissus returned to Poland, the General wrote a letter to Fr. Fischer bitterly complaining about their poor religious spirit and that they were looking for excuses to circumvent the decisions of their major superiors. When the Superior General, Fr Hyacinth Wasilewski, was re-elected at the Chapter on September 24, 1766 he determined to handle this supposed disobedience of Fathers Fischer and de Buffa with even greater severity. In his letter which reached Balsamão on November 21, 1766 the General very clearly wrote that he doesn't have much of an opinion of the religious life as it is lived in Balsamão and he places full blame upon them for the return of the Polish Marians from Portugal. In addition, he lets them know that he planned to conduct a canonical visitation of the Marians in Portugal in the near future.[46] It seems this visitation never came to pass. In the meantime, the local Ordinary himself decreed a canonical visitation of the Marians and he delegated as Visitator the superior of the Franciscans in Vinhais.

The difficulties in governing this small group of Marians in Portugal steadily increased. From the correspondence between the Superior General and the Commissar in Balsamão it is evident that the religious authorities had no confidence in Fr. Fischer. Consequently, this latter had submitted to the General his resignation from the office. This resignation was accepted, but only at the general chapter of June 1776. At that time a new Commissar was appointed. He was Fr. Candidus Spourny, also a Bohemian. He was to go to Portugal with Fr. John Niezabitowski after settling his affairs in Rome. In Portugal, he was to succeed Fr. Fischer in the government of the Marians there.

God's design was different. Fr. Candidus never went to Portugal.

[46] "21 November... Epistola haec indicat non bonam opinionem de nobis, quatenus nostra culpa Patres Poloni e Balsamão redijssent ad Poloniam, et cum hactenus Visitatio Canonica in hoc coenobio non fuerit peracta... brevi Visitationem nobis minatur". *Ib.*, p.163.

He remained for several years in Rome during which time he acquired the church of San Vito and the former Cistercian monastery attached to it as the permanent headquarters of the Marians in the Eternal City. Very expertly he guided the process of beatification of Fr. Wyszyński. He established close contacts with many distinguished prelates. He obtained generous benefactors and some vocations among the Italians. However, because of his quick temper he became embroiled in financial wranglings with his attorney and was compelled to leave Rome. He was replaced in 1783 by another Polish Marian, Fr. Norbert Gołkowski. And Fr. Candidus, instead of going to Portugal, returned to Poland and then in 1790 was back in Rome again. This time he managed to obtain from the Congregation of Religious the right of permanent residence in the monastery of San Vito. Most probably, after the French army occupied Rome and closed the Marian monastery in 1798 he returned to Bohemia, as did another of his confreres at that monastery, Fr. Diogo Tichy.

Approval and growth of the Marians in Portugal

In all of Fr. Fischer's efforts to establish the Marians in Portugal we must not overlook some of the brighter moments which glowed like bright rays midst the bleak days of pain and struggle for a better tomorrow.

In 1778 Fr. Raphael de Buffa brought to Fr. Alexius the good news that, finally, the Queen, Maria I, agreed to the increase in the number of priests in Balsamão to twelve, not including lay brothers, and that the Marians can make solemn profession.[47] This was the long-dreamed-of royal approval of the Marians in Portugal. Without a doubt, this must have been the brightest day for Fr. Fischer. On June 27 of that year the original royal decree was presented into the hands of the Commissar. After a suitable spiritual preparation, on July 16, 1778, the first Portuguese Marians, Fr. Antonio das Dores and Fr. José da Nossa Senhora das Dores, made their solemn profession. Unfortunately, the latter left the Marians by Papal indult to join the Franciscans of the strict observance.

In 1780 the Marians branched out to the diocese of Lamego taking up residence in a place called Sabadelhe. But after only a short time, they transferred their residence to nearby Cedovim

[47] "4 Junij remiserunt mihi Patres Ulissipone existentes copiam Decreti seu Provisionis Regij, in quo non plus favoris nobis praestatus quam augmentando numerum Congregatorum ad viginti sacerdotes nempe et conversos, nihil de professione votorum agitur, quamvis Regiae Majestates ordinaverint approbationem nobis dari Religionis, cum ipse Rex ore suo in Ecclesia Dominae nostrae de Lapa expresse dixerit P. Raphaeli: possunt acceptare duodecim Patres, eant ad Secretarium, illis dabit approbationem et facient compromissum". *Ib.*, p. 228.

where they were offered a local chapel dedicated to Santa Marina. The local Ordinary, the pastor, civil authorities and the people were very anxious to have the Marians situate themselves there permanently. Unfortunately, here again after some years, in 1789 the Marians left this residence because this foundation had not been approved by the government.[48] Instead, in 1783 in the last remaining months of Fr. Fischer's life, they accepted a foundation in Algoso, diocese of Bragança, where they remained until 1834 when religious orders were expelled from Portugal.

In January 1781, the efforts to establish residence for the Marians in Lisbon were crowned with success. It was here that Fr. Raphael de Buffa resided in the company of one or two Portuguese Marians, sometimes enjoying the hospitality of other religious communities, sometimes of Marian benefactors. Magdalena Mascarenhas, a lady at the Court of Queen Maria I, bought the church of St. Peter de Alfama, rebuilt after the 1755 earthquake, and later left abandoned. She also purchased the former parish residence, rebuilt them and offered them to the Marians for hospice. She named it the Hospice of St. Raphael.[49]

Upon his return from Lisbon where he took part in the solemnities inaugurating the Hospice of St. Raphael, Fr. Fischer still had to suffer his final and very severe trial. During his absence the Portuguese Marians, with the understanding and encouragement of the local bishop, held a Chapter at Balsamão (though it was not within their competence to do this) at which they elected a Portuguese Marian to take over the office and duties of Commissar, to whom they gave the title of "General". Fr. Alexius was not even consulted. This hurt him deeply. After so many years of working for the community he was completely bypassed in the elections at the Chapter. But perhaps what saddened him most of all, was that his brethren had acted illegally and that the bishop had a part in it.

The newly-elected "General" governed the three Marian foundations in Portugal: Balsamão, the main Marian house; Hospice of St. Raphael in Lisbon; and Hospice of St. Anthony in Algoso. Gradually, up until the closing of religious institutes in 1834, contact with the Marians in Poland was less and less frequent.

Death of Fr. Fischer.

In 1782 Fr. Raphael de Buffa died in Lisbon in the presence of

[48] *Historia Ecclesiastica da Cidade e Bispado de Lamego*, escripta por D. Joaquim de Azevedo Fidalgo cappellão da casa real, Conego regular de Santo Agostinho, Abbade reservatario de Sadavim, a Parocho de Vargeas, Typ. do Jornal do Porto, Porto 1877, p. 307.

[49] *Protoc. Balsamanen.*, p. 239-242.

Fr. Fischer, his faithful friend and co-worker in Portugal.[50] A year later, in Balsamão, Fr. Alexius commended his beautiful soul into the hands of his Creator. The *Album of Deceased Marian Fathers and Brothers* (in Poland) registers Fr. Fischer's death on the 31 of December 1784. This same date is mentioned by Fr. Thaddeus Białowieski in his letter to the Papal Nuncio in Vienna in 1820. However, this date is not correct. To disprove this date there is a letter from Rome to the successor of Fr. Fischer, Fr. Vicente de Presentação in Balsamão written by the attorney Vincenzo Calozzi who settled legal matters for the superior of the Portuguese Marians. This letter is dated June 10, 1784, and in it he writes: "I was very saddened to learn of the death of the distinguished religious, Fr. Alexius of St. Octavius. My sorrow is somewhat relieved in the knowledge that I shall continue to be of service to Your Reverence. . ." [51] When we take into account that Fr. Fischer writes in his diary (PROTOCOLLUM) the latest events of the Easter season and then the following entries in that diary are penned by Fr. Vicente de Presentação and that Fr. Fischer testified in the Apostolic Process of Fr. Wyszyński in November 1783, it is fair to suppose that most probably the date of his death was December 31, 1783. It is understandable that the date of his death was mistaken in Poland for the date on which the news from Balsamão reached Poland.

In the latter part of the year 1784 Fr. Vicente de Presentação wrote that he informed the Superior General in Poland about the death of Fr. Fischer and of other Marian events in Portugal. All of this is incontestible evidence that Fr. Alexius Fischer died December 31, 1783, and not 1784 as it is recorded officially.

Upon receiving news of the death of Fr. Fischer, the Superior General in Poland, Fr. Raymond Nowicki, wrote a circular letter exalting the singular merits of this Marian and of his religious virtues. He underscored especially his love for the Congregation as well as his accomplished works in Poland and Portugal. He called him a tireless worker and a great devotee of Mary Immaculate and, of all the Fathers of the Marian Order, a person most worthy of praise.

Thanks to the diligence of Fr. Alexius Fischer and his genuine love for the Congregation, we today have an insight into the life of the Marians in Portugal. He left a splendid and complete "Diary", a

[50] *Ib.*, p. 240.

[51] "Non parvum me quidem contristavit nuntium de morte egregii Religiosique viri P. Alexii a S. Octaviano, sed minuit dolorem novus mihi oblatus in Paternitate Vestra dignissimus Patronus... Roma, 10 Iunii 1784". *Ib.*, p. 249.

history of the Marians in Portugal from the arrival of Fr. Wyszyński to his own death. This diary was continued after him in the Portuguese language, but the events were recorded in a superficial manner, often giving unimportant, banal incidents. This continued until 1807 and then, for unknown reasons, it was discontinued.

Fr. Fischer quickly had learned the Portuguese language. This becomes evident, that while he wrote his diary in Latin he often, almost subconsciously, switched over to Portuguese and he used that language with facility.

His carefully-copied documents from the archives, some of which were brought over from Poland, are today the only ones in existence and are invaluable for history. They give evidence how the Polish religious inspiration of Fr. Papczyński germinated, grew and bore fruit after it was transplanted into Portuguese soil.

Fr. Fischer was not a Pole. Nevertheless, he thoroughly assimilated himself into the Polish Order. He mastered the Polish language and spoke it fluently until his death, corresponded frequently with Poland and was always very happy to host at Balsamão Polish pilgrims on their way to the tomb of St. James in Compostella, Spain. Following the footsteps of the Servant of God Fr. Casimir Wyszyński, he gave his life without reserve to the Marian Congregation, concerned for the growth of the Order. He kept alive the fame of the "Polish saint", Fr. Wyszyński, while he himself receded into the shadows to be forgotten, content to bear suffering in silence and do all he could to promote the praise and glory of God and Mary Immaculate.

After the death of Fr. Fischer

After the death of Fr. Fischer the liaison between the Marians in Portugal and Superior General in Poland slowly began to cease. In the latter part of 1784 Fr. Vicente de Presentação, who had been elected at the Balsamão chapter in October 1782, under the direction of the Visitator appointed by the bishop of Bragança, wrote to the General in Poland informing him of the death of the former Commissar and the elections and a brief report on the life of the Marians in Portugal.[52] This was one of the last direct contacts of the Portuguese Marians with the General in Poland.

During their occasional visits to Rome, the Portuguese Marians would meet with the Procurator General at the church of San Vito. From documents preserved in the Vatican archives and at the Portuguese church of St. Anthony in Rome, it appears that as long as

[52] "Neste mesmo tempo (second half of 1784) escrevi tambem ao R.mo Preposito da Polonia dando lhe parte da morte do R.do Pe. Commissario e do cá tinha succedido, e da resposta de Roma . . ." *Ibidem.*

the Marian Procurator General resided in Rome (1798) there had been occasional contacts between the Portuguese Marians and their Polish confreres. However, the Portuguese Marians conducted their affairs through their own special agent from Portugal.

Finally, in May 1820, in a document addressed to the Sacred Congregation for Religious in Rome, the Portuguese Marians explicitly expressed their desire to sever their affiliation with the Marians in Poland and request the Holy See to approve them as a separate Institute. In this document, among other things, they write:

> ". . . in 1782 we held a chapter to which the Ordinary, the bishop of Bragança, sent a Visitator who presided over the chapter. At this chapter, for the first time, we elected a superior of our Congregation in this country, who as yet had recourse to the Superior General in Poland for approval of these elections, but subsequent chapters were presided over by a representative of the Ordinary and no further recourse was made to Poland. Consequently, the superiors of Balsamão performed legal acts, they accepted novices, admitted to profession, issued dimissorial letters for priestly ordination, they were empowered to accept new foundations. They did all these in good faith, up to the present.
>
> Lately, doubts had arisen whether this Order is approved in the Kingdom (Portugal), whether the superiors have legal jurisdiction, not being subject to the Superior (General) in Poland; also doubts with respect to the profession made by the religious. For these reasons they have recourse to your Holiness to approve the rule, statutes, exemption from the jurisdiction of the Ordinary, privileges which had been granted by Pope Pius VI in the Brief "Iniuncti Nobis" of March 27, 1787, also independence from the Superior General in Poland since we have our own superior general in this kingdom (Portugal) which is more in keeping with the laws of this Kingdom. We further petition a change in our religious habit: white cassock, a long black overcoat with blue cape, a biretta. . .[53]

[53] "Nel 1782 si tenne Capitolo, al quale mandò l'Ordinario Visitatore che vi presidesse, ed in esso si fece per la prima volta elezione di Proposito Generale di detta Congregazione in questo Regno, il quale per questa volta ricorse al Generale di Polonia per la conferma, ma dopo si seguitarono a fare l'elezioni ogni tre anni presiedute con autorità Ordinaria, e mai più si fece ricorso in Polonia. I Propositi di Balsamão seguitarono ad esercitare la loro giurisdizione, accettando Novizij, ammettendoli alla Professione, concedendo Dimissorie perche potessero ordinarsi, e proponendo quelli, che dovevano essere esaminati per confessare, ed accettare case per nuove fondazioni ed in questa buona fede si è vissuto fin ora.

Ma essendosi dubij, e questioni, se la Religione è approvata in questo Regno con approvazione speciale, se il Proposito ha giurisdizione senza dipendenza dal Proposito in Polonia, e sulla validità della Professione, ricorre il detto Ordine alla Santità Vostra perche si degni confermar la

The Congregation for Religious, through the Papal Nuncio in Vienna, had contacted the Superior General of the Marians in Poland asking his opinion in the case. Fr. Thaddeus Białowieski replied with a very long letter that according to the Constitutions there can be only one superior general in the Marian Congregation. If the Holy See deems it appropriate for the good of the cause, he will gladly resign from his office of General. He expressed serious doubts with respect to the legal acts undertaken by the Superior of the Marians in Portugal.[54]

There are no documents to show how this case was eventually resolved. One thing is certain, Fr. Thaddeus Białowieski remained in office as Superior General of the Marians in Poland until his death in 1832. The Papal Nuncio in Vienna suggested to Rome that the Holy See sanction all the juridical acts of the so-called "General" in Portugal[55] and, for the future, the Marians in Portugal should conduct all their affairs through the Apostolic Nunciature in Lisbon. Most probably, this is how the matter was finally resolved in Rome.

On the basis of later documents discovered in the Vatican archives and in the Abade Baçal Museum in Bragança, the Marians in Portugal continued to remain isolated from contacts with Marians in Poland and continued to be governed by their local "general" elected at chapter convoked every third year.[56]

regola, statuti, ed esenzioni, e Privilegij concessi dalla S.M. di Pio VI con suo Breve, che comincia: *Injuncti Nobis Coelitus* dei 27 Marzo 1787 con l'indipendenza dal Proposito Generale di Polonia per suo Prelato Maggiore, la qual cosa è più conforme alla Disciplina del Regno. Supplica anche che l'Abito sia in questa forma: Sottanna bianca, mantello lungo nero, e sopra mozetta di color turchin celeste, e barretto poichè non c'è verun Ordine in Portogallo, con cui si possa confondere. Che etc." — Arch. Secr. Vatic., *Arch. di Nunz. di Vienna*, vol. 249, f. 98v.

[54] *Ib.*, f. 95r-97v. and also: vol. 251, f. 185v.

[55] "Mi sembra perciò che possano avere luogo delle sanatorie per gli atti di giurisdizione esercitati per lo passato. In quanto al avvenire, il Proposito con edificante sommissione, si rimette al giudizio, e sentimento della Santa Sede". *Ib.*, vol. 251, f. 185v.

[56] The Elenchus of the "Generals" of the Marian Fathers in Portugal from 1782 to 1834:

Fr. Vicente de Presentação Miranda (1782-1787)
Fr. Antonio de Nossa Senhora das Dores Godinho (1787-1789)
Fr. Bernardo de S. José de Morais Pinto (1789-1790)
Fr. Casimiro d'Annunciação Rodrigues (1790-1793)
Fr. Vicente de Presentação Miranda (1794-1802)
Fr. Agostinho Antonio de Patrocinio di Maria SS.ma (1802-1804)
Fr. Antonio de Nossa Senhora das Dores Godinho (1804-1806)
Fr. Gregorio de S. Vicente Miranda (1806-1810)
Fr. Alvaro de S. João Evangelista (1810-1824)
Fr. José de Encarnação Sampaio (1824-1827)
Fr. Casimiro de S. José (1827-1830)
Fr. José da Cruz (1830-1834)

All particulars are taken from the documents in Museu Abade Baçal in Bragança and from Archivo Secreto Vaticano, *Vescovi e Regolari, Decreta* e *Posizioni* for the years 1782-1834.

This state of affairs lasted until 1834, that is, until all religious institutes in Portugal were disbanded and, with them, so were the Marians. After this liquidation, individual Marians lived as priests forcibly secularized by the government. Most frequently they lived with their respective families. Only a few functioned as priests in parish churches.

The last general of the Marians in Portugal, Fr. José da Cruz, was granted permission by the government to remain in Balsamão with Bro. Antonio de São Luis who in 1844 was 76 years of age, and asked for state assistance because the income from the Sanctuary at Balsamão was not sufficient for sustenance.[57] He was there until 1851 taking care of the spiritual needs of pilgrims coming to Balsamão, even though they were always fewer in number. In January 1851 Fr. José da Cruz presented the liturgical vestments and other sacred vessels to the Bishop of Bragança [58] and then he himself moved to live for a while in Chacim [59] and then later with his own family in the nearby village of Lagoa where he died probably in 1856. After he left Balsamão, the church was closed and the monastery gradually fell into ruin. By the year 1841, whatever land was more fertile and arable, was sold at auction to private individuals. After 1850 the monastery buildings came into the possession of José Antonio de Miranda. In the years 1880-1882 the entire hill, with whatever buildings were there, was acquired by the family of Dr. de Menezes Cordeiro. He lived to see the day when the Marians returned to Balsamão in 1954. The church always had remained under the jurisdiction of the Diocesan Curia and taken care of directly by the Confraternity of Our Lady of Balsamão which had its headquarters in nearby Chacim.

57 "Antonio de S. Luis — usa mesmo nome da Ordem de Emaculada Conceição, sahiu do Convento de Algozo, natural de Vila dos Sinos, 76 anos, Leigo, professou em 1804. Pretende continuar, não tem emprego... da Congregação da Immaculada Conceição do Covento de Balsamão. Esiste no mesmo convento, sustentado pelo Pe. José da Cruz, pello amor de Deus porque è homem pobre, de idade avançada e doente e de muita forma moral..." *Relação dos Frades dos extinctos Conventos, que se achão no Districto deste Arciprestado de Lampaças, Bispado de Bragança* por o Abade Arcipreste José Manoel Ribeiro Lopes, expedido 22 de Settembro de 1844 ao Ministro Secretario de Majestade do Negocios Ecclesiasticos e de Justiça.— Museu Abade Baçal. *Correspondencia Episcopal Especial.*

58 *Ib., Frades.* Cf. *Bragança e Miranda*, vol. II, p. 272.

95 (desejei)... "lembrar-lhes que nesta freguesia reside o Reverendo Padre José da Cruz da Congregação de Balsamão, Padre muito capaz, pellas suas qualidades moraes, e scientificas, e que sirviria de maior approveitamento aos circunscritos, pois ouvimo com maior respeto e atuação, que alguns tem sido seos discipulos... Chacim 31 de Janeiro de 1853. O Padre Angelo do Menino Jesus". This letter was sent by the above to the Administrator of the Diocese of Bragança e Miranda. — *Ib., Correspondencia Episcopal Especial.*

Every so often the church was opened for pilgrims who came to visit the tomb of the "Polish saint" Fr. Casimir Wyszyński. On the first Sunday of August the feast and festivities of Our Lady of Balsamão continued without interruption. In these celebrations not only the local people but also pilgrims from distant Brazil, who provided funds to renew the altars in the church and maintain the building in good condition, took part.

When the Marians returned to Balsamão they gradually bought back the lands around it, rebuilt the monastery collapsed into rubble, with the sole exception of the cell in which Fr. Wyszyński had died (which somehow survived the ravages of time). The present-day Marians began to revitalize anew what Fr. Wyszyński had begun, what Fr. Fischer continued until his death and his successors carried on until 1834 when the Institute was disbanded. Today, the reconstructed monastery of Balsamão is one of the most picturesque monuments in the diocese of Bragança, in the entire province of Tras-os-Montes in Portugal.

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(Glasgow)

THOMAS CAMPBELL
Poet of Freedom—Friend of Poland
(1777-1844)

PART ONE

Mankind erects statues and preserves with reverence the relics of kings, warriors and heroes, less often of poets. Thomas Campbell belongs to the latter. Born in Glasgow, where he is commemorated by a statue, he was buried in Westminster Abbey in the famous "Poets' Corner".[1]

He had a royal funeral. According to an eye-witness—

> Long before the hour appointed for the ceremony, the area in front of the western entrance of the Abbey was crowded with spectators, anxious to catch a glimpse of the procession.

[1] Thomas Campbell has no fewer than three biographers:

1. W. Beattie, *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, vols. I-III. London 1849. — The author was one of the executors and an intimate friend of the Poet.

2. Cyrus Redding, *Literary Reminiscences and Memoirs of Thomas Campbell*, vols. I-II, London 1860. The author co-operated with Thomas Campbell in the years 1820-1830. His work is "a valuable supplement to Beattie".

3. J. Cuthbert Hadden, *Thomas Campbell*, Edinburgh-London 1899 (In "Famous Scots Series"). This biography "is for usual purposes the most satisfactory of the three".

4. There are unpublished dissertations: a) Albert M. [Bierstadt] Turner, *Thomas Campbell*, Harvard University, 1920, and b) Charles Duffy, *Thomas Campell. A critical biography, Cornell* University, 1939.

Most helpful in the study of Campbell's life and poetry is the following critical review: *The English Romantic Poets and Essayists. A Review of Research and Criticism.* Revised Edition. Ed. by C. W. and L. H. Houtchens. Published for the Modern Language Association of America by New York University Press, 1966, 185-196.—The quotations adduced above are taken from this publication (pp. 187-8).

With all reservations expressed by writers about W. Beattie's method, his biography "must always remain the principal source of knowledge of the Poet's personality". (The Complete Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell. Ed. with notes by J. Logie Robertson, Oxford Edition, London 1907. Preface, p. VIII).

> The great nave of the venerable pile was also filled with the friends and admirers of the departed Poet, as well as every approach to the place of interment.
>
> A number of Poles were standing among the mourners, called by feelings of gratitude and national enthusiasm to the spot. Amongst these were—Count Grabowski, the Chevalier B. de Wiercinski, Captain Kiuzynski, M. Kirmean, and M. Olyzarowski, as a deputation from the Polish nation.
>
> When the Rev. Mr. Milman arrived at the portion of the ceremony in which dust is consigned to dust, an additional interest was thrown around this part of the proceedings, by the significant tribute of respect which was paid to the memory of the Poet by the Poles who accompanied the remains to the grave. One of their number, Colonel Szyrma,[2] took a handful of earth, which had been taken for this purpose from the tomb of Kosciusko,[3] and scattered it over the coffin of him who had portrayed in such glowing terms the woes and wrongs of their country.[4]

No other Briton has ever gained such a tribute, not even Lord Dudley Stuart, so honoured for his services to the Polish cause.[5] This fact raises two important questions: Firstly, what did Campbell do to deserve such appreciation from Poles, and secondly, has posterity preserved the memory of his services to Poland?

[2] W. Chojnacki and J. Dąbrowski, *Krystyn Lach Szyrma, Syn Ziemi Mazurskiej*, Olsztyn 1971. — This eminent member of the Polish Association tried to procure stone from Poland for the monument of Thomas Campbell. But "I cannot help feeling, replied Mr. Howard Nixon, librarian in the Muniment Room and Library, Westminster Abbey, that had the stone been specially sent from Poland on this occasion there would be some inscription on the monument to this effect, but there is nothing". (Letter, 14th March, 1977).

[3] This is not quite correct. Kościuszko was buried in the Polish Pantheon inside the Wawel Castle. The handful of earth was taken from a mound erected in honour of Kościuszko just outside the city of Cracow, after his death in 1817 (G. H. Bushnell, *Kościuszko. A short biography of the Polish Patriot*, St. Andrews 1943, 53-4. In ser. "Scottish-Polish Society Publications", no. 4).

[4] *Jenerał Zamoyski 1803-1868*. T.IV. (1837-1847). Poznaó 1918, 326. — W. Beattie, *Life and Letters*, III, 442-4.

[5] We may mention here that Lady J. W. Stirling called Lord Dudley Stuart "King of Poland", asking his help to arrange a concert for Chopin "because unfortunately Genius cannot live upon air" (J. A. Teslar, "Unpublished Letters of Adam Czartoryski to Lord Dudley Stuart and the Earl of Harrowby 1832-1861", *The Slavonic and East European Review, XXIX*, 1950-1951, 174).—We would add that in the work *Revelations of Siberia by a Banished Lady* (i.e. Ewa Felińska), ed. by Colonel Lach Szyrma, vols. I-II, London 1854, the text is preceded by the following dedication: "To Lord Dudley Stuart, M.P. etc., etc., whose generous sympathy with the expatriated and oppressed, has enshrined his name indelibly in the memory of all nations, these volumes are humbly inscribed by his most devoted admirer, the Editor".—On a medal we can read: "Causae Poloniae indefessus vindex, exulum Polonorum Amicus and Fautor" (Z. Jagodziński, "Ostatnia misja Lorda Stuarta", *"Dziennik Polski-Tydzień Polski"*. Nr. 51(304), 19th Dec. 1964).

There is no shortage of answers to the first question. The most authoritative has been given by Prince Adam Czartoryski at a reception in Paris in 1834.

> We feel the deepest satisfaction in seeing amongst us one of the worthiest, the oldest, and most constant friends of our unfortunate country. It is to testify to him our sensations of gratitude and affection that we are met. He must submit to hear from our lips some expressions which his modesty would possibly wish to be spared, but which, in our regard for him, we cannot forbear from uttering.
>
> For nearly forty years Thomas Campbell has never ceased to be the pleader, the champion, the zealous and unwearied apostle of our holy cause. Our disasters have never damped him, on the contrary, as in the case with souls that are truly noble, our very calamities have deepened his attachment to us; and Campbell has been as obstinately our friend, as Fortune has been our enemy.
>
> When Kościuszko fell, his poetical accents were among the first that awakened Europe from her insensibility to our fate, and evoked, on the tomb of the country, the tears of all men capable of rendering homage to truth, to justice, and to liberty.
>
> As soon as our last revolution burst forth, his eloquent pen was again drawn in our behalf.
>
> When frightful disasters put a period to our last struggle, still our Campbell did not desert us. He made our griefs his own — he preached to us sublime consolations, and he predicted that we might yet see better days! Oh! doubtless, nothing would be wanting to Poland, if the wishes of this faithful friend — if the predictions of this illustrious poet, — could be fulfilled. Nor do I doubt that they will one day be fulfilled, and that the verses of his poetry will then be quoted to show that, by the light of his genius and his virtue, he had foreseen futurity! [6]

That was in the year 1834, when Campbell was still active. To Poland he remained faithful and again defended her cause two years later.[7] Then he waned. Waned for us and for the muse. This does not mean that Campbell is lost for poetry or that we Poles can be allowed to forget him. Each time we remember Campbell, the memory recalls the words of the exiled poet Ovid: "Donec eris felix, multos numerabis amicos...".[8] For two hundred years the

[6] W. Beattie *Life and Letters*, III, 167-8; J. C. Hadden, *Thomas Campbell*, 129.
[7] "At a Reception in Glasgow", *"The Glasgow Argus, no 355, July 7, 1836.*
[8] Ovid, *Tristia*, 1.9,5.

Poles did not enjoy peace and felicity, what they did have was ill-fortune. It is then not surprising that in this distress they sought comfort in poetry and help from their friends. The poetry did not disappoint them. As for the friends — how many have been forgotten! It is the historian's task to make up for this oblivion, it is posterity's duty to honour those who fought for the "holy Polish Cause" in any possible way — by word, by pen and sword. Thomas Campbell belongs to them.

This brings us to the second question: When was this dedication to Poland born in Campbell, and what inspired him to take up the lyre to sing the tragic greatness of our nation? An answer is readily available, the point is if we can accept it.

There is no question that Campbell was a poet. True poets are geniuses and geniuses are born. They can develop, radiate and wane, but the germ must be in their soul. The problem is to uncover and recognise this God-given germ. There is no difficulty with Campbell in this respect. Even before his professor in Moral Philosophy, Archibald Arthur, recognised his poetic genius, his student had already penned a series of poems, the first when he was hardly ten years old, the most beautiful when he was fifteen. And already in these juvenile poems the true, the Polish Campbell is evident. His biographer and friend, Dr. William Beattie, is telling us, that in arguments, so common among boys at school —

> ... whenever there was apparent wrong, he insisted upon redress; and in all such cases of petty aggression, he took part with the injured. May we not consider these little traits as the marked indication of that generous spirit, which, after the lapse of a few years, was to awaken public sympathy on behalf of Poland, and to associate the name of Campbell with the friends of the oppressed in every country?
>
> His philanthropy was already an active principle; its daily exercise, under the endearing name of "kind-heartedness", was felt and acknowledged by every boy of his class.[9]

Thomas Campbell was living amidst events which could not but inspire his glowing genius. One of these events was the French Revolution. He was so moved by its *élan* and fell under its spell so deeply, that even as he was dying he asked his niece to play for him the *Marseillaise*. He admired the Revolution, although the atrocities of the Jacobins repelled him. He wept over the execution of king

[9] W. Beattie, *Life and Letters*, I, 52-3.

Louis, the Queen and the Dauphin,[10] convinced that the French massacres were signal calamities to the friends of peace and freedom in Britain.[11]

The Revolution raged, but Paris was far away. Nearer, in Edinburgh, there developed a drama, which shook the Poet more than any other event in his life. The years 1790-1832 were a period of reforms which aimed to change the structure of the British Parliament. It was a revolution. In Scotland this revolution threatened the old order to such an extent that the leading reformers faced trial and sentences of death.[12] The sixteen year old Campbell felt that l i b e r t y was at stake and resolved to have a look at the heroes of the drama:

> He reached Edinburgh with a light foot and buoyant heart, and repaired to the parliament-house, where the trial of Gerrald was going on; and it was easy for an imagination such as his to convert the eloquent and impassioned culprit at the bar into a patriot of the heroic ages, pleading less for his own life than the liberties of the country.
>
> Campbell was deeply impressed by the thrilling words... and the universal unbreathing silence of the multitude that listened, and he returned to Glasgow — 'a sadder at least, if not a wiser man... He had imbibed those impressions in behalf of f r e e d o m, and that hatred of oppression, which burst forth so indignantly in the *Pleasures of Hope*, that ran like an electric gleam through the whole extent of his subsequent productions — and that finally, at his open grave, called forth the tears of unhappy Poland, represented by the weeping

[10] Campbell was in his seventeenth year when he composed his *Verses on Marie Antoinette*. The poem betrays his deep religious feelings:

> O Power benign that rul'st on high.
> Cast down, cast down a pitying eye;
> Shed consolation from the sky
> To soothe their sad captivity
>
> *(The Complete Poetical Works, 360-1)*

There was nothing further from the hearts of the French poets praising the French Revolution than religious feelings (E. Guitton, "La Poésie et Poètes dans la Fête Révolutionnaire. Les Fêtes de la Révolution" (Colloque de Clermont-Ferrand (Juin 1974), *Bibl.Hist.Rév.*, 3-e serie, no. 17, Paris 1977, 397-8).

[11] W. Beattie, *Life and Letters*, I,86.

[12] Joseph Gerrald (1763-1796), a political reformer, came from London to Edinburgh and was received here with enthusiasm. Arrested Dec. 5, 1793, sentenced to fourteen years' transportation, he died in Sydney, N.S. Wales, on 16th of March 1796. His name was placed on the obelisk (The Martyrs' Monument) erected on Calton Hill in Edinburgh in 1844. The prosecution of Gerrald and his fellow agitators excited great indignation even in the Parliament (J. M. Scott, *Dict.Nat.Biogr.*, 21, 1890, 238-9).—J. Cannon, *Parliamentary Reform, 1640-1832*, Cambridge 1973, 128.

group of her children who stood over it. He was now, and after to be the poet of liberty.[13]

Even if we agree with Campbell's biographers that the French Revolution and the Edinburgh trial left a bitterness in his heart,[14] we would be making a mistake should we accept that only this hurt was the source of inspiration for our Poet in his fight for liberty. It was not so. The source was his genius, the genius of poetry. This genius was innate, as is every genius, and was evident in the life of our Poet in his philanthropy. Campbell, the great Campbell was a philanthropist, and if we wish to find the way from Campbell the poet to Campbell the friend of Poland, it is through his philanthropy. There can be no doubt about that. There is one most convincing piece of proof — *the Essay on the Origin of Evil.*[15] In this, Campbell's first great poem, the Poet praises the infinite goodness of God, the Creator of Heaven:

Sure, Heaven is good; no farther proof we need,
In nature's page the doubtless text we read — (v.9-10)
. . . . . .

While Nature teaches — let no doubt intrude,
But own with gratitude that God is good. (v.37-8)

If so, the Poet asks — "can human ill arise?"

Perhaps, since amidst "ills self-created, ills ordained by fate" —

Hope whispers joy, and promised bliss inspires. (v.44).

Refreshed by this hope, man should act, directed by his reason and conscience. In no way can the erring man blame God for his own misdeeds, because —

He who thy being gave, in skill divine
Saw what was best, and bade that best be thine, (V.59-60)
. . . . . .

No! Heaven hath placed compassion in thy breast;
The means are given, and ours is all the rest. (v.157-8)

[13] *Biogr. Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen.* Originally ed. by Robert Chambers, vol. II, London 1874, 309.—W. Beattie, *Life and Letters*, I, 86-90.

[14] "The Trial of Gerrald filled the Poet's mind with indignation . . . " "It exhibits his sensitiveness of disposition, that it was some time before he recovered the shock he sustained from witnessing the scene of judicial degradation" (C. Redding, *Literary Reminiscences*, L. 22).—"When he returned to Glasgow he could think and speak of nothing else. His old gaiety had quite deserted him . . . " (J. C. Hadden, *Thomas Campbell*, 26); W. L. Renwick, *English Literature, 1789-1815*, Oxford 1963, 221-2;— W. Ferguson, *Scotland 1689 to the present*, Edinburgh 1975, 257-9. Gerrald and two other reformers were in later years to be canonized as the "Edinburgh Martyrs".

[15] *The Complete Poetical Works*, 361-8.

However, the Poet did not shun the question — what would happen —

> . . . if each mortal were completely blest,
> Where could the power of aiding woe exist?

The answer he gives is simple:

> . . . Nought else, 'tis plain,
> But rage to bridle, passion to restrain —
> A virtue negative, scarce worth the name,
> Far from the due reward that generous actions claim!
> (v.189-92)

What then shall we do?

> . . . rest contented with the Maker's plan
> Who ills ordained as means of good to man. (v.199-200)

The *Essay* made an impression both in school and beyond its walls, but soon passed into oblivion.[16] The reason is simple. The poem was the work of a youth of sixteen and consequently relegated by publishers to the *Juvenalia.* Who would read them? And yet, it is in this very *Essay* that Campbell's genius as p h i l a n t h r o p i s t revealed itself.

The questions raised by the Poet — where does evil come from, what is its source and how can it be dealt with — are m o r a l questions, the problems of theologians and philosophers and, if at all, for mortals, then only for those of maturity. In a youth of sixteen they were proof of a deep sense of m o r a l i t y.[17]

In short, the true, the great Campbell is a philanthrop and morality is at the bottom of his philanthropy. His p o e t r y served philanthropy, his whole life thrived on it. Still at the end of his life he bequeathed to mankind this sublime message on philanthropy, poetry and liberty at the Anti-Slavery Convention in London, a message so noble and actual, that it could be placed at the porch of the United Nations. According to the relation of an American participant:

> He considered this Convention one of the noblest bodies of men the great interest of humanity and civilisation had ever brought together. The p h i l a n t h r o p i s t s of the world had gathered here to sympathise with the suffering and oppressed of all nations; and no devise means for the universal diffu-

[16] Campbell received a prize for this Essay at the College in the Moral Philosophy Class, at the close of the Third Session. The poem, as he expressed himself had given him "a local celebrity throughout Glasgow, from the High Church down to the bottom of the Salt Market!" (W. Beattie, *Life and Letters, I, 59).*

[17] "His whole life, so far as I can trace it, appears to have been a life of excitement—the excitement of *philanthropy*". (W. Beattie, *Life and Letters,* II, 400 and III, 155).

sion of l i b e r t y. They had proposed for themselves the most sublime object that ever entered the human mind — the *emancipation* of men, everywhere, from the thraldom of man!

He hoped these guardians of humanity would believe that he felt the deepest interest in all their movements; and his earnest prayer was that God would bless them! "Friends of Humanity", said he, "I extend to you the fellowship and co-operation of the men of England.

The p o e t r y of the world has always been — as it ever will be — on the side of l i b e r t y".[18]

Many nations fought for liberty, not excluding Campbell's own *patria.* The Poet did not forget Scotland, but he was just as deeply concerned with Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Hungary, and Greece. Also his *Ode to the Germans* should not be the cause of misunderstanding, since his best friend and coadjutor in the Polish cause was a German, Adolph Bach, and since many Germans paid tribute to the heroism of the Insurrection. In all fairness, also America suffered criticism for her persecution of Negroes and even Great Britain was not spared for her dealing with the Irish question. In all these conflicts, concerned with subjected people, there is the same true Campbell, the poet of liberty, the uncompromising philanthropist.[19]

In exalting Campbell above many other contemporary poets, it would be disparaging, if we did not emphasize that none of the oppressed nations, fighting for liberty, were closer to his heart, than Poland. Her cause was for him "our cause", "the sacred cause", "the holy cause". Its violation was unjust and immoral because it injured the Poet's philanthropy. But it must be stressed, that this philanthropy had still another, unfortunately unappreciated, because little known, aspect.

Already Prince Adam Czartoryski praising Campbell as "apostle of our holy cause" emphasized at the same time, that —

[18] W. Beattie, *Life and Letters, III,* 422.

[19] It is to be regretted that Campbell, the philanthropist is unknown to the historians of his own country. The French, whom he disliked and did not respect, were more just. On the day of his death "in the Boulogne paper, a glowing panegyric appeared on his character as a man and patriot; and in the Paris and provincial press noble tributes were offered to his memory as the Poet of Freedom, and *the friend of human race*" (W. Beattie, Life and Letters, III, 382).—As to Campbell's attitude to the Germans, he wrote to his sister Mary on the 7th of June 1832: "I shall write for next number (in *the Metropolitan*) an *Ode to the Germans,* exhorting them to rise and assist the Poles". The *Ode* was translated and widely circulated in Germany:

The spirit of Britannia
Invokes, across the main,
Her sister, Allemannia ... (W. Beattie, *Life and Letters,* III, 124).

On the attitude of the German writers cf. Arno Will, *Polska i Polacy w niemieckiej prozie literackiej* (Łódzkie Tow. Naukowe, Prace Wydz. I, nr. 70, Łódź 1970, 66-70).

> Nor was it by his voice alone that he aided us, for he transmitted to us considerable sums. In proportion as his high poetry had touched us, his donations affected our hearts. We recorded them as an offering agreeable to Providence, and that ought to bring a blessing with them; for they were the sparings of a very moderate fortune, which the philanthropy of its owner had not permitted him to augment.[20]

This was in Paris in 1834. After the death of the Poet, Lord Dudley Stuart and Charles Szulczewski, representing the Polish Association, sent a letter to his executors in which we can read:

> This sad event has deprived us of a venerated and much esteemed colleague, and the Polish refugees of an ardent and zealous advocate.
>
> Our lamented friend, as is well known, was early imbued with a sense of Poland's wrongs. The conflicts which she has been forced to sustain in fighting for her rights and liberties, against a conspiracy of odious tyrants, fired his youthful temperament, and roused indignation.
>
> Nor did Mr. Campbell content himself with a mere abstract feeling of sympathy for the friendless and destitute Poles. No, his purse was open to them with a liberality far more in accordance with his generous nature than with the extent of his means.[21]

It follows from these praises on the part of two eminent Polish exiles and the greatest English advocate of the Polish cause, that we must discern in Campbell's philanthropy two different although not unconnected aspects: his fight for Poland's freedom and his samaritan work on behalf of the Polish exiles.

Let us start with Campbell "the apostle of our holy cause".

II

Campbell wrote four poems about Poland. This is not much compared with the huge volume of his work. But we would ask, what did Walter Scott, Byron or Burns write about Poland? [22] More-

[20] W. Beattie, *Life and Letters*, III, 445.

[21] Major K. Szulczewski was secretary of the Polish Association in 1858, when Jadwiga Zamoyska, visiting England, met him. In her opinion, he was "the soul of the Association", and tried to support his countrymen in England" *(Wspomnienia.* Ed. Maria Czapska, London 1961, 311, 382-6, 410).

[22] A very useful review of English poetry dealing with Polish problems during the XIXth cent. is given by Monica Partridge ("Slavonic Themes in English Poetry", *The Slavonic and East European Review*, XLI, 1962-3, 423-6).

over, if writers mention Campbell's dedication to the Polish cause at all, they point most often to his *Pleasures of Hope*, and remain silent about the other poems, while it is just there that we find the authentic Polish Campbell. Even worse, all writers assess the Poet's services to Poland only in the light of his poetry, ignoring his hidden and forgotten works in p r o s e.

As a result of these shortcomings, the Polish Campbell is still unknown and awaits a historian. But this historian will fulfill his task only if he will use all the sources concerning the life of Campbell and if he will from all these sources deduce his philanthropy.

Let us start with *The Pleasures of Hope*. In accord with Joseph A. Teslar we can note that the sense of this poem about the defeat of Poland and the atrocities afflicted on her seems p a r a d o x i c a l in such a serene work, but we may accept his explanation, that "Campbell makes that temporary defeat the occasion for proclaming the ultimate downfall of oppressors before the triumphant power of Truth, Virtue and Freedom".[23] This would seem to be the best explanation of the inner conflict between the "pleasures of hope" and d e f e a t s which threatened the nation with extermination.[24]

The appraisal of the *Pleasures of Hope* belongs to literary critics. The historian, particularly the Polish historian, should not be disheartened by their criticism.[25] Like the historian of literature, he can turn the pages of verse at leisure, untouched by their sheer beauty; he can reproach the Poet "that it was not in his nature to attempt a justification of the ways of God to man, to deal with the larger hopes and fears, the profounder thoughts and experiences of our strange and uneasy existence",[26] but could his heart remain untouched at this despairing lament in the *Downfall of Poland*?

[23] J. A. Teslar, "Poland in the Poetry and Life of Thomas Campbell", *Antemurale*, XII, 1968, 274.

[24] The best proof of the popularity of this poem is that on the coffin of the Poet the only inscription after his name reads: "LLD, Author of *The Pleasures of Hope*" (C. Redding, *Thomas Campbell*, II, 318).

[25] We can read in the popular anthology *The English Poets* (ed. by Th. H. Ward, vol. IV, London 1895) that "Campbell's poetry is by no means voluminous, and yet the greater part of it has ceased to be much read. As to *The Pleasures of Hope*—it is now in a way to be dead and buried" (p. 229).—How far we are from the eulogy of one of Campbell's biographers, Cyrus Redding: "There are lines in *The Pleasures of Hope* that will be orally transmitted through future generations, and become familiar aphorisms among those who have never read the work, when perhaps the lust of gain will have reduced to contempt all superior pursuits in literature and the arts. There are more beautiful lines in this poem, pregnant with deeper meaning, coming home to the business of bosoms of all, than can be found in any other poem of the same length in the language" *(Reminiscences*, II, 326).

[26] *Thomas Campbell. An Oration by W. Macneile Dixon. Delivered in the University at the Commemoration of Benefactors on 20th June, 1928*, Glasgow University Publications, XII, 16).

Oh! sacred Truth! thy triumph ceased awhile,
And HOPE, thy sister, ceased with thee to smile,
When leagued Oppression poured to Northern wars
Her whiskered pandoors and her fierce hussars,
Waved her dread standard to the breeze of morn,
Pealed her loud drum, and twanged her trumpet horn;
Tumultuous horror brooded o'er her van,
Presaging wrath to Poland — and to man!
Warsaw's last champion from her height surveyed
Wide o'er the fields, a waste of ruin laid;
In vain, alas! in vain, ye gallant few!
From rank to rank your volleyed thunder flew:
Oh, bloodiest picture in the book of Time,
Sarmatia fell, unwept, without a crime;
Found not a generous friend, a pitying foe,
Strength in her arms, nor mercy in her woe!
Dropped from her nerveless grasp the shattered spear,
Closed her bright eye, and curbed her high career,—
HOPE, for a season, bade the world farewell,
And Freedom shrieked — as Kosciusko fell! [27]

The historian will not discover anything new in these verses. What strikes him is the tragedy of Poland's cause and the connection between Poland's downfall and the name of Kościuszko.[28] In this

[27] *The Complete Poetical Works*, 13-14, v. 349-82; J. A. Teslar, *Poland in the Life*, 297-8.—For more than a century a legend persisted that "as Kościuszko fell" at the battlefield of Maciejowice on Oct. 10th, 1794, he exclaimed *Finis Poloniae*. This legend was invented in Prussia to discredit Kościuszko, who categorically denied to have used these words (G. H. Bushnell, *Tadeusz Kościuszko*, 35.—E. Sutherland, *The Polish Captivity. An Account of the Present Position of the Poles in the Kingdom of Poland, and in the Polish Provinces of Austria, Prussia and Russia. London 1863*, 2-3).

[28] The question as to whether Campbell knew Coleridge's *Sonnets on Eminent Characters* published in the *Morning Chronicle* (Dec. 1794 and Jan. 1795, repr. 1796), and if he was influenced by his poem on Kościuszko while he was composing *The Pleasures of Hope* (published 27th April 1799) is still being discussed (R. S. Forsythe "Freedom's shriek", *Notes and Queries*, 19th Jan. 1926, vol. 150, 23-4), and L. R. M. Strachan, „Freedom's shriek", *ib.*: "Campbell might have heard this shriek without its being "relayed" by Coleridge".

Something of this tragedy is also seen in John Keats' poem:

Good Kosciuszko, thy great name alone
Is a full harvest whence to reap high feeling;
.....
Thy name with Alfred's and the great of yore
Gently commingling, gives tremendous birth
To a loud hymn, that sounds far, far away
To where the great God lives for evermore.

(*The Poetical Works of John Keats*, London 1889, 57).

See also: M. Partridge, "Slavonic Themes", op.cit., 424; W. Toporowski, "John Keats i jego sonet *Do Kościuszki*" *(Dziennik Polski, 21.IX.1977)*; J. Szkudłapski "Kościuszko w Anglii", (*Dziennik Polski*, 19.II.1977, 9).

tragedy there are overtones of the tragedy of the Scottish hero, Gerrald, whose heroism Campbell admired at the trial in Edinburgh. To Campbell, Kościuszko is the Polish Gerrald, who valued his country's liberty more than his own life. Thirty years later, Campbell will look at Poland's tragedy through that of Kościuszko. Let us remember, that Campbell penned *The Downfall of Poland* at the age of twenty. We can ask, what could a youth of that age know of Kościuszko, of Poland, of Warsaw, of the massacres of Prague? How could he help her holy cause from Edinburgh, where the Polish revolution was regarded in the light of the atrocities of the French Revolution? And yet, even if the voice of the Poet did not move the minds of diplomats, it found its way into the hearts of men, who could not gaze unmoved at the fate of a nation so gloriously recorded in the annals of Christianity and in the struggle for liberty.[29] There are many examples, yet one will suffice. It concerns the enthusiastic young writer, Miss Jane Porter.[30]

> Her first romance, an exciting but carefully written story *Thaddeus of Warsaw,* had a rapid success. There were between 1803-1810 no less than nine editions and still one in 1831. Jane Porter was acquainted with the hero, who knew her work and sent her expressions of approval.[31]

[29] Besides John III Sobieski, the best-known Polish hero in England was Kosciuszko and other English poets dedicated their poems to the exiled leader of the Polish nation: S. T. Coleridge, H. F. Cary (1772-1844), Leigh Hunt (1784-1859), JohnKeats, W. S. Landor (1775-1846). As to Byron, it is possible that Kosciuszko's example incited the poet and influenced his decision to go to Greece and fight for the liberty of that country (P. Grzegorczyk, *Kościuszko w poezji angielskiej,* Kraków 1961, 246.

T. Grzebieniowski contends that "except for some occasional voices in the English Press and in English poetry, the ten months of Polish Revolution were allowed to pass unnoticed . . . ". "It was upon *The Pleasures of Hope* and *Thaddeus of Warsaw* that the English People first drew for enlightenment about Poland and her fate"—in "The Polish Cause in England a Century Ago" *(The Slavonic and East European Review,* XI, 1932-3, 81-7). The same did happen in America, where the press "undoubtedly renewed dormant sympathies for the pathetic figure of the Pole, and served to reinforce the tragic image that had been created over a decade before by the English writer Jane Porter, in her popular novel *Thaddeus of Warsaw* (J. W. Wieczerzak, *The Polish Insurrection of 1830-1831,* 63,71).

[30] Elisabeth Lee, "Jane Porter, 1776-1850", *Dict.Nat.Biogr.*, XLVI, 1896, 182-4).—W. Ostrowski, "Początki powieści historycznej w Anglii", *Prace Polonistyczne",* Ser. XXXII, 1976, 84.

[31] Moreover, she got from "one of the family of Kosciuszko" a "curiously wrought ring of pure gold, containing a likeness of that hero" and a letter in which he expresses his admiration for the writer in words which would make jealous Thomas Campbell:

"Les anciens déposoient leur offrandes sur l'autel de leurs divinités tutélaires; je ne fais qu'imiter leur exemple. Vous êtes pour tous les Polonois cette divinité, qui la première ait elevée sa voix, du fond de l'impériale Albion, en leur faveur".

"Un jour viendra, et j'ose conserver dans mon coeur cet espoir, que vos accens, qui ont retenti dans le coeur de l'Europe sensible, produiront leur effet celestial, en ressuscitant l'ombre sanglante de ma chère patrie . . ." *(Thaddeus of Warsaw,* ed. 1831, pp. XV-XVI).

It was impossible for Campbell and Jane Porter not to know of each other since their works were popular at the same time. However, it cannot be said that our Poet reciprocated the high regard of his countrywoman, who had twice used a *motto* from Campbell's verses for her novels, including one from *The Downfall of Poland.* Campbell did not refer to her till 1833 and left the tribute for her talent to his nephew at a chance social gathering. Was this the envy of a poet who as a bard was leaving the stage never to return? We do not know.[32] But could he be indifferent to the Polish sympathies of a woman, who releasing her last edition of *Thaddeus of Warsaw* bade farewell to Poland in this wistful prayer:

> Thus, then, it cannot but be, that in the conclusion of this my, perhaps, last introductory preface to my new edition of *Thaddeus of Warsaw,* its author should offer up a sincerely heartfelt prayer to the KING OF KINGS, the Almighty Father of all mankind, that His all-gracious Spirit may watch over the issue of this contest, and dictate the peace of Poland![33]

That was in May 1831. Unfortunately, instead of peace, war raged in Poland. As for Campbell — his hour had come. He returned at long last to Poland's story and dedicated his genius to her "holy cause".

Historian could not but wonder why the Poet remained silent about Poland during the long years from 1799-1831, the more so because he had the opportunity to act as a writer. In 1820 he became editor of *The New Monthly Magazine,* which soon became popular, doubtless owing to his reputation.[34] It is therefore surprising, that throughout the ten years of his responsibility for this periodical the Poet did not dedicate in its columns a single poem to Poland.[35] Did he entertain any relations with the Poles at that time? In the years 1820-1828 there were few Poles studying in Scotland. Two of them stand out — Adam Constantine Czartoryski and Constantine Za-

[32] "Among the company was Miss Jane Porter, whose talents my nephew adores. She is a pleasing woman, and made quite a conquest of him..." (W. Beattie, *Life and Letters,* III, 146).

[33] *Thaddeus of Warsaw,* London 1831, XVI. In the dedication J. Porter compared her hero with the "British hero" and "venerable sovereign"— *Coeur de Lion*" (p. XX).

[34] *English Literature, 1815-1832.* By Jan Jack. Oxford 1963,23.

[35] To be correct, Szyrma contacted Campbell already in 1823, when he published his *Letters on Poland.* He sent a copy to the Poet, who recommended this work in *The New Monthly Magazine* (W. Chojnacki—J. Dąbrowski, *Krystyn Lach Szyrma. Syn Ziemi Mazurskiej,* Olsztyn 1971, 153-4). The review was then published in Warsaw in the *Astrea* in 1825 (A. Kowalska, *Działalność literacka i publicystyczna Krystyna Lacha Szyrmy w Polsce i w Szkocji w latach 1818-1830,* Łódź 1964, 23 (repr. from *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniw. Łódzkiego,* Ser. I, 36, *Filologia).*—J. Chałasiński, „Krystyn Lach Szyrma (1791-1866), Ambasador Polskości wśród Brytyjczyków (in *Problemy Polonii Zagranicznej,* IX, 1974, 225-235).

moyski. They were tutored by Charles Sienkiewicz and Colonel Christian Lach Szyrma. Now, it is strange that the former, an acute observer, left only vague references about Campbell in his memoirs with no mention of the Poet's fame.[36] No less astonishing is the attitude of Colonel Szyrma, who came to London in early March 1832, and as secretary of the new founded Polish Association must have been cooperating with its President Thomas Campbell. And yet, in his literary activities Szyrma turned for help not to Campbell but to the English poet John Bowring.[37]

This does not mean, that in the long period between 1799 and 1830 Campbell did not meet with Poles. He did, if only by chance. In 1807 he met some unidentified descendant of John Sobieski, and in 1814 an old Napoleonic campaigner. One exception was an aristocratic and most charming lady — Countess Rosalind Rzewuska.[38] Campbell met her in Vienna and did not fail to pay her homage:

> All Vienna speaks not only well, but reverentially of her. She is majestic like Mrs. Siddons but very natural and gentle, an excellent scholar . . . Here you meet a number of the Polish Nobility, of whom the women are extremely beautiful.[39]

Campbell was sensitive to the beauty of women. He felt most happy with Mrs. Siddons in their walks in Paris; she was for him "a divine creature", one of the "idols" of his mind. All the same, while to the latter he dedicated a novel, to the former he offered only a minor poem. One has to admit, that the meeting with Countess Rzewuska did neither stir up the Poet's heart for the Polish cause,

[36] K. Sienkiewicz, *Dziennik podróży po Anglii, 1820-1821*. Ed. B. Horodyski, Wrocław 1953.—The author visited Campbell in London to ask his help in finding an English teacher for the College in Krzemieniec. His candidate, William Ross, took over this post from G. Forster (pp. 315, 219,230).

[37] K. Lach Szyrma appeared in London in the beginning of March 1832 and belonged to the most active members of the Polish Association.—He tried to get from Poland "some stone of marble, calculated to form a basis for our reverend friend THOMAS CAMPBELL'S Monument, which is to be raised to his memory in Westminster Abbey". He met, however, with difficulties "which in free and happy England can scarcely be conceived". On the basis the following inscription should have been placed: "Carpathia Thomas Campbell Britanniae Poetae Poloniae Amico Immortali". Campbell's biographer, Dr. William Beattie, was fully aware of these difficulties (*Life and Letters*, III, 239-40. Letter of Feb. 3rd, 1848).

[38] The "Countess R." (J. A. Teslar, *Poland*, 276) is Countess Rosalie Rzewuska, wife of Wacław Rzewuski, the well-known orientalist, known also as Emir Tadż-ul-Fehr. She impressed J. Załuski in 1802 (J. Załuski, *Wspomnienia*. Ed. Anna Palarczykowa, Kraków 1976, 46-7, 309) — I am grateful to prof. J. Pachoński for help in identifying the "Countess R." In her memoirs the Countess is mentioning Thomas Campbell (*Mémoires de la Comtesse Rosalie Rzewuska, 1788-1865*, Rome 1931, 298). She was living in Warsaw before the Polish Insurrection (Letter, 17 Feb. 1977).

[39] J. C. Hadden, *Thomas Campbell*, 125.—W. Beattie, *Life and Letters*, II, 385.

nor did it in any way modify his romantic conception of Poles and their country.[40]

How to explain this attitude?

I repeat constantly, that to understand Campbell's poetry we have to appreciate his philanthropy, and to understand his philanthropy we discover its inspiration. The first inspiration, as we have seen, was the downfall of Poland in 1795. After 1795 this inspiration was missing. The Poles had gained what it was possible to gain in their political aspirations, moreover, they placed their destinies in the hands of Napoleon, whom Campbell hated as a tyrant.[41] As for Russia, she granted to the Poles a "Kingdom of Poland", and the creator, Tsar Alexander I was a welcomed guest at Czartoryski's residence in Puławy.

It was only when the Revolution of 1831 broke out that Europe became aware of the effect of the change on the Russian throne on Polish affairs. From 1825 this throne was occupied by the "Czar monster" Nicholas I, and the Kingdom of Poland was ruled by his brother, the atrocious satrap Constantine.[42] The cruelties inflicted

[40] J. A. Teslar, *Poland*, 270.—The poem addressed to "the Polish Countess R———ski" was not published in any of the editions of Campbell's poetry, not even in J. Logie Robertson's Oxford Edition of *The Complete Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell* (1907). But it is interesting—and to the Countess's credit—to note, that she led the visitor, certainly with the intention to show him the scene of King Sobieski's victory over the Turks in 1683, on a mountain (it could have been only the Kahlenberg) from where

"the eye
Looked on rich historic ground!
O'er Aspern's field of glory,
. . . . . .
And the hills of Turkish story
Teemed with visions of the past"
(W. Beattie, *Life and Letters*, II, 385)

[41] J. Willaume, "Polska wersja legendy napoleońskiej", *Annales Univ. M. Curie-Skłodowska*, vol. XXXII, Section F, 19-25.—Campbell was the Editor of *The New Monthly Magazine* from 1821. This periodical should have been "the antidote" to Sir Richard Phillip's *Monthly Magazine*, which "has of late years been one of the most zealous worshippers of that Moloch Buonaparte" (J. Jack, *English Literature, 1815-1832*, Oxford 1963, 23-4.

[42] During the debate on R. Cutlar Fergusson's motion, a member of Parliament, Richard L. Sheil, explained: "he would not call Nicholas a miscreant; because he saw a man delegating his brother, into whom the spirit of Nero, must have transmigrated—if there was a metempsychosis among despots, to tread the heart of Poland out—when he saw him betraying a nation of heroes into submission, and then transporting them to Siberia, shaving off the grey hairs of nobles with the blood of Europe's saviours in their veins; degrading and enslaving women, sparing neither age nor sex, and thrusting the hand of a ruthless and Herod-like infanticide into the cradle of Polish childhood. When he saw him acting thus, and leaving nothing to add to damnation, he would not call him 'miscreant', because the word was too poor and incommesurate with his depravity. . ." *(Hansard*, 18.IV.1832, 642, 1146-7, 1143). Moved by the persecution of children who were deported to Siberia, Julia Pardoe (1806-1862) composed a poem *The Polish Children* (T. Głodowska, "Julia Pardoe — przyjaciółka Polaków", *Wiadomości*, London, XXXII, nr 14-15, 1977, 10).

upon Poland by these tyrants profoundly affected Campbell's philanthropy and this philanthropy inspired again his poetry. Witnessing Joseph Gerrald's trial in 1794, Campbell confessed that it was "an era in his life". It will be no exaggeration to say that the news of the Russian atrocities in Poland started a second era in his life. After more than thirty years they stirred up his philanthropy and inspired his poetry on behalf of Poland.

This philanthropy was to reveal itself in three ways.

Firstly in his love for children. Campbell loved children and expressed his love in a poem:

> I hold it a religious duty
> To love and worship children's beauty;
> They 've least the taint of earthly clod,
> They 're freshest from the land of God;
>
> With heavenly looks they make us sure
> The heaven that made them must be pure,
> We love them not in earthly fashion,
> But with a beatific passion.[43]

I would not mention this love for children, a totally human and common trait, were it not, that the Poet proved this love in relation to one of Czartoryski's children,[44] and gave it an outlet in his hatred for the "infanticidal" Tsar.

When the November Insurrection was over, Nicholas I looked for victims. It was not difficult to find them. One of these victims was the Polish aristocrat Roman Sanguszko, who for his part in the Insurrection was transported to Siberia. When some Russians interceded on the condemned's behalf, the tyrant wrote in his own hand: "... he will go on foot". And so, chained, the Prince wandered the hundreds of miles along the well-worn road to the dreaded east.[45]

News of this inhumanity reached London and circulated in the *Ballad of Count Sanguszko.* As if this crime had not been enough,

[43] The poem *Lines on my new child sweetheart* was composed in 1814 (*The Complete Poetical Works,* 313).

[44] When their "little angel" fell ill, he wrote to his sister: "It might seem strange to know how much that little darling's illness alarmed me; but when I speak of beautiful children, my fondness makes me a fool and child" (W. Beattie, *Life and Letters,* III, 125). Even J. C. Hadden stressed that "one of the most charming traits in his character was his love of children" (*Thomas Campbell,* 150).

[45] The news of the cruelties of the Tsar very soon became known in London and excited the House of Commons, among others R. Cutlar Fergusson (his speech on 28th June 1832 in *Hansard's Parl. Debates,* Ser. 3, vol. 13, p. 1128).

the Tsar's henchmen burst into Sanguszko's residence and tried to abduct his baby son. The grandfather seized a knife and threatened to kill the child rather than allow it to be taken. The terrified henchmen left.[46]

It is easy to imagine the effect of this story on our Poet. He took up his pen and gave vent to his hatred of the child murderer in a poem *To Sir Francis Burdett,* after the latter's speech in the Parliament, on 7th August, 1832:

Burdett, demand why Britons send abroad
  Soft greetings to the infanticidal Czar,
  The Bear on Poland's babes that wages war.
Once, we are told, a mother's shriek o'erawed
  A lion, and he dropped her lifted child:
But Nicholas, whom neither God nor law,
Nor Poland's shrieking mothers overawe,
Outholds to us his friendship's gory clutch;
Shrink, Britain! shrink, my king and country, from the [touch!
He prays to Heaven for England's king, he says:
  And dares he to the God of mercy kneel,
  Besmeared with massacres from head to heel?
No; Moloch is his god—to him he prays;
  And if his weird-like prayers had power to bring
An influence, their power would be to curse.
His hate is baleful, but his love is worse—
  A serpent's slaver deadlier than its sting!
  Oh, feeble statesmen—ignominious times,
That lick the tyrant's feet, and smile upon his crimes! [47]

This noble defence of Polish children brought Campbell the sympathies of the Poles, but on its own would not have been enough to win him their praise as the champion of the "holy Polish Cause." This title he won by two other poems, inspired again by his philanthropy.[48]

III

Campbell was stirred by the Insurrection of 1831 and believed in

[46] L. Gadon, *Wielka Emigracja w pierwszych latach po powstaniu listopadowym. Wstępem poprzedził M. Kukiel,* Paryż, no date, 172;—*Jenerał Zamoyski,* 1803-1868, vol. III, Poznań 1914, 30-31.

[47] *The Complete Poetical Works,* 295-6.—J. A. Teslar, *Poland,* 305.—The poem appeared in *The Metropolitan* V, 1, 1832. The speech was delivered on August 7, 1832.

[48] J. A. Teslar, *Poland,* 297-305

its success. Many believed in it, but it was our Poet who inshrined his faith in justice and hope in victory in this magnificent vision of a triumphant Warsaw and a victorious Poland, a vision whose fulfilment would still demand two more heroic attempts:

> AND have I lived to see thee, sword in hand,
> Uprise again, immortal Polish Land?
> Whose flag brings more than chivalry to mind,
> And leaves the tricolor in shade behind—
> A theme for uninspired lips too strong,
> That swells my heart beyond the power of song.
> Majestic men, whose deeds have dazzled faith,
> Ah! yet your fate's suspense arrests my breath;
> Whilst, envying bosoms bared to shot and steel,
> I feel the more that fruitlessly I feel.
>
> In fate's defiance—in the world's great eye,
> Poland has won her immortality!
>
> Come—should the heavenly shock my life destroy
> And shut its flood-gates with excess of joy—
> Come but the day when Poland's fight is won—
> And on my gravestone shine the morrow's sun!
> The day that sees Warsaw's cathedral glow
> With endless ensigns ravished from the foe,
> Her women lifting their fair hands with thanks,
> Her pious warriors kneeling in their ranks,
> The scutcheoned walls of high heraldic boast,
> The odorous altar's elevated host,
> The organ sounding through the aisle's long glooms,
> The mighty dead seen sculptured o'er their tombs
> (John, Europe's saviour—Poniatowski's fair
> Resemblance—Kosciusko's shall be there),
> The tapered pomp, the hallelujah's swell—
> Shall o'er the soul's devotion cast a spell
> Till visions cross the rapt enthusiast's glance,
> And all the scene becomes a waking trance." [49]

[49] "Lines on Poland" (*The Poetical Works*, 218-9, v. 22, 35-52).—J. A. Teslar, *Poland*, 300; J. Śliziński, "Jan III Sobieski w niemieckiej literaturze beletrystycznej", *Przegląd Zachodni* XXXII, 1976, nr. 3, 32).

These heroes will still be remembered in 1836 by another English poet, M. G. Kennedy:

> Where sleeps Sobieski? — Poniatowski? where
> Rests in his honour'd shade a nation's pride,
> The great Kosciuszko? Earth too well could spare
> A span of mould where now their relics bide!"
> (*The Polish Struggle: A Fragment*, London 1836, 21).

It is then easy to imagine what the Poet endured when Warsaw fell. The shock was as shattering as only a fall from Heaven to Hell could be. One of his friends tells us, how, semi-conscious, he kept repeating "Warsaw is taken", "Order reigns at Warsaw", "The miscreant autocrat", "The murderer of this brave people", "The cause of Poland is lost for ever".[50] No wonder, that through the despair and pain, from his admiration for the Poles and the contempt for those who had deserted them a new vision arose, a vision of a victorious and powerful Russia, hovering over a helpless and shameful Europe:

So all this gallant boold has gushed in vain!
And Poland, by the Northern Condor's beak
And talons torn, lies prostrated again.
O British patriots, that were wont to speak
Once loudly on this theme, now hushed or meek!
O heartless men of Europe, Goth and Gaul!
Cold, adder-deaf to Poland's dying shriek!
That saw the world's last land of heroes fall!
The brand of burning shame is on your all—all—all!

Russia that on his throne of adamant
Consults what nation's breast shall next be gored,
He on Polonia's Golgotha will plant
His standard fresh; and, horde succeeding horde,
On patriot tombstones he will whet the sword
For more stupendous slaughter of the free.
Then Europe's realms, when their best blood is poured,
Shall miss thee, Poland! as they bend the knee,
All—all in grief, but none in glory, likening thee.

So hallowedly have ye fulfilled your part
My pride repudiates even the sigh that blends
With Poland's name—name written on my heart.
My heroes, my grief-consecrated friends!
Your sorrow in nobility transcends
Your conqueror's joy: his cheek may blush; but shame
Can tinge not yours, though exile's tear descends;
Nor would ye change your conscience, cause, and name
For his with all his wealth and all his felon fame.

[50] W. Beattie, *Life and Letters*, III, 75, 118-9.

Thee, Niemciewitz, whose song of stirring power
The Czar forbids to sound in Polish lands,—
Thee, Czartoryski, in thy banished bower
The patricide, who in thy palace stands,
May envy! Proudly may Polonia's bands
Throw down their swords at Europe's feet in scorn,
Saying—'Russia from the metal of these brands
Shall forge the fetters of your sons unborn.
Our setting star is your misfortune's rising morn.' [51]

We are told that history does not repeat itself. Unfortunately, it does. Campbell's prophetic vision is being inexorably fulfilled. It is from this year 1831 that mankind witnesses on the one hand the same fight for the same "holy cause", on the other the same apathy and the same lack of understanding. The cause, however, stands with the only difference, that while in 1795, this cause was the cause of Poland and in 1831 the cause of Europe, today it is the cause of the whole world. This cause stands and will stand for ever, just because the history of mankind is the history of the fight for freedom. The fight goes on amid horrors that would twist the stony face of Palmerston and wring tears from the eyes of Dzingiskhan. Only a blind could not see the gleam of the swords whetted on the Polish graves, only the deaf could not hear the clink of chains on the hands of the fettered nations. The problem now is, whose turn is it next, and what of the cause of Poland? Visiting England in the year 1856-7, Hedvig Zamoyska noticed, that those in her company referred to this cause as "the sprawa". "This phrase was so habitual for us, that those foreigners who had a closer relationship with us, used no other expression. *E.g.* it was said that this or that should be done "dans l'intérêt de la Sprawa".[52]

For Campbell this cause was holy. His dedication to this ideal and his fight for justice place him among those poets for whom there is a higher place on Parnassus, but for whom there is only a lower place at the altar on which, for ages, pleas are raised for the free-

[51] "The Power of Russia" (*The Complete Poetical Works*, 223-6, vols. 1-3, 19-24, 95-9).—J. A. Teslar, *Poland*, 302-4. "I had been for weeks trying to hammer into the head of my friend, Dr. Madden, my views as to the danger of the world from Russia" (W. Beattie, *Life and Letters*, III, 104).

[52] J. Zamoyska, *Wspomnienia*, 308. Still in 1853 "la bonne cause" emerged when Czartoryski arrived in London for talks with Palmerston (S. Bóbr-Tylingo, "Le problème polonais au début de la guerre de Crimée", *Antemurale*, XIX, 1975, 153).

dom of man. Campbell has his place here as a high priest and as such he should be honoured not only by the Poles.[53]

However, the time came when our Poet must have realised, that the Polish cause was lost and its defenders doomed. Indignant at the traitors, he did not forget that they had to be helped in their terrible plight. Dudley Coutts Stuart showed this understanding when, at a meeting in the Guild Hall, he invoked help on their behalf:

> They were the same Poles who in 1831 withstood the whole power of the Russian armies, and could not be subdued until at last, under the combination of brute force and diabolical treachery, nature itself gave way.
>
> They were the same Poles who fought for the independence of their native land against odds that would have deterred a community of lions, while many of them flung into the scale, with their lives, the advantages of rank and fortune and other gifts of prosperity.
>
> They were the same Poles who, to the astonishment of all Europe, held out against the mighty armies of their oppressor with a courage that equalled the proudest memories of Greece and realized in everything but success the days of Marathon and Platea.[54]

Still, the greatest heroes, like those of Greece, must live. Let us remember that the Polish heroes were not only helpless, but least prepared for the new life in exile. The point is not how many they were, for their number can be reduced to few hundred,[55] the point,

[53] J. A. Teslar, *Poland*, 293, justly pointed to the great and well-known Danish writer Georg Brandes (Morris Cohen, 1842-1927), who in his public lectures in Copenhagen in 1871 *(Hoved Strömninger i det 19de Aarhundredes Litteratur*, 6 vols, 1872-90, in German 1874, and English 1905) extolled Campbell as "the lover and champion of liberty, and liberty as a divinity, not as an idol". His influence on Danish and European culture was enormous and is still apparent" (*Encycl. Judaica*, vol. 4, 1971, 1302-4).

[54] Lord Dudley Stuart at a Guildhall meeting to arrange a ball and concert for the benefit of Polish exiles. Among those who had promised support and personal attendance were Adelaide Kemble, Lord and Lady Palmerston, the Duke of Sussex, and Count d'Orsay (*The Times*, Saturday, Nov. 13, 1841).

[55] M. Paszkiewicz, "Aliens' Certificates in the Public Record Office—Polonica 1826-1852" (*Antemurale*, XIX, 1975, 159-263);—J. Dąbrowski, *Polacy w Anglii i o Anglii* Kroków 1962, 189-190, (400 Poles living in England in 1834);—A. Lewak is giving the following numbers of Poles living outside Poland: France 5,758, Great Britain 1,300, Belgium 300, Spain 500, America 500, Switzerland, Germany, Scandinavia and Italy 300, Algiers and French colonies 500—total = c. 9,000 (*Polska, jej dzieje i kultura*, III, 1937, 199). It may be noted that among those who spent few months in London in 1831 was J. Słowacki. Although London and the Englishmen impressed him favourably he went to France like Prince Czartoryski because the English climate did not suit most of the Poles (J. Krasuski, "Zachód w twórczości Słowackiego", *Przegląd Zachodni*, XXXII, 1976, 5/6, 86-8). Campbell met at a meeting of Poles, at Christmas 1832, a Polish exile "who

already raised by Sir Louis Namier,[56] is that they formed an élite.[57] As President of the Polish Association, Campbell knew many of this élite, but singled out two: Prince Adam Czartoryski and Julian Niemcewicz.[58] The former was "the favourite Prince", "the best of

played the fiddle almost, like Paganini, and a flute-player" (W. Beattie, *Life and Letters*, II, 140). Among the exiles there were also poets. One of them, Napoleon Felix Żaba published a pessimistic poem "Polish Exile" in 1832 (J. Jasnowski, "Poeci pierwszej emigracji polskiej w Anglii", *Życie*, London, 1949, nr. 42, pp. 5-6).

[56] L. B. Namier, "The Revolution of the Intellectuals" (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1944, 201-6): "Seldom if ever has there been an exodus of a nation's *élite*, and for the next fifteen years the centre of Polish intellectual life and political activities shifted abroad, mainly to France (Toute la France est polonaise—Lafayette, 202)"—In the years 1832-1848 there were 754 Polish students at French universities (B. Konarska, "Emigranci polscy na studiach we Francji w latach 1832-1848", *Przegląd Historyczny, LXVIII*, 1, 1977, 48-50).—But this image of the Polish *élite* is darkened by a quite different observation: "Though patronized by Lord Dudley and others, many of these refugees were common, uneducated men who had been artisans in their own country, and who might have found work at their several trades in England if they had been so inclined. But they were fit or disposed only for fighting or barricade-making" (*Reminiscences of a Literary Life*, by Charles Macfarlane, 1799-1858, Author and Traveller. With introduction by John F. Tattersall, London 1917, 204-5, 17-18). It may be added that Prince Czartoryski and Niemcewicz offered to the British Museum a collection of books (H. Świderska, "Prince Czartoryski and the British Museum", *British Museum Quarterly*, XXVIII, 1964, 8-12).

[57] A different view is presented by R. F. Leslie: "In the first place it must be understood that the Poles who refused to reconcile themselves to the rule of Nicholas I were not the entire *élite* of the Polish nation, nor yet of that portion of it which had been ruled by the Tsar"—and "The Poles in emigration might maintain that they represented the *élite* of the nation, whether to impress upon their sympathizers the importance of their own views, or to testify to themselves their own choice of exile, but no claim gave greater annoyance to their countrymen at home. The historian will not obtain much insight into Polish politics in the period 1832-1864 if he takes the emigration's estimate of its own worth at its face value" (R. F. Leslie, *Polish Politics and the Revolution of November 1830* in University of London Hist. Studies, III, London 1955, 257-8, 260, 269).—With new statistics at our disposal and in the light of biographies of nearly 5,000 emigrants, members of the Polish Democratic Society (M. Tyrowicz, 1964), this view should be verified as it seems incorrect. The vast majority of the exiles were officers and civilians belonging to the "intelligentsia", three-quarters of them of noble origin (szlachta). Cf. S. Kieniewicz, *Historia Polski*, Warszawa, 1969, 132-3; I. Collins, *The Age of Progress*, London 1975, ch. XVIII: "Nationalism and Revolution 1830-1851, 316-357; M. Paszkiewicz, "Aliens' certificates", *Antemurale*, 1975.

[58] Both found place in his poetry together with Kosciuszko, King John Sobieski and Joseph Poniatowski (*The Power of Russia*, and *Lines on Poland*). It may be added that W. E. Aytoun dedicated a volume of verses to Poland in which he hailed Prince Czartoryski in the following words:

> Great Czartoryski, thy transcendent name
> Is the last enter'd in the roll of fame:
> Weep not because thou couldst not burst the chain,
> For often truth has drawn her sword in vain!"
> (*Poland, Homer and other poems*, London 1832, 53).

W. Edmonstoune Aytoun, professor of English at the University of Edinburgh, a noble Scottish "Pro-Polandist" (*The Edinburgh University and Poland. An historical review*, ed. by Wiktor Tomaszewski, Edinburgh 1969,

all good men", "the exiled chief, whose noble bearing, under the weight of adversity, had added lustre to his name and inspired deeper sympathy for his cause". The latter was "the brother poet", "the friend of Kosciuszko, the most eminent patriot of Poland, and one of the most inestimable men of genius that ever lived".

The history of the Polish Great Emigration is to a great extent the history of both these men. Historians have acknowledged their importance in the events of the subsequent epoch, mainly, however, in France.[59] We are concerned here with Britain and with Campbell. Campbell's importance grew even when the Insurrection fell and the former heroes became dejected exiles. The very sight of them, their misery and sufferings stirred up for the third time the Poet's philanthropy.

IV

To present this new chapter in Campbell's life, means to leave his poetry and turn to his p r o s a i c works. There are two of them: 1. The Address of the Literary Polish Association to the People of Great Britain",[60] and 2. The speech delivered at a banquet, organised in his honour by the Association of the Friends of Poland in Glasgow.[61]

Shifting our considerations from Campbell the Poet to Campbell the S a m a r i t a n , the historian had to cope with two problems.

The first one concerns the attitude of the British Government toward the Polish cause from its origin in 1830 to its solution in 1864.

At the time when the Polish Association was founded, on the 25th February 1832, most of its members still believed in the victory

33); *Memoirs of Prince Adam Czartoryski*, vol. II, 320; W. Toporowski, "Wielbiciel Kościuszki i Mickiewicza, przyjaciel Czartoryskiego", *Dziennik Polski*, 1962, nr. 182, 3.—As to Niemcewicz—"His venerable appearance, his perfect knowledge of the English language and English customs, and his reputation as a companion of Kościuszko, had made him generally liked and respected" (*Memoirs of Prince Adam Czartoryski*, vol. II, 320). It was owing to his knowledge of the English language that the National Government in Warsaw sent the 74 years old Poet to London on a diplomatic mission in 1830-31. Niemcewicz visited England already in 1787 and was enchanted by the "equality, happiness and freedom" in this country. In 1823 he translated Campbell's poem *The Last Man*, which was then, in 1829, published in *Melitele* (H. Tadeusiewicz, "Jeszcze o Niemcewiczu, tłumaczu poetów angielskich", *Prace Polonistyczne*, ser. XXIII, 1967, 159-167).

[59] This can be said about M. Handelsman's posthumously published biography of Prince Adam Czartoryski, ed. by S. Kieniewicz and with his introduction (*Adam Czartoryski*. Vol. I-III. Warszawa 1948-50, in ser. Rozprawy Historyczne, vols. XXIII-XXV).

[60] Published as second part of this study.

[61] "Polish Association. Dinner to Mr. Campbell". Published in *The Glasgow Argus*, no. 355. Evening, July 7th 1836 (Glasgow Univ. Library. Special Collections, Mv 60 g.4).

of Polish arms and in the possibility of forcing the British Government to take firm stand in support of Poland against Russia. Today we can only express gratitude to English historians for their unequivocal presentation of the attitude of British diplomats towards the "Polish Cause".

> It was to the British interest, says Sir Charles Webster,[62] that the revolution should be over as soon as possible and whatever sympathy the gallant and unexpected resistance of the Poles aroused in Palmerston and Grey, as in other Englishmen, the final victory of Russia was not only expected (except for one short interval), but desired by them. Grey took a special interest in this question because of his intimate relations with the Princess Lieven. Their correspondence has revealed his sympathy and pity for the Poles which he refused to conceal. But on the main question of the right of the Tsar to put down the insurrection there was never any doubt! [63]

Such was the policy of Palmerston, "cold as ice" towards the "Polish Cause", and such it was to remain till the Year '63.[64]

[62] Sir Charles Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Palmerston* 1830-1841, London 1951, 181.—The Poles in London had no illusion about the attitude of the British Government towards the Polish Question. The petitions "advocating the Polish cause which were presented in the House of Commons in August proved quite fruitless. And such were the endeavours of our new representative in London, Niemcewicz" (J. Dutkiewicz, *Anglia a sprawa polska w latach 1830-1831*, Łódź 1967, 61, 88 (in ser. Łódzkie Tow. Naukowe, Prace Wydziału II, nr. 67).

[63] Palmerston saw at times their official representative in London, Wielopolski and even Grey, who refused to do that, saw Wasilewski, and, after the struggle was over, another official representative, Niemcewicz, and of course Tsartoriski himself. But the reports of these envoys and others show that at no time was any hope held out to them in their struggle. Nor were the British Government prepared to join in any diplomatic combination which should have as its object the liberation of the Poles from the rule of the Tsar. . ." (*ib.*, 182-4).

[64] Palmerston's policy was dictated by sheer national self-interest. He said simply: "Now the English nation is able to make war, but it will do so where its own interests are concerned. We are a simple and practical nation, a commercial nation; we do not go in for chivalrous enterprizes, or fight for others as the French do" (Denis Judd, *Palmerston*. Introduction by A. J. P. Taylor, London 1975, 49-50).

Palmerston is still a problem for Polish but not for British historians. J. U. Niemcewicz noted in his memoirs: "Palmerston found me too hot, and I found him colder than ice". The same opinion expressed Adam Czartoryski after an interview with the powerful minister: "Lord Palmerston struck me as a man of very cold temperament" (*Memoirs of Prince Adam Czartoryski and the Correspondence with Alexander I*, ed. by Adam Gielgud, vol. II, London 1888, 321-3).—M. Drozdowski, "Recepcja rewolucji i cywilizacji amerykańskiej w twórczości Juliana Ursyna Niemcewicza" (*Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, XX, 4, 1976, 73). His attitude to the Polish cause changed after 1848 and the Polish Historical Society honoured him in 1853, "in recognition of his sympathy for the Poles with a medal of Prince Czartoryski, on which was the inscription: "H.T.P. Vice Comiti Palmerston, quia memor extat fandi atque nefandi Societas Historica Polona grata offert" (*ib.*, 349).—M. Handelsman, *Czartoryski, Nicholas Ier et la question du Proche Orient*, Paris, 1934, 26.—To the apologists of Palmerston belongs

It was better in P a r l i a m e n t, where speeches were delivered worthy of orations in the Roman Senate; but even the most ardent defenders of Poland did not forget, that British interests cannot be sacrificed for the "holy Polish cause".[65]

> For zealous advocate as I am for this gallant people—(declared one of them)—far be it from me to dispute that the first, the primary, the paramount, duty of an English minister is to look to the interests of England. . ."—". . . no zeal for Poland ought to blind an English minister to the interests of England.[66]

As to the p r e s s—there things were decidedly better.

The press in Britain was free and in this respect it differed from the press even in France,[67] not to mention Russia and Prussia. When sending report to a London paper about Warsaw during the first partition of Poland, the correspondent insisted, that the publication

M. Kukiel (*Dzieje Polski porozbiorowe* 1795-1921, Londyn 1961, 245, ed. by Polski Uniwersytet na Obczyźnie).—Palmerston changed his attitude towards the Polish cause convinced that Russian expansionism was the threat to the existence of the Ottoman Empire and extremely anxious to oppose it (M. S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question 1774-1923*, London 1966, 89-90);—S. Bóbr-Tylingo, "Le problème polonais au début de la guerre de Crimée, 1853" (*Antemurale*, XIX, 1975, 153).

[65] J. Dutkiewicz, *Anglia a sprawa polska*, 67-9.—It will be not out of place to note, that "the main cornerstone of Palmerston's policy was national interest, and he found it necessary to emphasize that 'we have no eternal allies and no permanent enemies. Our interests are eternal, and those interests it is our duty to follow" (*Hansard's Parl. Debates*, III, ser. XCVII, 122). He wanted Britain to be 'the champion of justice and right', but he wanted her to interpret that task as she herself chose" (A. Briggs, *The Age of Improvement 1783-1867*, London 1977, 252).

[66] M. Gore, *A Letter to the Rt. Hon. Visc. Palmerston on the Affairs of Poland*, by Montague Gore, London 1831, 19. He did not shun the warning "that no zeal for Poland ought blind an English minister to the interests of England". His letter ended with an appeal typical of many English sympathisers of the "sacred Polish cause": "To your Lordship have I addressed these pages, in the full assurance that the sympathy you have shown with the oppressed, will not be denied to the brave, the free, the generous Poles. Whilst I write these pages, they have again been announced triumphant, and have chased their barbarian invaders from their soil. Noble heroic people! May your success be as decisive as your exertions are glorious; and may the final triumph of your arms be equal to the justice of your cause!" (p. 21). M. Gore was "a well known contributor to the press and the author of many pamphlets on political and social subjects" (J. M. Scott, *Dict. Nat. Biography*, XXII, 1890, 239-40).—Even such devoted friend of Poland like Colonel G. Evans, said, after a long debate in the House of Commons on August 7, 1832, that "he did not believe his Resolutions would have the effect of producing a war; if he did, he should not have proposed them. . ." —"He had the greatest respect for the general good judgment of the noble Lord, and he did not wish to embarrass the Government by any proceeding he now proposed" (*Hansard's Parl. Debates*, 3 ser., vol. XIV, London 1833, p. 1230).

[67] *Histoire Générale de la Presse Française*, vol. II, Paris 1969, 5-8 29, 169-171.

of his news be delayed until he had left Danzig, because he did not want to find himself in Siberia or in the prison of Spandau.[68]

In England it was different. Ever since the Revolution in 1688, England presented "an edifice of liberty no less admired in foreign lands than it was at home"; "The press was the key to the portals of public opinion, the last recourse of politicians bereft of royal favour or electoral expectations"; "to every opposition a free press was the very breath of life".[69]

The British press was independent, and, for this very reason, it represented and influenced public opinion. Everyone had to take account of this opinion—politicians, diplomats and the government[70] —all those agencies[71] on whom the Polish cause depended.[72] As to

[68] "I am out of the reach of Cossacks, Calmouks and Hussards. I have no mind to till the ungrateful soil of Siberia, or breathe the baleful air of Spandaw" (John Lind, *Letters Concerning the Present State of Poland*, London 1773. These *Letters* were sent after the Manifest of the three powers in Warsaw on the 18th and 26th Sept. 1772). A century later Siberia was regarded "not only by name synonymous, but actually identical with a vast prison—a locality associated in our minds with most poignant of human sufferings" *(Revelations of Siberia. By a Banished Lady)* i.e. Ewa Felińska. (Ed. by Colonel Lach Szyrma, London 1854, vol. I, p. X).

[69] R. R. Rea, *The English Press in Politics, 1774-6*, Lincoln 1963, Univ. of Nebrasca Press, 1, 86.—Lord Macaulay: "The only true history of a country is to be found in its newspapers" (*Palmer's Index to the Times Newspaper, London 1831-35*, Kraus Reprint 1965).

[70] F. E. Huggett, *A Dictionary of British History, 1815-1973*. "Palmerston was one of the first statesmen deliberately to use the newspapers to gain public support for his policies, by holding Press conferences at a convenient time and place for journalists—even, if necessary, in his own hotel bedroom—so that they could get their story in the following morning's paper" (197-8). "There was, of course, one newspaper which was widely regarded abroad as the mouth-piece of the Government, and that was *The Times*. . . The status of *The Times* was therefore *sui generis*" (K. G. Robbins, *Public opinion, press and pressure groups in British Foreign Policy under Sir Edward Grey*. Edited by F. H. Hinsley, Cambridge 1977, 82. *The Times* sale in 1830 was 3,409,986 and in 1831 4,328,025 copies, the *Morning Post* daily 2,000 copies (*The History of Times*. "The Thunderer in the Making, 1785-1841", London 1935, 245).—When in 1844 Tsar Nicholas I came to London, Ladislas Zamoyski noted that *The Times* had many polite words for the Russian Emperor (*Jeneral Zamoyski*, IV, 1837-1847, 322-5). —As to the public opinion it became in Britain a 'new force' in the years 1780-1832 (C. Brinton, *The Political Ideas of the English Romantics*, Oxford 1926, chapter "Romanticism and the Press", 196-220, 208).—The British were aware of the freedom enjoyed by the public opinion: "Thanks to the liberal age that we in England can sing the song of Freedom; that our harps are not yet hung on the willows that weep over the streams of persecution and suffering; and that the British voice may fearless echo the song of the lovely martyr of Poland, and sing—'Poland is not lost yet' " (M. G. Kennedy, *The Polish Struggle. A Fragment*, London 1836, 47).

[71] Among the English newspapers the most influential and the best known in the world was *The Times*. "Foreign governments have frequently suspected, that it spoke for the British Governments,—British Governments, that it spoke for the most important section of the British people. It is an institution to be ranked in the social history of Britain alongside the Civil service, the Church and the Monarchy, rather than among the rest of the Press" (*The Times. The French Revolution. Extracts from 'The Times', 1789-1794*. Intr. and ed. by Neal Ascherson. Times Books 1975, p. VII).

the press, the most widely read papers did not leave us in any doubt as to its position towards Poland's chief enemy—Russia.[73]

> Russophobia, says J. H. Gleason, is a paradox in the history of Great Britain. Within the United Kingdom there developed early in the nineteenth century an antipathy towards Russia which soon became the most pronounced and enduring element in the national outlook on the world abroad.[74]

The Poles in Britain were aware of the power of the press and of the influence of public opinion on politics. The best proof of this is to be found in the aims fixed by the Polish Association:

> . . . the diffusion of general knowledge of the history and events of the ancient Kingdom of Poland, and collecting all such information as may tend to preserve in the p u b l i c m i n d of Great Britain a lively interest in the condition of that country.[75]

The Polish Association appreciated duly the influence of the press on public opinion in Britain. To adduce one example: When Ladis-

J. H. Gleason, who worked through the files of all the major British periodicals studying the *Russophobia* in Great Britain, used the Index of *The Times* and came to the conclusion, that "when the pages of *The Times* were bare on material on Russia, so were those of other papers" *(The Genesis of Russophobia in Great Britain. A Study of the Interaction of Policy and Opinion.* Octagon Books. N. York 1972, VII). W. Zamoyski called *The Times* "the king of newspapers". Among other newspapers he stressed the influence of the *Morning Chronicle, Standard* and *Portfolio* (*Jeneral Zamoyski*, III, 44, 364). Sir Charles Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Palmerston,* stresses as "the great characteristic of the British Press "its independence and that "the foreign ambassadors in London had now also learnt that they could do little with the London Press by money. . ." (pp. 47-53)

[72] But during the debate in the House of Commons on April 18, 1832, and after the speech of R. Cutlar Fergusson, one of the members, G. W. Hunt, expressed his regret, "that the Motion had not been brought forward at an earlier period", because "the Poles were misled by the Public Press of this and other countries, which urged them on to resistance. He believed the Government itself had not misled the Poles, but they allowed the public Press to mislead them, and the same is applicable to the Government of France" (*Hansard's Parl. Debates,* 3 ser., vol. 12, London 1832, 664).

[73] So it was in the United States (J. W. Wieczerzak, "The Polish insurrection of 1830-1831 in the American Press", *Polish Review,* VI, 1-2, 1961, 53-72). ". . . a genuine and sincere feeling of sympathy and concern for the Poles swept the country—quickly replaced by realism and self-interest" (K. Sutherland, "America views Poland: Perspectives from the Final Partition to the Rebirth of the Polish Nation"', *Antemurale,* XX, 1976, 39-41).

[74] J. H. Gleason, *The Genesis of Russophobia in Great Britain. . .*". N. York 1972, chapter V, "The Polish Revolution", 107. The author's list of newspapers contains 29 titles.

"After a quarter of century the Russophobe propaganda in Britain began to produce its inevitable results. "The violence and scurility of the press, wrote an English political diarist on 26 Sept. (1853) exceeds all belief. Day after day the Radical and Tory papers, animated by very different motives, pour forth the most virulent abuse of the Emperor of Russia, and of this Government, especially of Aberdeen" (M. S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question, 1774-1923,* London 1966, 129).

[75] J. A. Teslar, *Poland,* 287.—This is one of the regulations of the Polish Association, published in the first number of its monthly report *Polonia* (August, 1832).

las Zamoyski arrived in England in 1864 and was sent to make a speech in Newcastle, major Charles Szulczewski, an outstanding member of the Association, dispatched after him a "load" of "dailies", including *The Times, The Daily News* and *The Morning Herald.*[76] It is to be regretted, that modern Polish historians have failed to appreciate duly the dependence of the British Government on public opinion and of public opinion on the press, in the same way as they did not appreciate the extent of the services of the Polish Association in this respect.[77] And it is here, that Thomas Campbell, as the President of the Association, had to fulfil his task.[78]

To make up for this neglect, I decided to publish the above mentioned works of Campbell. In both these works he shows his un-

[76] J. Zamoyska, *Wspomnienia*, 382-6.

[77] It is only in the recent times that Polish historians have dedicated their attention to the Polish emigration press. The first attempt was made by S. Zieliński in 1935 (*Bibliografia czasopism polskich zagranicą 1830-1934*, Warszawa 1935). A full bibliography of periodicals but limited to the holdings in the Kórnik Library was prepared by J. Kurdelska, "Katalog emigracyjnych wydawnictw periodycznych 1831-1939 w Bibliotece Kórnickiej" (*Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej*", t.7, Kórnik 1959, 409-467) and M. Tyrowicz *(Tow. Demokratyczne Polskie*, XV-XVIII, 94 titles).—As to the periodicals destined to influence "the public mind in Great Britain" the following are to be registered:

1. *Polonia, or Monthly Reports on Polish Affairs.* This periodical was edited by Thomas Campbell and sponsored by the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland in London, 1832 (L. Zieliński in *Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego*, t. IV, 2, 1965, 43-58.—In the opinion of the author, the *Polonia* had some influence only on a small group of Polish conservatives and was opposed by the Polish Democratic Party).

2. *The Hull Polish Record*, published under the Superintendence of the Hull Literary Association of the Friends of Poland, August 1832-January 1834. This periodical was edited "in the anxious hope and expectation that the authentic particulars, for the diffusion of which it is designed, will tend to preserve amongst our countrymen, a lively and lasting interest in the condition of Poland" (No. 1, p 1).

3. *The Polish Exile. Being an Historical, Statistical, Political and Literary Account of Poland*, publ. by P. Falkenhagen Zaleski and Napoleon Żaba (I. Homola, *The Polish Exile*, Studia Historyczne, XIII, 1970, 1/48, 73-8) and S. Kalembka, "Czasopiśmiennictwo Emigracji popowstaniowych XIX wieku" in *Prasa Polska w latach 1661-1864*, Warszawa 1976, 277-8.

In the opinion of J. Kurdelska all these periodicals are rare outside Poland and in Polish libraries rarely in full files ("Katalog emigracyjnych wydawnictw periodycznych w Bibliotece Kórnickiej", *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej*, t. 7, 1959, 409).

[78] Z. Jagodziński presented the story of the Polish Association twice: "Z dziejów emigracji polistopadowej w Anglii. O Towarzystwie Literackim Przyjaciół Polski" and "O kłótniach w Towarzystwie Literackim" (*Wiadomości*, Londyn, XVIII, 1963, nos. 27 and 36), regretting that this important Polish Association is still awaiting a historian. His dissertation *Rząd brytyjski wobec powstania poznańskiego 1848 roku* based on documents in the Public Record Office in London and Czartoryski Museum (*Teki Historyczne*, XIII, 1964-5, 66-93) is outside the scope of our study, so also his article "Ostatnia misja Lorda Stuarta" (*Tydzień Polski*, 19, XII, 1964, Nr 51/304).

remitting hate of Russia as the greatest enemy of freedom.[79]

It would, however, be wrong, if we were to accept, that Thomas Campbell's philanthropy concerned itself only with the condemnation of Russia and the hatred of "Czar-Moloch".[80] His philanthropy revealed itself in another glorious work—in relief on behalf of the exiled Poles. To appreciate this work, the historian has to turn from Campbell the P o e t to Campbell the S a m a r i t a n.

This shift was forced upon the Polish Association and on Campbell himself by the change in British policy, caused by the defeat of the Polish arms. It was clear that after the fall of Warsaw, on 7th September 1831 and the debates in the Parliament on 7th August 1832 "the fate of unhappy and heroic Poland" was doomed. What was left to the Polish Association was the care of the Polish exiles.

One of Campbell's biographers was so proud of this samaritan work as to call it "one of the proudest moments of British philantropy". For the historian there is one question more: Whom shall we praise for this philanthropy—the British or Polish members of the Association, Adolph Bach, its secretary, or Campbell its President? Where lies the truth? To know the truth we must take into consideration three kind of sources:

1. Campbell's own correspondence and notes,
2. The appraisal of his activities by contemporaneous Polish exiles,
3. The judgments of modern Polish historians on the Polish Association and its first President.

Let us firstly allow Campbell to speak for himself.

[79] Needless to say, the Poet could not accept the invitation to take over the chair of English Literature at the University of Vilna in 1804, although he tried to contact Prince Lobanov-Rostovski, as late as 1839, to win him for the publication of Queen Maria Stuart's papers. The prince declined the offer but assured Campbell: "Il y a déjà longtemps que j'ai entendu parler de vos ouvrages et de leur succès. . ." (L. M. Arinshtein, "Mary Stuart, Prince Lobanov-Rostovski", *Notes and Queries*, CCXVIII, 1973, 84-6). We know nothing about Campbell's popularity in Russia or of his influence on Pushkin who in 1824 asked his brother to send him "Poetry, poetry, poetry. Conversations de Byron! Walter Scott! This is food for the soul!" (P. Struve, "Walter Scott and Russia", *The Slavonic and East European Review*, XI, 1932-3, 399).

[80] "No: Moloch is his god—to him he prays" (*The Complete Poetical Works*, 296-7).—Not far behind Campbell in abusing Nicholas I is another poet, H. S. Stokes. His *Ode to the Autocrat* ends as follows:

"Like the flash before the thunder
It shall beam o'er the mountains far:
Then shall the exiles break their chains,
And Freedom shout 'mid Russia's plains,
And Poland's Eagle from the shore
Of ice o'er the Calmuck Vulture soar."

(Henry S. Stokes, The Vale of Lanherne and other poems, London 1836, 113)

Under the date for 28th September 1832 there is in his correspondence the following entry:

> I get up at seven—write letters for the Polish Association until half past nine . . .[81]

Now, there is fortunately one of these letters addressed to a Miss Mary Woodroofe Smith, from which we learn of the difficulties facing the Association after the shift from political activities to its philanthropic work:

> Originally we proposed to restrict ourselves in attempting to mitigate the sufferings of Poland to mere literary means. But really, Madame, such cruel cases of distress among the gallant but forlorn Polish exiles came to our knowledge that we cannot shut our hearts against them or adhere strictly to our primitive design of affording no p e c u n i a r y relief.
>
> Well do I know, Madame, that those cases would deeply affect you if you knew them—but though I shall be grateful for the smallest donation that may aid us to assuage the sufferings of these friendless and homeless patriots I have too much confidence in your sensibility to trouble you with the details of cases . . .[82]

Later, on 5th November 1832, we have an entry which proves how the Poet was affected by the fortunes of the despairing exiles and how he had to work for the Polish "cause":

> I am. . . standing between the Polish exiles and utter famine! Numbers had arrived in London, chased by the Russian influence from Germany . . . If I were not conscious of being broad awake, and of detesting all exaggeration, on so sore a subject, I could imagine myself engaged in some scene of tragic fiction, rather than reality when I look upon the Polish applicants.[83]

[81] In a letter to his sister Mary he adds speaking about his troubles with the *Life of Mrs. Siddons*: "But our journal *Polonia* has imposed a great deal of trouble upon me" (Sept. 28th 1832, *Life and Letters*, III, 133).

[82] Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, 502/10.

[83] But in the opinion of one of Londoners "Some Polish refugees were little better than impostors, or idle beggars, and became a downright nuisance". The author, Ch. Macfarlane, met one of them asking help: "Monsieur, je n'ai ni patrie, ni pas même une chemise. . ." (*Reminiscences of a Literary Life*. With an Introduction by John F. Tattersall, London 1907, 204). But we feel obliged to Monica Partridge for having remembered a "now forgotten working class poet" Ebenezer Elliott (1781-1849), who had shown his personal sympathy for the suffering Polish exiles in two poems. In *The Polish Fugitives* (1835) he described the "grief of a refugee father and his refugee son who have lost all their former possessions, and particularly the grief of the son who has left his wife and five children behind in a Polish prison"; in the poem *A Song in Exile* he made a Polish refugee put the following question to England:

> "England, saw our setting sun,
> Britons! Was it wisely done?
> You gave Warsaw to the Hun,
> Why not London, Englishman?"
>
> (M. Partridge, "Slavonic Themes", 437).

Then he describes such an exile, brought to the Polish Association by a decent, respectable Swiss merchant:

> I found this poor man, he said, inquiring for the 'Polish Association'. I saw him pale and staggering. I asked what ailed him. I found him that he had not tasted food for two days! I took him to an eating house, and gave him a meal; and, now, I have brought him to you.

When it turned out that this fine, heroic looking man is no impostor and the Association will pay his travel-expenses to Brussels with thirty shilling beside:

> . . . his fierce eyebrows and moustache relaxed to a most grateful smile, and then quivered with gratitude, till he burst into tears. . . It was too much to see the bravest of the brave weeping in gratitude for a morsel of bread!
>
> It is strange that there should be such romance in reality.[84]

Less moving but more instructive is the following notice of November 12th 1832:

> The Life of Mrs. Siddons is now far advanced, and would have been out of my hands altogether, but for the distraction and business of the Polish Association. And yet, can I regret being so employed, even to the retarding of Mrs. Siddons' Life? Oh, no! Under Providence, our Association has been the means of assuaging the misery of many brave Poles; and I look back to the last half year with real satisfaction.

One month later, after having paid a just compliment to the Association, he noted:

> Dec. 4th 1832.—About a four-score refugees have been supported or relieved, and sent abroad, by our Society. But the task of doing so was left entirely to your humble servant and our indefatigable and worthy secretary Adolphus Bach. He has injured his business, as a German Jurist, by giving up so much of his time for this purpose, and I have injured my health. Since May 1st, I have never been in bed later than six —devoting regularly four hours to writing letters to the rich and charitable—and—h u n d r e d s have I written, in order to rise same hundreds of pounds to our four-score patriots.

Much later, on the 24th January 1838, when he was no more President of the Association, Campbell wrote in a letter to Mr. Horace Smith:

> I am editing Shakespeare. . . I have got another office, for which I get nothing a day. . . I am one of the auditors of the accountants of the Polish Association,

then, in the same letter, he adds:

[84] W. Beattie, *Life and Letters*, III, 134-5.

Twenty thousand pounds have passed through the hands of the paymaster, a Polish officer. . .",

and he recommended that, in future, "regular booked statements should be kept".[85]

Leaving meanwhile these statements of Campbell himself without any comments, let us turn to the Polish exiles.

As it was mentioned, Campbell was cordially received by the Poles at a banquet in his honour in Paris in 1834. At this reception, after paying tribute to the Poet for his devotion to the Polish cause, Prince Adam Czartoryski praised also his Samaritan services on behalf of the Poles in the following words:

> You all know how useful the Polish Literary Association of England has been to our cause—how beneficial it has been to our countrymen, who have taken refuge in England, and who it was that created this Association which has been so precious to us!
>
> Who was the first man who thought of it, and who was the man who supported it during its first years, in the midst of the thousand vexations and difficulties which usually embarrass new institutions. Still it was Thomas Campbell!
>
> I regret, gentlemen, that we are not met in greater numbers, for there is not a true Pole on earth that would not have been happy to be with us; and they would have all received with acclamation the toast I have to give: —'To the health of Thomas Campbell, and may our wishes for his happiness be accomplished!

Ten years later, shortly after the funeral in Westminster Abbey, Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart, Vice-President and Charles Szulczewski, Resident Secretary of the Polish Association sent a letter to the Poet's executors, in which, expressing their "unfeigned regret at the loss sustained in the death of Mr. Thomas Campbell, and to testify their admiration for his talents and respect for his memory", they paid tribute to his l i b e r a l i t y far more in accordance with his generous nature than with his pecuniar means.[86] These means were modest indeed, and yet his purse was open to the "friendless and destitute Poles".

Comparing the two kind of sources, it is easy to confront Camp-

[85] W. Beattie, *Life and Letters*, III, 137, 138, 238-9.

[86] W. Beattie, *Life and Letters*, III, 68-9, 444-5.
In all the older and also in the most recent studies on the history of the Great Emigration the name of Thomas Campbell and the history of the Polish Association is bare mentioned. Regretting this deficiency we must, however, not forget that the centre of the Great Emigration very soon shifted from London to Paris, and that it was not in Campbell's Polish Chambers but in Czartoryski's Hotel Lambert that the destinies of the "Sprawa" have been decided. On this thesis is constructed L. Gadon's romantic story of the Great Emigration (S. Kieniewicz, *Polski Slownik Biograficzny*, VII, 3, 1948, 203-4).

bell's self-praise with the eulogies of the eminent Polish exiles, but it is difficult to reconcile them with the disparaging critics of modern historians. They tell us just that the Association was passing through a crisis at the end of 1832 and that the responsibility for this crisis rests with its President.

This change of view on the Polish Association and its founder can be noticed already in the Memoirs of Prince Czartoryski, published after his death in 1887. The Editor, Adam Gielgud, has given us the following description of the origins of the Polish Association:

> On the 25th November 1832, The Literary Association of the Friends of Poland, a society which has ever since continued to be the head-quarters of all English action on behalf of the Poles, was founded. A "Polish Committee" for the relief of Polish refugees had already been formed by Messrs. Bach, Hunter Gordon, Arthur White, and Kirwan, but, thanks to the influence and efforts of Prince Czartoryski, the scope and importance of this committee was considerably enlarged, and it became the association above described, which consisted entirely of Englishmen. Its first President was the Poet Campbell, and among his most distinguished successors were Lord Dudley Stuart—the most devoted, zealous, and indefatigable of the English friends of Poland—and Lords Harrowby, Houghton and Lytton. The Association took up its quarters at No. 10 Duke Street, St. James's, where Oliver Cromwell and Milton once lived; and there it still remains, relieving out of its scanty funds the helpless survivors of the Polish Revolution of the last sixty years.[87]

[87] *Memoirs of Prince Adam Czartoryski and the Correspondence with Alexander I.* Ed. by Adam Gielgud. Vol. II. London 1888, ch. XXV, 334.—This chapter dealing with Czartoryski's stay in London 1831-2, is derived from a manuscript work, which has been placed at the disposal of the Editor by M. L. Gadon (Preface, VIII). It presents the opinion held by the "Czartoryszczyzna" or "The Family"—as it existed in the second half of XIXth cent.—As to Campbell, he is also responsible for all the misunderstandings and controversial views concerning the history of the Polish Association and the part played in its foundation in the "exciting period"—February-March 1832.

The Association was founded on the 25th February 1832 but the first notice of a "Polish Association" is to be found in his biography already in Oct. 1831: "To-morrow I am obliged to stop in town out of compassion to the poor Polish Poet (i.e. Niemcewicz), whose grief in his old age may well be imagined. I am forming an Association who will support the good old man, and I dare say, all the Polish exiles" (III, 101). But on 7th June 1832 he wrote to his sister Mary: "My friend Bach was the first who put me up to forming the Polish Association" (III, 124).

As to Adolphus Bach, he leaves us in no doubt that it was the Poet. He had affixed a white marble tablet in the attic occupied by the Poet in the "Polish Chambers" to commemorate his merits as the President of the Association (*ib.*, III, 139, 131-4).—Lord Dudley Stuart and K. Szulczewski stated after the death of the Poet that Campbell "in conjunction with the Polish Poet Niemcewicz and the celebrated Prince Czartoryski . . . founded this Association" (*ib.*, III, 445). But the Prince attributed this merit to the

Again new facts, new doubts. To dispel these doubts and establish the truth about the origins of the Polish Association a new history of the Great Emigration is needed. It will take probably a long time before Polish historians will disentangle themselves from the spell of Lubomir Gadon's attractive romantic synthesis. The late M. Kukiel insisted in the preface to the second edition of Gadon's work, that the history of the Great Emigration must be re-written but on condition that all known sources are taken into account, the more so as the Rapperswil collections were destroyed.[88]

Unfortunately, the history of the Polish Association was never an endearing subject for the Polish historians. And yet, praised as 'the greatest monument of British philanthropy" and active on behalf of the Poles up to modern times, this "our Association" deserves a chapter in our history and a place in our hearts.[89]

Poet (*ib.*, III, 167-9).—Finally, Mrs. Wanda Stummer, who is preparing a monograph on the Association, insists that Czartoryski and Niemcewicz were its real founders (Letter, 29.1.1977).—The same view is maintained by W. Zamoyski. In his Memoirs for the years 1832-7 Campbell is bare mentioned (*Jenerał Zamoyski, 1803-1868*, vol. III, Poznań, 1914, 28, 358).

In the opinion of L. Zieliński, J. U. Niemcewicz tried already in 1831 to organize an Anglo-Polish Committee in order to help the Polish exiles. In this effort he was aided by Adolph Bach, and it was owing to these two men and the support of some other Englishmen that a meeting was held in November 1831. It was a complete failure. The same author asserts that the organization of the Polish Association with Thomas Campbell as its president was the work of Prince Adam Czartoryski, J. U. Niemcewicz and some English sympathizers of Poland. ("Polonia or Monthly Reports on Polish Affairs" in *Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego*, IV, 2, 1965, 43-4). This view was accepted by W. Chojnacki and J. Dąbrowski (*Krystyn Lach Szyrma, Syn Ziemi Mazurskiej*, Olsztyn 1971, 89-91).

[88] L. Gadon, *Wielka Emigracja*, Preface, XI, XVIII).—It should be noted that in the recent synthesis of the "history of Polish sciences" the Polish Association is bare mentioned, although one of the Polish organizations in London, supported by the Association, could have prepared 5,000 sheets of notes and extracts from the Archives and the British Museum. Neither Campbell, nor Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart or Charles Szulczewski are mentioned in this work (*Historia Nauki Polskiej* pod red. B. Suchodolskiego, vol. III, p. 1 "Emigration", Wrocław 1977, 324-345).—On the other hand it must be noted, that with the departure of Prince Czartoryski the centre of the Polish Emigration shifted from London to Paris and Paris became "the scene of a lively political and cultural life which at first, at any rate, gave the tone to the country" (P. Brook, "Polish socialists in early Victorian England: Three documents' *Polish Review*, VI, no. 1-2, 1961, 33).

[89] A different picture of the Great Emigration is given by M. Tyrowicz (*Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie*, 1832-1863, Warszawa 1964, VII, XVII-XVIII) and the English historian Peter Brock (*Z dziejów Wielkiej Emigracji w Anglii*, przedm. S. Kieniewicz, Warszawa 1958). The author did not deal with the history of the activities of Czartoryski and Zamoyski and the Polish Association but had chosen as objects of his investigations the collaboration between the Polish and English revolutionaries. The work of the English historian was favourably accepted by Polish historians: J. Berghauzen (*Przegl. Historyczny*, 50, 1959, 149-152) and I. Koberdowa (*Kwart. Historyczny*, LXVI, 1959, 184-5). But in the review of Peter Brock's book, R. F. Leslie warns the historians that "the view commonly held among Polish historians that the British working class and the radicals were natural allies, whereas in fact in so many English cities they were at

But devotion will not do! Historians must be warned that unless they break free from the works of William Beattie, Cyrus Redding, Cuthbert Hadden and the biographical dictionaries and reach for new sources their effort will be wasted, their task unfulfilled. But what a task, what a toil.

The history of the Polish Association belongs to the history of the Great Emigration and the latter must be written on the background of British history on three levels:

1. The Governmental.[90] Here the work of Sir Charles Webster is most useful.[91]

2. The Parliamentary.[92] Here there are no difficulties, for the

daggers drawn. Even if the working class and the radicals had combined to form a strong political movement, there is no indication that it would have exerted any influence upon the British Government to take effective action on behalf of the Poles" *(Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 37, 1958-9, 573).—The Polish Association was still active after the First World War (until 1922). There is in the British Library a copy of the *Ninetieth Report, 1922-3* (London 1924).

90 Unfortunately, there is no space here to dwell on the political history of Europe from 1831-1848 as a necessary background to the history of the "Great Emigration". But the reader has here, at the disposal the work of M. Kukiel: *Czartoryski and the European Unity 1770-1861*, Princeton 1955 in *Poland's Milennium Series of the Kościuszko Foundation*. Two other books are to be singled out as helpful in our study: 1. Z. Libiszowska, *Życie polskie w Londynie w XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1972, 372 pp.-"the result of the author's painstaking research into manuscript collections both in England and Poland" (J. Jasnowski, *The Polish Review*, XXI, 1976,4,124, and T. Cieślak, *Roczniki Historyczne*", XL, 1947, 205).—2. H. Katz, *Anglia u progu demokracji*, Warszawa 1965, 546 pp. Also: L. Zieliński, *Emigracja polska w Anglii w latach 1831-1846*. — Cz. Bloch. "Społeczeństwo angielskie wobec polskiej walki wyzwoleńczej 1831 roku", *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*, X, 1, 1964.—Id., "Aid of the English People to Poland in 1831",*Acta Poloniae Historica*, XIV, 1966, 117-123, and "Echo listopadowej zbiórki angielskiej zorganizowanej na rzecz Polski", *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, LXVI, 4, 1959, 1226-7. — 6. Of special importance is the study: J. Dutkiewicz, *Anglia a sprawa polska w latach 1830-1831*, Łódź 1967,in ser. Łódzkie Towarzystwo Naukowe, Prace Wydz. II, nr. 67.

91 Beside Sir Charles Webster's work the Polish Revolution of 1831 was treated more recently by D. Southgate: *The Most English Minister The Policies and Politics of Palmerston*, London 1966, and J. Ridley, *Lord Palmerston*, London 1970. We have now a study of the politics of Palmerston's opposite number Nesselrode (H. N. Ingle, *Nesselrode and the Russian Rapprochement with Britain, 1836-1844*, Berkeley 1976, Univ. of California Press). Nesselrode played an active part in nearly all of major events of European diplomacy from the Treaty of Tilsit to the Crimean War (p. 8-9). — K. Bourne, *The Foreign Policy of Victorian England, 1830-1902*, Oxford 1970, 26-46, 218.

92 *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 3 series, vol. XII, 18 April, 1832, 636-663 (R. Cutlar Fergusson); vol. XIII, 28th June 1832, 1116-1152 (R. Cutlar Fergusson, Lord Morpeth); vol. XIV, 7th August, 1209-1230 (Sir Francis Burdett, 1219-1226, Colonel W. Evans, 1209-1213). —At the time of the Insurrection of 1831 the "House of Commons enjoyed immense prestige" and "was still a rather independent body" (W. R. Inge, *The Victorian Age*, Cambridge 1922, 29).

Hansards contain comprehensive evidence.[93]

3. The Social. It is here that difficulties arise.

History requires sources. So far, the sources of the history of the Great Emigration and the Polish Association rest in archives in Poland, Great Britain and France. Now, had anyone availed himself of them?

Further, the Polish Association had its branches in many cities in England and Scotland.[94] It would be strange, if the activities of these local societies had not been reflected at least by the local press. Yet, had anyone tried to explore it? Yes, the English historian, J. M. Gleason did, but he presented the problem as a chapter of the British "Russophobia", and only when Russia incurred England's hostility. It is true, that the "Polish cause", treated in a separate chapter, gained in this way a larger background, but at the expenses of the charitable activities of the Polish Association.[95]

Giving vent to complaints, it must be said at the same time that at least one Polish scholar, Joseph A. Teslar, tried to save Campbell from oblivion and to draw our attention to his forgotten or hidden works. For this he deserves our gratitude. However, he fell short of portraying Poland in Campbell's life limiting his sources to poetical works. Let us avoid misunderstandings. To know the Polish Campbell, it is not enough to use his letters, as did William Beattie, or his poetry, as did Joseph A. Teslar. There are other sources and Teslar knew them. He knew of the Czartoryski Museum in Cracow, but did not reach its collections. He visited Sandon Hall and promised the publication of some of the Harrowby manuscripts, first in 1947[96] and again in 1968.[97] This promise he fulfilled only

[93] At a reception in Dumfries (29th Oct. 1835) in honour of Prince Adam Czartoryski and Count W. Zamoyski, R. Cutlar Fergusson declared in the presence of Lord Dudley Stuart and many other guests: "My opinion on the Polish cause which I have expressed in the Parliament was translated into all languages. The reaction among the nations who have any idea of liberty, let me believe, was not without use" *(Jeneral Zamoyski,* III 347. R. Cutlar Fergusson is referring here to his speech delivered in Parliament on April 18, 1832 *(Hansard's Parl. Debates,* vol. XII, 636-653).

[94] From a letter written by Th. Campbell to Count Louis Plater, Vice-President if the Société Littéraire Polonaise in Paris, on 9th Dec. 1832, we know that local Polish Associations were founded in Hull, Birmingham, Glasgow, Newcastle upon Tyne and Norwich (J. A. Teslar, *Poland,* 309).— Irena Homola, *The Polish Exile,* 59, 69, 72-3.

[95] John Howes Gleason, *The Genesis of Russophobia in Great Britain. A study of the Interaction of Policy and Opinion,* New York 1972 (Octagon Books). For our inquiry most instructive are the two chapters: V. "The Polish Revolution", pp. 107-134, and VI. "The Crisis of 1833", pp. 135-163.

[96] *A New Polish Grammar* by J. A. Teslar. 5th ed., Edinburgh 1947, Oliver and Boyd. Already at that time he announced as "In preparation" the study "Poland in the Poetry and Life of Thomas Campbell", which appeared twenty years later, and "The Correspondence of Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart and the Earl of Harrowby on Polish Matters (1832-1861), published in 1950.

in part.[96] As lecturer in Glasgow during the war he had occasion to delve into the collections of the National Library of Scotland, the Mitchell Library in Glasgow and the Glasgow University Library. We can also assume that since he stayed for a lengthy period in Paris before and after the war, he could have used the holdings of the Polish Library on the Seine.

Prior to Teslar none of the Polish scholars, except the late Marian Kukiel and Marcel Handelsman, utilised such a wide range of sources of the history of the Great Emigration,[99] and, what is more important, none of them performed such a thorough search for sources of the history of Campbell's relation with Poland. On the

[97] From the Author we know that the correspondence contains more than 600 letters to nearly 200 persons. In his opinion the "Harrowby MSS present, at least in part, an important historical documentation for the time between the two Polish insurrections, that of 1830/31 and 1863". The same opinion had been expressed by M. Kukiel: "of paramount value, the more so because the Polish collections, and especially the archives from the Hotel Lambert, well known to me from my long period of work in the Czartoryski Museum in Cracow, remained at the time beyond my reach" (*Czartoryski and European Unity*, VIII-IX). — In 1968 he announced that "thanks to the kindness of the late Earl of Harrowby I was able to copy the "Polish Correspondence" of Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart and the Earl of Harrowby and have prepared it for publication..."(*Poland*, 290, note 54). Mlle W. Borkowska informed me that this correspondence is not to be found in the Polish Library in Paris. J. A. Teslar died there on 23rd July 1961 and his wife, a co-editor of his former works, died on July 17th, 1976 (Letter, April 25th, 1977).—A short biographical notice by S. Legeżyński in *Literatura Polska na Obczyźnie, 1940-1960*. Pod red. Tymona Terleckiego, II, 1965, 609-10, 342-3.

[98] To be just, in 1950 the author had "copied *in extenso* those letters having value as historical documents...", "he has drawn up a complete list of letters in the whole collection, giving their summaries". Among these letters are also letters of Thomas Campbell. The collection "permits us to admire the generosity of the Government of Britain and of British friends of Poland who assisted the Polish *émigrés*" ("Unpublished Letters of Adam Czartoryski and Władysław Zamoyski to Lord Dudley C. Stuart and the Earl of Harrowby 1832-1861" (*The Slavonic and East European Review*, XXIX, 1950, 154). The author published only eleven letters, the earliest 1835, outside the scope of the present study. — In addition he published six letters: two from the "Small Safe" of the Mitchell Library in Glasgow (1832), two from the Polish Library in Paris (1832), and one from the Harrowby Mss., Sandon Hall (*Poland*, 306-310).

[99] Space does not permit me to inquire into the part played by both these scholars in the study of the Great Emigration. As to Gen. M. Kukiel, it is enough to say, that the collections of the Czartoryski Museum were under his care for many yars before the war. His services to the collections in Sandon Hall were recognized by Lord Harrowby in a letter to Maria Zielińska after the death of the General in 1973 („Uznanie dla Generała Kukiela", *Dziennik Polski*, Nr. 283, 27th Nov. 1973). His prominent status in Polish historiography was recently recognized by Prof. Gotthold Rhode ("Drei polnische Historiker—drei Persönlichkeiten der Zeitgeschichte" (*Jahrbücher f. Geschichte Osteuropas*, XXIV, 1976, 4, pp. 526-546). As to M. Handelsman, S. Kieniewicz, the editor of his monumental biography of Adam Czartoryski, simply states that the author used many Polish archival sources and sources in foreign archives as well, but he did not specify them (Introduction to the first vol. of *Adam Czartoryski*, XIX-XX). The chapters on the Great Emigration in England are based on a lost monograph of one of his disciples, Ludwik Widerszal (*ib.*, XX).

other hand, with full admiration for his achievements, it cannot be said that the author used these sources in order to deepen our knowledge of the epoch and to present on this new broad background the Polish Campbell. The reason is, that Teslar remained in his studies a historian of literature, and what finally attracted him most was a literary question: Why did Campbell's reputation as a poet, so brilliant in his lifetime, vanish almost completely after his death? [100]

This is, of course, not an indifferent question for the historian, since the success of the "Polish Cause" depended on the diffusion of all of Campbell's works, prosaic as well—and not limited to poetry.[101] Yet this is what the author did.

As to the scathing literary criticism of modern times, anyone reads with relief the "Oration" of W. Macneile Dixon, professor of English literature at Glasgow University, who, for the last time, tried to preserve the laurels of immortality on the brow of the Poet, and ensure him a place on Parnassus.[102] But how many know of it? [103] Literary criticism about Campbell the poet was closed by an American writer, H. H. Jordan, with the following judgment: "There is little good modern criticism of Campbell's writings; an

[100] J. A. Teslar, *Poland,* 291. This is, if course, true. A modern British historian, W. F. Reddaway, avows, that the Englishman of his generation did not know much about Poland. "Musicians praised Chopin and Paderewski, men of letters Sienkiewicz and Conrad. All young men of letters read that "Freedom shrieked — as Kościuszko fell" and that "Sarmatia fell, unwept"—which was not a crime". W. F. Reddaway: "Sursum corda", *Dzieje najnowsze,* VIII, 1976, 4, pp. 85-88). Poetical works appeared already in his lifetime and in modern times (H. Krzeczkowski, J. Sito, J. Żuławski, *Poeci języka angielskiego, II,* Warszawa 1971, 240-249; F. Grzegorczyk, "Kościuszko w poezji angielskiej", *Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Stanisława Pigonia,* Kraków 1961, 243-5).

[101] We can accept, that conditions in exile did not allow the author to publish at least some of his works ("Józef Andrzej Teslar", *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego na Obczyźnie,* XI, 1960-1961, 27-8).

[102] *The Complete Poetical Works* ed. by J. Logie Robertson in 1907 as an Oxford edition contains still all poems concerning Poland, but among "such fine, bold and varied poems" which "will never be forgotten so long as the national hearts respond to manly sentiment, or the imagination is capable of feeling the charm and magic influence of genuine poetry", only the "graphic passage on the downfall of Poland, which was wonderfully effective when reached and long continued to be a stock piece for the exercise of schoolboy eloquence—displacing even the Grapian Hills" — still attracted the attention of the editor. — After seventy years we must say that not only *The Pleasures of Hope* but also other Polish poems disappeared from popular anthologies of British poetry. What is still remembered — are three martial odes: "Ye marines of England", "Hohenlinden" and "The Battle of the Baltic" (*English Verse.* Chosen and edited by W. Peacock, London 1971, Oxford University Press — ten impressions from 1930; *The New Oxford Book of English Verse,* 1250-1950. Chosen and edited by Helen Gardner, Oxford 1970, Clarendon Press— "the clasic authology of English Poetry" (since 1900 no less than 21 impressions totaling nearly 500.000 copies).

[103] W. Macneile Dixon, *Thomas Campbell.* An oration, Glasgow 1926, 16 (Glasgow University Publications, 12).

accurate evaluation was placed on his work long ago, and few critical problems have remained for our time". None the less, the author agrees with W. Macneile Dixon in the appraisal of Campbell as the creator "of a handful of lyrics, a few hundred of verse", which any poet might claim with pride.[104]

Winding up our reflections on Campbell, let us have a look on the Poet, as he presents himself to an historian.

Campbell was hailed by contemporaries as the "Poet of Freedom" —but he was not alone. Even during his lifetime another Scottish poet paid the same tribute to Robert Burns:

> Bard of the free! the favour'd land,
> Where conquering foeman never trod;
> Where freedom 'neath the fostering hand
> Of love has fix'd her blest abode—
> The land of lake and mountain wild,
> Of Nature's Bard, and Virtue's child! [105]

This hymn is a hymn to the glory of Scotland and for extolling her freedom, Scotland erects statues to Burns. The difference between the two poets is, that whereas Burns confined his ideal of liberty to his native country, Campbell embraced within it all oppressed nations.[106] In the eyes of Poles this may detract from Camp-

[104] *The English Romantic Poets and Essayists. A Review of Research and Criticism.* Revised edition. Ed. by C. W. and L. W. Houtchens. New York University Press 1966, 191-5. —It seems that there is a recovery of Campbell's reputation, but in the United States. The best proof is a new edition of his poetry *The Complete Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell*, ed. by W. Alfred Hill. With a sketch of his life by William Allingham, Freeport, New York, 1972, LXXIV, 313 pp. —Most astonishing is a re-edition of the *Life of Mrs. Siddons*, New York 1972, reprint of the 1907 ed. When this book appeared in 1834 the *Quaterly* called it "an abuse of biography" and its author "the worst theatrical historian we ever had". —"It is full of grossest blunders, and some of its expressions are turgid and nonsensical beyond belief"). J. Cuthbert Hadden, *Thomas Campbell*, 128-9).

[105] "The freedom-loving bard who crossed the sea,
..... the Poet of the Free"
(*Gabrielle. A Tale of the Swiss Mountains.* By C. Redding, London 1829: "Stanzas on the death of Byron"., 55).—
"Campbell, indeed, was the uncompromising friend of every exile, every foreigner in distress; and this strong feeling of sympathy for the oppressed never abated, until, in after years, he founded the Polish Association" (W. Beattie, *Life and Letters*, II, 400, III, 283-4).

[106] With all our admiration for Campbell's work for the "Polish cause' we must not forget that France has produced about hundred poetical works concerning Poland and that the revolution of 1831 evoked sympathy in Germany for Poland and an outburst of *Polenbegeisterung* unknown either before or after 1831 (A. Zieliński "Repercussions littéraires portugaises des luttes pour indépendance de la Pologne au XIX-e s." *Antemurale*, XIX, 1975). To the literature we can now add: B. Grześ, J. Kozłowska, A. Kramski, *Niemcy w Poznańskiem wobec polityki germanizacyjnej, 1815-1920*, Instytut Zachodni, Poznań 1976, 42-49) and two studies by Arno Will:

bell's glory as the defender of their "cause", but elevates him to the rank of a champion of liberty which must be the property of all mankind.[107]

How far from this ideal is Campbell's vision of Russia, threatening the world with enslavement, how near are modern Russian autocrats to the ghost of Nicolaus I, wielding the knout over conquered peoples! [108]

But the Nemesis can wait!

V

There remains the last question: Did the Poles show gratitude to the Poet for his services to Poland? [109]

"Unfortunately, free Poland has not yet repaid the debt of gratitude to the fiery bard of her sufferings, and bravest intercessor of her right to liberty".[110]

These are the words of the Anglicist, P. Grzegorczyk in the year 1961.

Today we must temper these words. As I have stressed, J. A. Teslar corrected the neglect on the part of the Poles towards Campbell, though not completely. Following in his footsteps I wish to recall one of his works, completely forgotten and of great importance for the history of the Polish Association. This work is the Address

Polska i Polacy w niemieckiej prozie literackiej and *Motywy polskie w krótkich formacjach literackich niemieckiego obszaru językowego, 1794-1914* (Łódzkie Towarzystwo Naukowe, Wydz. I, nr. 70 and Łódź 1970, nr. 77, Łódź 1976, —in this last work pp. 7-54).

107 Even in America when the Polish insurrection had faded out of the newspapers columns, it inspired many amateur poets. It is true, that the majority of these verses was "spirited and sincere", but it is also true, that "in quality and depth it fell far short of the *Polenlieder*, the special genre of poetry which the Insurrection inspired in Germany. Yet its very volume, coupled with the fact that it served as a channel of popular sentiment, attested to the range of American interest in the Polish struggle even outside the realm of strict journalistic writing" (J. W. Wieczerzak, "The Polish Insurrection of 1830-1831 in the American Press", *The Polish Review*, VI, 1-2, 1961, 68-9).

108 *The Complete Poetical Works*, 296-7, v. 39-48; J. A. Teslar, *Poland*, 305.

109 One of the earliest tokens of gratitude on the part of the Poles was the dedication placed by an unknown "Polish refugee" on the title-page of A. Bronikowski's *The Court of Sigismundus Augustus*, London 1834, to Campbell "Author of *The Pleasures of Hope*, Poland as Token of Gratitude for his Unwearied Exertions in behalf of Injured Poland".

110 P. Grzegorczyk, "Kościuszko w poezji angielskiej". Kraków 1961, 245. Most recently he was remembered by R. A. Borth "Polski patriota urodzony w Glasgowie" (*Dziennik Polski-Tydzień Polski*, Nr. 41/242, 11th Oct. 1975).

of the Literary Polish Association to the People of Great Britain.[111]

J. A. Teslar appreciated the value of the Address. In his opinion:

> . . . it is one of the warmest appeals ever written by an English pen on behalf of Poland's rights and condemnation of the outrages committed against her.
>
> Its contents, moreover, are the key to the poem 'The Power of Russia' and the most authoritative commentary upon it.
>
> The Address found its way to a large public, drew many important members to the Literary Polish Association and rendered it very popular in London.[112]

We know that the Address was translated into French in the same year, i.e. 1832, undoubtedly at the inspiration of Prince Czartoryski and Niemcewicz and certainly with the purpose of stirring sympathy for the "holy cause" in France.[114]

As to the success of the Address in England, suffice it to say that it was the same Lord Dudley Stuart who, on the morning of the funeral, paid tribute to the Poet and made his appeal in these words:

> His pathetic, eloquent, and fervid address to our countrymen, throughout the empire, as our first president, on behalf of that unfortunate country, was eminently effective and successful. By imparting a knowledge of the objects of the parent society, he conciliated much powerful support from men of all parties in the state.[115]

If there was any member in the Association who knew its achievements, it was certainly Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart. Taking into ac-

[111] J. A. Teslar, "Letters of Czartoryski and Zamoyski", 169.—When Lord Dudley Stuart died W. Zamoyski wrote a letter to Earl Harrowby in which we can read:

"J'apprends avec une vive reconnaissance pour ceux qui ont pris la résolution, que les amis et les admirateurs de L. D. Stuart veulent honorer sa mémoire en continuant son oeuvre et en maintenant la Société qui semblait, tant qu'il en était l'âme, ne vivre que pour lui. . .

"J'ôse supplier ceux des membres de la Société Litt(éraire) qui, veulent bien se souvenir de moi, de continuer à se poser comme *représentants de l'Angleterre* en faveur de cette cause dont le jour semble enfin approcher. Je le souhaite pour que ce jour en soit acceleré. . ."

[112] J. A. Teslar,, *Poland*, 237.

[113] *Adresse de la Société Littéraire Polonaise de Londres au peuple de la Grande Bretagne*, Paris 1832 (*The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*. Ed. by G. Watson, vol. 3, 261-3). "The names of Czartoryski and Niemcewitz were never off his lips. A tale of distressed Pole was his greeting to friends when they met; a subscription the chorus of his song. In fact, he was quite mad on the subject, as mad as ever Byron was about Greece, or Boswell about Corsica". (J. Cuthbert Hadden, *Thomas Campbell*, 126).

[114] It may be noted in this connection that Czartoryski and Niemcewicz founded in Paris on 29th Dec. 1832 a Society for the help of Polish students at French Universities. A collection of 1833 brought 24.456 frs., in 1834—25.983 frs, mainly from England, considerably less from France and America (B. Konarska, "Emigranci polscy na studiach we Francji w latach 1832-1848", *Przegl. Historyczny*, LXVIII, 1, 1977, 55).

[115] W. Beattie, *Life and Letters*, III, 445. The letter is signed also by K. Szulczewski, a prominent member of the Polish Association.

count his eulogy we must none the less ask: What was the effect, what was the response to Campbell's "pathetic, eloquent and fervid Address"?

Unfortunately we do not know. We do not know of what size was the edition of the Address, how many copies were destined for London and how many for the countryside. What we know is that the Address was sent to all branches of the Association throughout Britain. This being so, we have reason to expect at least one copy of the Address was preserved in the libraries of those cities in which the Polish Association did exist. In order to know the truth I made inquiries in the following University Libraries: Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Birmingham,[116] Cambridge, Dundee, Edinburgh, Newcastle on Tyne,[117] Nottingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Warwick (Coventry), and York, besides this in the Manchester Public Libraries (Central Library), The Brynmor Jones Library (The University Library, Hull), The John Rylands University Library of Manchester, The Central Library, Norwich (Norfolk County Council), York Minster Library, Bodleian Library Oxford, Sheffield City Libraries, and City of Birmingham Public Library Department, The Central Library, Hull (Humberside County Council).[118]

[116] I feel obliged to Mrs. Dorothy McCulla, Librarian of the Local Studies Department, City of Birmingham, for photocopies of C. M. Wakefield's *Life of Thomas Atwood* in which there is a description of the founding of the Polish Association, and for the list of local papers containing the description of a public meeting to be held "to consider the propriety of expressing it sentiments on the sufferings and wrongs of the Polish nation" (Letter, 6th May, 1977).

[117] I am all the more obliged to Mr. Allistaire Elliot (Special Collection, University Library, Newcastle-upon-Tyne) for the information that there is a copy of the *Address* in the Library of the Peabody Institute in Baltimore, Maryland (Letter, 31st March 1977). It seems that this is the only copy of the *Address* in the United States (*The National Union Catalog*, vol. 92, 1970, 302).

[118] I would express my gratitude to all these libraries for the informations supplied in answer to my request especially to Miss J. L. Gilham, University Library, Sheffield, for the inquiry carried out in Sheffield City Libraries; to the University Library, Edinburgh for a Xerox-copy of the invitation sent by Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart on behalf of the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland 2nd May 1853; to Miss Dorothy McCulla, beside the Xerox-copy, for references regarding the Polish Association and Thomas Campbell in English Literature; finally, to Mr. R. G. Roberts, Director of Leisure Services, Central Library, Hull, for valuable information, concerning the Polish Association in Hull (Letter, 11th May 1977) and for a photo-copy of the file of the *Hull Polish Record*, and Mr. Howard M. Nixon, librarian in the Muniment Room and Library, Westminster Abbey, for the inquiry about the erection of Campbell's monument in the Abbey.

I had to postpone my investigations into the rich collections of the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh and the Mitchell Library in Glasgow.

Unfortunately, the answers to my inquiries proved negative.[119] Not only none of these Libraries were in possession of a copy of the Address, but worse still, most of them had not traced any activity of the Polish Association in their respective cities.

How is it possible?

There were speeches delivered in many places in England and Scotland and it is difficult to accept that they have not been preserved at least in the local p r e s s. And where are the hundreds of letters, which Campbell has written as President of the Association in the year 1832? [121] Only a thorough inquiry can give us an answer to these problems, but this is a task beyond the capacity of the present writer and outside the scope of this study.[122]

* * *

Paying tribute to Poland's glory and convinced that he had not duly praised her heroism, the Poet left this message for posterity:

> Her praises upon my faltering lips expires,
> Resume it, younger bards, and nobler lyres.[123]

[119] It is astonishing that the *Address* is not in the British Library, in any case I did not find it in the Catalogue. But there is an *Address of the . . . Association . . . to the people of Great Britain and Ireland drawn up by Lord Dudley Stuart*, London 1846, pp. 47 and also an *Appeal of the Association . . . to the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland in behalf of the Polish refugees*, pp. 19 (London 1840).

[120] T. Cieślak, "Powiązania polsko-szkockie w XIX wieku" (*Ars Historica, prace z dziejów powszechnych i Polski*, Uniwersytet A. Mickiewicza w Poznaniu. Seria: *Historia*, nr. 71, Poznań 1976, 283-291).

[121] After having paid just a compliment to the Polish Association, Campbell noted on Dec. 4th, 1832: "Since May 1st, I have never been in bed later than six, devoting regularly four hours to writing letters to the rich and charitable—and *hundreds* have I written, in order to raise some hundreds of pounds to the four-score patriots" (W. Beattie, *Life and Letters*, III, 138). During the next two months, most of his time he devoted to the Polish Association; but at last, he confesses, the business had become "too exciting and oppressive" for his health; and a visit to his friend Mr. Horace Smith was recommended as the best means for "setting him to rights" (*ib.*, III, 141).

[122] The information given by J. Dutkiewicz (*Anglia a sprawa polska*, 79) that the papers of the Association were deposited between the Wars in the Polish Embassy in London is a bit misleading and does not agree with information given by T. Grzebieniowski (*The Slavonic and East European Review*, XI, 1933, 81-7) and the denial in Count E. Raczyński's letter of the 7th April 1977. In fact the archives of the Association were handed over, after its formal liquidation in 1922-4, to the National Library in Warsaw and kept there as a supplement to Rapperswil and Batignolles collections. They are listed in *Katalog Rekopisów Biblioteki Narodowej*, III: *Zbiory Batignolskie i Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Polski w Londynie, 2300-2666*. Opracowała Helena Więckowska, Warszawa 1933, 232 pp., espec. pp. 177-181) Literary Association of the Friends of Poland: Minute Book (1833-1922), Names of Members from 1832, Correspondence Book (1833-1887), Index to letters received (1832-1871) Account Book (1834-1864) etc. All these documents perished during the Second World War in Warsaw.

[123] *Lines on Poland* (J. A. Teslar, *Poland*, 302).—Perhaps it is not out of place to mention what C. Redding said in the preface "To the Reader" in his biography of Campbell, many years after the death of the Poet: "In

Alas, not only did nobody take over the lyre of the Scottish bard, but his praises of Poland died away with his fame.

It is for this reason that I have decided to publish the *Address*. My intention is simple: to pay tribute to a devoted friend of Poland and to resuscitate his noble and downtrodden ideals.

Perhaps his countrymen have forgotten him; perhaps writers with "savage abuse' have degraded him to the rank of a third class poet, and, finally, perhaps historians have not appreciated his Samaritan work as one "of the proudest monuments of British philanthropy"; but we Poles, we can and shall never forget him. For us Campbell will be as he was for our predecessors:

> The pleader, the champion, the zealous and unwearied apostle of our holy cause,
> The worthiest, the oldest and most constant friend of our unfortunate country.[124]

this record the writer has endeavoured to be impartial, to detail faults as well as virtues, when no motive for discolouring facts can possibly exist, death having shrouded in impervious darkness all of a distinguished man of genius but his poetical labours"—"The author only hopes . . . that his aim has not been to do that which is reserved for some future pen, but to supply what no one else could give in relation to a poet whose works are imperishable, and whose history on that account cannot fail to interest the present time, and will still more interest posterity" *(Thomas Campbell,* p. IV, VI). These expectations were, alas, not fulfilled.

The same can be said about an even more forgotten poet, M. G. Kennedy, who in 1836 published a poem *Poland is not yet lost.* The poem ends with the following verse:

> "Poland farewell!—the bard, reluctant, quits
> The theme that tells thy wrongs and sufferings,
> Thy valour and renown:—the pageant flits.
> But when he strikes again the mystic strings
> Of Poesy, to wake imaginings;
> Oh! may his pencil dipped in heavenly beams,
> Record thy freedom brought on healing wings;
> Firmer than mountains,—purer than thy streams,—
> Bright as an exile's hopes and sweeter than his dreams".

(M. G. Kennedy, *The Polish Struggle: A Fragment,* London 1836, 39).

[124] Campbell was evidently moved by this eulogy on the part of Prince Adam Czartoryski, "the uncrowned king of Poland" and "patriarch of the Great Emigration" and returned this toast at the end of the banquet to his honour, in Paris, in 1834, with the following assurance:

"As for you, my friends, your consciences are without fear, and without reproach. If Providence were to say to me, 'I mean to change your existence into that of another; choose whether you will be the Emperor of Russia or Prince Czartoryski', I should answer—'Make me Czartoryski'.—

Brave Poles! my sentiments towards you are such, that I may adopt the motto of the myrtle leaf—*Je ne change qu'en mourant.—Je prierai toujours le Ciel pour votre bonheur, et pour la résurrection de la cause sainte* de la Pologne".

(W. Beattie, *Life and Letters,* III, 167-8).

His friend, biographer and one of the Executors of his will, W. Beattie, had no doubt, that Campbell "founded the Polish Association—one of the proudest monuments of British philanthropy" (Ib., II, 400).

PART TWO

I

ADDRESS
of the
LITERARY POLISH ASSOCIATION
to the
PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN
to which is added
A LETTER
From Samuel T. Howe, Esq.,
of the United States
to Thomas Campbell, Esq.,
London

Printed by George Eccles, 101, Fenchurch Street
1832

The Address kept in a mahogany box up to 1852 by Adolph Bach, secretary of the Polish Association, was presented "in compliance with his expressed wish" by Dr. William Beattie, one of Thomas Campbell's executors and his first biographer, to the University Library in Glasgow, March 1870 (Sign. Ms 1170-1870).

The box also contains the correspondence between William Beattie and R.B. Speurs, Librarian of the University Library.

The Address is written on thirteen leaves. The author had changed the text only twice, proof that the Address is an improvisation and not an elaborate composition. In J.A. Teslar's opinion only "very few copies of the pamphlet are now in existence" (*Poland, 287*). He did not, however, indicate where. The pamphlet was known to Lubomir Gadon and M. Kukiel (L. Gadon, *Wielka Emigracja*, p. 24).

The Letter of Samuel T. Howe to Thomas Campbell was printed together with the Address.

S. T. Hove, a graduate from Brown University, is a well known American philanthropist (1801-1876). In 1824 he joined the Greek Army during the war for independence (*Encycl. Americana*, 14, 1950, 458). At the outbreak of the Polish Revolution he was in Paris, where James Fenimore Cooper organised a Committee of Americans to raise funds for the Poles (K. Sutherland, America views Poland: Perspectives from the Partition to the Rebirth of the Polish Nation, *Antemurale*, XX, 1976, 40-42). On behalf of this Committee, Howe collected money and went to Eastern Prussia to help the Polish soldiers who took refuge in this country after the downfall of the Insurrection. The situation of these soldiers was tragic, because the Prussians tried to force them to return to Russia. Nearby Elbing ten Polish soldiers were shot and fifteen wounded (*Jeneral Zamoyski*, II, 1913, 521).

At the order of the Prussian general Schmidt, Samuel Howe was arrested and came eventually back to France. When the war was over he returned to

America and worked in Boston as secretary of a committee for the help for Poles.

L. Gadon called him "the most devoted friend of Poland..." (*Wielka Emigracja*, 111, 18, 462), J. Lelewel praised his "good heart" *(Listy Emigracyjne Lelewela.* Wyd. H. Więckowska, Kraków 1948, nr 82).

Howe's letter is in itself proof that in the eyes of the American Committee in Paris, The Literary Association of the Friends of Poland was a charitable institution and Thomas Campbell a philanthropist.

There are minor changes and verbal corrections in the text of the manuscript, but two alterations must be noted:

1. In the manuscript (f.7 — 7v.), there follows after the words "Triumphs in Poland" (in the Edition, p. 11) a text crossed out by the author:

> There is no need to tell the Northern Autocrat that the Lion on our banner is not a false emblem and that if justly roused we could shake off difficulties like dew drops from the Lion's mane — for he knows that truth already. But let him only know that universal horror of his crimes and compassion for the Poles fills the breasts of Englishmen and he will halt on the floor of his palace more appaled at the news than if he saw the ghost of his strangled father. — He will call around him that Courtly Council half his slaves and half his tyrants and embalmed as they are in corruption they will advise him not to irritate Great Britain. Full well they know all the perils that it would cost them to persevere if we should forbid them to annihilate Poland.

2. In the manuscript (f.1) after the word "astonishment" (in the Edition, p. 3, v.11), the author replaced the original text, which, only partly reconstructed, reads:

> ... objects of our association... proud of a people... science and freedom and Christianity have been indelibly... whose wrongs you have hitherto looked only (as) passive speculators.

Fellow Countrymen,

With an anxiety proportioned to the awful calamities of a nation which deserves the sympathy of every living human breast, we beg leave to explain to you the motives and the objects of our present Association.

We declare, that the fate of Poland has impressed us with sentiments, which we find the power of language scarcely adequate to express. We are filled with grief that there has not been humanity enough in the whole world to have interposed between the Polish nation and its destroyers; and we are still more struck with astonishment, that all civilized Europe has been so blind to the first law of nature, to the law of self-preservation, as to permit this aggression of barbarians on a country whose fate is interwoven with European safety and civilization, with the interests of the world, and with the cause of human nature.

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* I would like to express my gratitude to the staff of the Special Collections at Glasgow University Library for the help received in completing this paper and to Mrs. L. Hamilton for the translation of the text.

In that outraged cause of human nature, we feel it a sacred duty, not only to utter our own abhorrence of the atrocities committed, and still continuing to be committed, in Poland, but to ask an universal expression of British sentiments respecting this unparalleled public crime.

We conceive, that the barbarity and perfidy of the Northern Autocrat towards this brave and blameless people has been a mockery of all laws and principles that ensure the safety of nations, and the civilization of men. We defy the subtlest casuist to give his cruelties the slightest shadow of justification. They are crimes which pollute our sight, and which it is criminal to look upon with indifference. They are sins which must be expiated. They are stains on the annals of our species. They are an affront to the civilized world; but, above all, they are an affront to Great Britain, whose government is solemnly bound by treaty to protect the last remains of the Polish nation.

By the treaty of Vienna, Great Britain made some small atonement (and small it was, indeed) to the once glorious kingdom of Poland for the robbery of her national greatness, and for three guilty past partitions of her territories. It was stipulated, by the treaty of Vienna, that all the portions of that Polish population, once amounting to twenty millions, which had been seized by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, should retain their nationality in laws and institutions; and that they should enjoy some sort of free constitution, though, unfortunately, that constitutional freedom was very imperfectly defined. But the duchy of Warsaw received from the treaty of Vienna the most definite and solemn assurances of being suffered to remain an independant and free Polish kingdom. It was expressly stipulated, that the Emperor of Russia was to be King of Poland as long, and only as long, as he ruled it with a constitutional charter. By the treaty of Vienna, complete national and political independence was guaranteed to a remnant of the Polish nation in the duchy of Warsaw — guaranteed by Great Britain herself, but Russia, in mockery of all this, has set aside every promise on the subject. First of all, Alexander repented of his liberalism in having promised a constitutional government to Poland; and he behaved even more inconsistently than Nicholas towards the Poles, for he began by mildness, and ended by sending his brother Constantine to rule over them. Still, as long as Alexander lived, things were not so bad in Poland as after his death. Nicholas ascended the Russian throne, and Constantine was made (virtually) King of Poland. He swayed with a rod of iron. His dominion was utter, and wreckless, and lawless despotism. He committed crimes and cruelties, which admit of no better apology than that he was half a maniac. After the

Emperor Nicholas, by his coronation oath, had solemnly sworn to the Poles to maintain their rights, as they were guaranteed to them by their constitution, the Polish people beheld their noblest patriots chained, dungeoned, or banished to Siberia, for simply claiming that constitution. Despair drove them, at last, to demand their rights, sword in hand.

But that despair, say their slavish enemies, was not unmitigated by a hope, that France would assist them. And there are amongst ourselves some persons, for we cannot call them men, in whose eyes this circumstance is a taunt on the Polish cause. Verily, fellow countrymen, we would wish to unite the voices of all true Britons in sympathy with the Poles, without regard to their difference in party politics; and it has been no small satisfaction to the members of this Association, that it has already convened men of the most opposite political sentiments on other subjects, but who, on this subject, have only one opinion. As friends to Poland, we are therefore bound to offer not a single remark on the last French revolution more than this, that whatever it was, it was most natural and justifiable that the Poles should have availed themselves of it. They had bled for the French nation; and if there was faith or gratitude among men, they had a right to expect aid from France. Russia was, day by day, tightning the screws of their torture. Another such opportunity might never again occur for their bursting from their bondage. And were the Poles, we ask, to throw away this grand and only chance of self-deliverence, by scruples about the virtual propriety of the French revolution? Even, supposing those brave sufferers, when stretched on the rack of Constantine's oppression, as on a bed for easy reflection, to have come to this conclusion, that Charles X. was a saint, and that Polignac was a Solon, and that the French had risen against a government that had commited only venial errors—what conclusion were they to draw as to their own conduct? Because the grievances of the French people might not be great, were their grievances slight or imaginary? And, because the French would not endure some wrongs, were the Poles to endure interminable misery? No; the converse inference was directly necessary. The unsubmissiveness of France was a reproach to their submissiveness. And, though there is no great need of justifying the late French revolution to the majority of Britons; yet, it requires no specific opinion about that event, to pronounce that its having given a hope and an example to the Poles, reflects not the slightest discredit on the Polish insurrection.

It is a singular fact, that though the time and magnitude of the rising in Poland was decided by the events in France, yet the commotion, which ended in a general armament of the Polish nation,

was, in reality, first instigated by the Russians themselves—that is to say, by some of those agents of Russia who wished to profit by a partial tumult, although they laid the train to a combustion that terribly exceeded their expectations. But, though we could prove this fact, and, though we could adduce a cloud of witnesses to disculpate the cause of this noble people from all reproach on the score of principles, yet we think it unnecessary, fellow countrymen, to lay before you any such special defence. There are amongst us, no doubt, persons speaking the same language with ourselves, and calling the same soil their native country, who hate the very heroism of Poland, because its rallying word was liberty. But, of what account are those persons in Great Britain? Do you respect them? Can you fairly reckon such slaves to prejudice among your free population? No, you despise them! No, we disdain to palter with them! We court universal British opinion, but not such wretched atoms of its universality. Shades of Bolingbroke and Odham, protect the name of British Tory from their foul assumption! They are not Britons! They are not men! They belong to brainless and heartless entomology.

The Poles arose and fought with an intrepidity, that has scarcely its parallel in authentic history; and but for the criminal interference of the cabinet of Berlin, they would have beat the barbarians. As it was, they have thrown an immortal glory over their melancholy name. And it is even of this melancholy glory, that the autocrat wishes to defraud them. He would abolish their language, and, not contended with robbing their heroes of life, he would rob the very dead of their memory, and erase them from human recollection! *That is more than he can do*! But let us look to his more practicable determinations. Poland is to be for ever annexed to the dominions of the Muscovite; its institutions and its language are henceforth to be Russian; and though Great Britain guaranteed to them an independent existence, the independence of the Poles, as a nation, is to be annihilated. Meanwhile the Muscovite is sending, by thousands, and by tens of thousands, the wounded men, the weeping mothers, and the very youth from the schools of Poland, in chains to Siberia. Would to God we could believe that report has exaggerated these attrocities! It would be wicked in us to shock you with them, if they were not literally true; and we would scorn to calumniate, if that were possible, even the oppressors of Poland. But alas! we know those horrors to be too true. We have had accesss to authentic sources of too melancholy conviction! But we need not refer to such sources. Are not facts enough known to all of you, and as notorious as the sun at noon-day, to show the autocrats barbarity towards Poland? His own ukases avow it openly.

Fellow countrymen, is all this outrage to your humanity, as men, and is all this insult to your honour, as a nation, to be passed over unheeded? Not to speak of stipulations and treaties—not to speak of the millions of money which you have paid to Russia, on the faith of *one* treaty. You are spectators of a hideous enormity, and, as human beings, you owe to humanity your public protest and universal reprobation.

As Britons, you owe it to your insulted empire to call to account an insolent tyrant, who slaughters, proscribes, and threatens to annihilate the independence of a people, whose independence was guaranteed by yourselves. Nay, more—we conceive that your very security, as a free nation, is compromised, by permitting Russia to gorge and strenghten herself unmolested on the gore and rapine of Poland! Is this not, by sufferance, helping the cannibal to a diet that may one day nourish him to attack yourselves?

Weigh all the consequences that will result to the world, and to yourselves, if you suffer Poland to be annihilated. The subject is worthy not only of your strong fellings, but of your deep and deliberate consideration. It is not to your mere feelings, but to your judgments also, that we would wish to appeal. Our desire is to have the cause of Poland discussed by all classes of Britons. Without such a discussion, the commonest observer may, no doubt, see that the fate of the Poles is cruel, and that the conduct of Russia is most inexorable. But, without examining the subject, a man will not understand the full extent of calamity which Poland has yet to endure, and the terrible prospects for which Europe must be prepared, from the progressive triumph of Russian barbarity. It is in order that the subject may be universally discussed, that we have associated. Our object is to fix British attention on Poland and on Russia; and the means which we propose to use, is the collection and diffusion of authentic information. The daily press, no doubt, acts well with regard to Poland, but its efforts ought to be seconded by some permanent body, who may select, gather, reprint, and diffuse its most valuable articles on this most interesting topic; for nothing is more remarkable than the fugaciousness of the ablest essays of the daily press. In addition to the task of reviving such essays, we shall publish all the intelligence we can obtain respecting Poland, and we have many authentic sources of information. We shall describe that country as she once was, the parent of heroes and of sages; and we shall delineate her as she now is, the abandoned victim of barbarians. We shall try to make the simplest mind understand what Russia is, and what she will be, and what *you* will be, and all Europe will be, if you curb not Russian atrocity.

We are convinced, fellow countrymen, that there reigns among you a general concern for the fate of Poland, and a general feeling of indignation at her oppresors. But, without impugning British humanity, without disputing that the daily press has honourably advocated the Polish cause—without denying that popular sympathy has been several times strongly manifested in its favour—and without forgetting how much your domestic politics have tended to distract your attention from this foreign tragedy—we are still compelled to remind you, that for any practical results your sympathy with the Poles has hitherto been of no earthly use to them; and that, supposing your sympathy had changed sides, and gone over from the Poles to Russia, the fate of unhappy Poland could not have been worse than it now is!

We can further assure you, that the Russian Court, which, through its emissaries, is ever watchfully feeling the pulse of Public Opinion over Europe, has hugged itself joyously into the belief that Great Britain cares very little about the Poles. Shall nothing be done to check this joy of the barbarians? Are we to hear that the Russians boast in our highest circles of their Emperor's triumphs in Poland?

But, fellow countrymen, we wish to make no appeal to your sympathy on this subject without making facts the ground of your sympathy. Indeed, though there is a general sympathy for the Poles throughout the country, yet still there is a vagueness of information respecting them that impedes universal interest. Knowing the cause of Poland to be just, we wish the interest respecting it to be not merely general but universal.

Besides this vagueness of information, which ought to be cleared away, there are positive falsehoods, inculcated by the Russians, of which many minds still require to be disabused. The Russians, for instance, give out, that it is no cruelty to make a Polish peasant the serf of a Russian master, because he, the Pole, is only a serf under a Polish landlord. But this is utterly false. The Polish peasant is (*alas*! *we must now only say that he was*) a farmer and not a serf. He differed in no respect from the English farmer, but in this, that he paid his rent in labour, and not in money. But his labour was limited and defined, and it left him full leisure to to cultivate his own farm. As long as he could find a substitute for that labour he could go where he liked, being neither *adstrictus glebae* nor transferable by sale. But now, with a Russian master, he is an absolute Russian slave; no longer a Pole—no longer a man—but as dependent on his owner's will as a beast of the field; he may be bought, he may be sold, he may be sent at the Emperor's

pleasure to Siberia but in that case, he must have his owner's permission to carry with him even a handful of his native soil, in addition to the weight of his chains. The very custom of the Poles to which we allude is a mark of their attachment to their native country. When forced to leave it, they take with them a small portion of their native earth that it may be buried with them in their coffins if they should die abroad. Slaves are not apt to be so romantic. No, the Polish peasants were not slaves, and the manner in which they always fought belies the assertion. The Polish soldier,too, was well paid—he had six times the pay of a Russian soldier. The Polish officer also was kind to the Polish soldier, and softened as far as he could the tyranny of Russian discipline. Such was the horror of the commonest Pole at being given up to Russia, that the refugees in Prussia preferred being shot by Prussians to returning home.

The entire British community is very far from being fully aware of the horrific amount of human misery that is bespoken for unhappy Poland when the autocrat decrees her annihilation. Execrable as the old partition of the country might be, it included no horrors like those which are now going on—such as the destruction of libraries—the suppression of all schools of instruction—and the proscription of all sources of knowledge which the Czar now enjoins. The sufferings of Poland are not over, but prospectively deepening. Many well-meaning persons may no doubt be heard to observe that the evil is now done, that it cannot be undone, and that it must be submitted to. But whether it must be submitted to or not, the evil is not yet done, nor half done—it is only begun, and it will require much time, and blood, and tears, to be consummated. Let the Poles, say some good-natured observers, live but quietly under Russia and Russia will spare them. But no, we say, and we can prove it, Russia will not spare them, and, in consistency with her savage policy, she cannot spare them. As she has begun so she must end with them. In plain truth, she can have no reign over Poland now but a reign of terror; and if Europe permits her, she will beyond all doubt annihilate Poland with atrocities on a larger scale than human history has ever recorded.

If permitted, Russia will not at once, indeed, but she will systematically and surely, and not very slowly, exterminate the flower of the remaining Polish population, and leave the forlorn residue exactly in the same state that the Helots were in under Sparta. Before Warsaw was last taken, different plans had been already discussed by the autocrat cabinet, as to what should be done with the unhappy kingdom of Poland, in the event of its resubjugation.

Conciliation was out of the question, and that was never mentioned. But to get rid at once of millions of Poles, by sudden slaughter or dispersion, that was a difficulty even to their merciless conquerors. Well, it was therefore determined by the Russians, that Poland should be politically put to death, by the translocation of as many Russians as possible into Poland, and of as many Poles as possible into the wildest parts of Russia. Now, if we consider the two-fold effects of this translocation, it may fairly be questioned, whether the sentence of sudden death on millions of Poles would have been a harder sentence. The most merciful fate that a Pole can now expect is to be spared being sent into Siberia. At home, the Polish peasant must be no longer a farmer, but a slave for the Russian nobleman who comes to the Polish nobleman's confiscated estate—must bring Russian serfs to replace the Polish peasants that have been transferred to Siberia; and the Russian nobleman will be little disposed to make the Polish peasant an object of envy to his own serfs. In fact, the equalization of slavery in both countries, Russia and Poland, as well as the acquisition of forfeited Polish estates, was anticipated as a blessing by the Russian aristocracy; as a blessing that would well reward all the trouble of reconquering the country The first tidings of the Polish insurrection, though it alarmed some of the Russian nobility, gave joy to the most of them. It was awkward, they said, to be obliged to hear at St. Petersburgh of a diet of representatives at Warsaw, and of a people setting up for a constitution, whilst the Russians had none. Further, it had been vexatious to the Imperial Government that a Polish army of 40,000 men cost as much as 240,00 Russian soldiers; and though there was plenty of severity at head-quarters, yet it was exceedingly difficult to make the Polish officers cane their soldiers after the Russian manner, for they had been infected with liberal notions in the French service. Nor was it safe to bring Russian regiments in contiguity with those highpaid and well-treated soldiers, for fear of the former imbibing Polish pretensions. The Polish soldiers, said those Russian reasoners, shall now serve for a penny a day, and he shall learn how to live on it in Russia. The mutinous Polish gentry shall supply us with estates. Russia will be great, unique, and terrible to the world abroad; whilst at home, it will be perilous for a man to talk of a constitution, except in a medical sense.

On these confiscating and translocating schemes towards Poland, Russia has begun to act in right good earnest. Some of her atrocities have been laid bare to the public view,but only a sample of them. We spare ourselves for the present the task of reciting

their disgusting details. Painful, however, as that recital would be, we are prepared to show that the outrages inflicted on this friendless people have never been exposed to their full amount. It is our duty to assure any such persons as may fondly believe that the sufferings of Poland are at their close, or that they will terminate with her submission, that they are much mistaken. Suppose, although it is no very easy supposition, that their oppressors could heartily forgive them; still those oppressors cannot forget that the Poles are a brave and a sensitive people, and that they have among them the remnant of a chivalrous nobility, and of a bold and patriotic peasantry. What security of tenure can oppression ever have over the people, whilst there remains a portion of them unable to forget that they are Poles? And how can Russia fulfil her threat of annihilating Poland, but by annihilating the spirit of the nation? She must necessarily preserve them in the translocating system. She must continue to cover the roads to Siberia with Polish prisoners; and pretences will never be wanting. She must get rid of all, or as nearly as possible of all, Poles who are discontended or suspected of discontentment. She must deflower the nation; and by one means or other, dispose of all its patriots, high and low, who may have either spirit or property. Russia will do all this, if she be permitted; and she will leave at last, in what was Poland, nothing but an abject peasantry— poor, knouted, enslaved, without a public-minded nobleman, or priest, or scholar, to speak to the Poles in their own language. As the annihilation of Poland, however, has not been yet consummated, Europe might still prevent it; and the voice of Britain, already challenged by her insulted dignity, would be of no slight avail in awakening European remonstrance. It is not for us to detain you with discussions on foreign politics; but thus much we may say, without fear of contradiction, that over all the continent of Europe, there is among the people only one voice and feeling respecting Poland. But the continental press being enslaved every where but in France, the subject cannot be discussed on the Continent with due publicity. On that account, it is the more incumbent on the free press of our own great country to continue the discussion; and when our domestic affairs shall be more settled, as we trust they will soon be, we expect that this momentous foreign question will obtain a large share of public attention.

And we hope, fellow countryman, that it will obtain your more than transitory attention. Generous as Britains are, it seems as if Poland were fated to experience their generosity only in fond words, and fits of recollection. At the treaty of Vienna, we heard of in-

dependence having been secured to a remnant of that once great kingdom. A constitution too was promised to the Poles, and it was given to them in writing, but they were scandalously withheld from enjoying it; and for years and years they suffered injuries inferior, to their present calamities, but still deep and dreadful injuries. Yet, who among us, during all these fifteen years, ever felt for the Poles, or perhaps ever thought of them. Their wrongs were inflicted in silence; and Poland, though men owed her benefits, was chained, like Promotheus, out of the sight of men. The first intelligence of what this gallant nation had suffered, reached us in the clash of their swords with those of their oppressors. It is destined to be so once more. And is this people, that produced Copernicus and Sobieski, the once deliverers of Europe, and the models of modern heroism, to be the theme of a day, and then to be dropt into oblivion, and be annihilated? Enlightened England, avert the doom!

And you can avert it, fellow countrymen. Your uplifted voice could countermand this hideous annihilation. The autocrat believes that you care nothing about the Poles. Ye men that have British hearts, undeceive him, and let him know that even the poorest man in England has "a tear for Poland". Honour to that test of the poor man's sympathy! That tear for Poland is a sacred drop, and it will work like a holy spell against her unholy oppressors. At such a demonstration, our hope revives that ye will manifest an universal feeling; and, though the cause of Poland, which our hearts espoused, is lost, and though we mourn for her as fallen and as dead for the present, yet your strong compassion is the Hercules that will restore her, like another Alcestis, from the tomb.

The autocrat would pause before he said nay to the voice of twenty-four milions of Britons—who may have difficulties—but none which, in a just cause, they could not shake off,like "dew drops from the lion's mane".

It must rest with your general opinion, and it will, no doubt, also depend upon circumstances, how you are to treat the question of Poland as a practical political question. Our Association is literary, and not political; and being such, we shall neither petition Parliament, as a body, nor presume to advise you in what specific manner you should declare your sentiments on the subject. We only repeat our opinion, that an universal declaration of your sentiments, in some shape or other, respecting Poland, is due to the cause of humanity, and to the honour of our native land.

II

LETTER
FROM SAMUEL T. HOWE, ESQ., OF THE UNITED STATES, TO THOMAS CAMPBELL, ESQ.

Dear Sir,

The interest excited in the last meeting of your Association, by an allusion to the melancholy situation of that gallant relic of the Polish army still existing in Prussia, flashed across my mind in a glimmer of hope, that something may yet be done to save those poor fellows from the cruel destiny which seems to await them.

I entreat you to keep up that interest by every possible means; and I assure you that your Association cannot render so effectual a service to the cause of Poland, in the present crisis, as by calling the attention of the British public, and of the British Cabinet, if possible, to the situation of the five thousand Polish soldiers who are still in Prussia.

In shameless violation of her pledged faith, in open defiance of the laws of nations, and of the laws of humanity, Prussia is attempting, by persecution, by an excess of moral and physical suffering—aye, by the bullet and the bayonet—to drive those men, who laid down their arms on condition of free passages and protection, across her frontier and back into Poland!

If Britain, if Europe could look on and see unmoved the sacrifice of poor Poland, yet, in the name of God, let them not throw a fresh stain upon the character of the age, by driving back the exile into the clutches of his savage enemies! If the calls of interest, and the cries of humanity—if the voice of his wife and his children cannot induce the Polish exiled soldier to return to his country, it must be that he regards it as a hell; and men are worse than dæmons who would drive him into it.

Yet so it is. I have just returned from amongst those poor fellows; I have witnessed their sufferings—I have admired their fortitude, and blushed for my species when I perceived the drift of the policy which dictates the treatment they receive.

Sir, the half has not been told you; nor can you, in your fine and happy land, and in the midst of a generous community, conceive that there should be no feeling for the unfortunate exile. You have heard that promises and threats had been used to induce these soldiers to re-enter Poland, and that when these failed that the bullet and the bayonet had been resorted to! Yes, sir, this is all true, but it is not all the truth. I have seen the unfortunate men who were still lingering with wounds received in the affair of Marienbury and

Durchan, where Prussia so wantonly and so uselessly stained her escutcheon with the blood of unarmed exiles; and yet, while listening to their accounts of the affray, I was not so moved with indignation as at discovering the moral persecution by which Prussia is endeavouring to drive these men into Poland. By the one she stabs her victim in an ebulition of passion at his obstinate resistance; but in the other she is coolly binding the victim, to offer him up to the ever-whetted knife of Russia!

It is known to all the world, how eagerly Prussia received the Polish army on their abandoning their country, at the end of the late struggle; it is known what promises of protection, what pledges of good faith she gave; even this army laid down its arms on her territory. The Polish officers were to be treated with the honours of war, and arms presented by the Prussian soldiers; as to their own officers, they were to be free to go and come where and when they would; the soldiers were to be well provided for, and left free to go wherever they should desire. And how has Prussia kept her plighted faith? Ask the brave and high-spirited Polish officers, than whom there live live not more honourable men, and they will reply to you with bitter curses on the name of Prussia.

But let us come to the case of the soldiers. Their number has now dwindled to 5,000 men; Prussia found it impossible to shake the spirit of the army while the officers remained with the men. These, therefore, were separated from them; those, who hesitated about going, were torn away by force; and those, who resisted, were severely punished. You may imagine the feelings of the poor soldier, on seeing his only friend, his last remaining officer, torn from him; and would not be surprised if he had broken out into open mutiny; yet he did not so. I remember while I was at Mavienburg, an officer was discovered among the men, in the disguise of a common soldier; he was taken away by *gens-d'armes,* the soldiers, clamouring and swearing they would not be separated from him, followed him to the prison door; and the Prussians, finding they could not get rid of them, shut the whole nine in together. I left Mavienburg eight days after, and the poor fellows were still in the dungeons.

The object of separating officers from the army, was to be enabled the better to act upon the men; and they were then quartered off in small squads upon the peasantry, dragooned up and down the country by the soldiers, and continually urged nearer and nearer to the Polish frontier. About two-pence a day is allowed them by the Prussian government; and with that, they must find themselves every thing. They are most miserably clad, and hundreds of them are without shirts to their backs; yet did the Prussian authorities forbid me to distribute clothing to them. I had confided to me considerable

funds, resulting from subscriptions in the United States of America, and offered to clothe the naked soldiers, but General Scmidt ordered me away from the premises, and sent *gens-d'armes* to enforce his order; and *I have among my papers his written refusal of my application for a permission to distribute clothing, even though I offered to do it in the presence of a Prussian officer of his naming*!

Sir, I would that my feeble pen could do any thing like justice to this subject. I would I could but describe to you the half I felt, whilst, but five weeks since, I was in the midst of these poor Polish soldiers; I should hold up to you here a picture of long suffering, patriotism, of patient devotion, that you would hardly conceive falls to the lot of a common soldier. With all my preconceived notions of Polish patriotism, and of Polish heroism, I had no idea that the common soldier, the poor ignorant peasant of Poland, possessed such a stern devotion to his country, as to enable him to endure what these men have endured, and are still enduring.

Separated from their officers, in a strange land, poorly fed, and miserably clad; at one moment flattered by the promise of good treatment in Russia, and assured that France and all other nations have refused to receive them; and the next threatened with imprisonment or expulsion. Reduced almost to despair at their lonely situation, and without a hope of alleviation of their suffering, they still resist every effort of Prussia to induce them to enter Poland, and seek every possible chance of escape towards France. I shall never forget meeting a noble young fellow of the Knakous guards, wandering in the high roads of Prussia; it was a cold day, and he was shivering in his ragged and soiled uniform; his feet were swollen, and his countenance was wan and haggard; he had not a farthing in his pocket; he knew not a word of the language of the country; and was pointing to the west, and asking the road to France. Poor fellow! he imagined from the length of time he had been wandering, that it was but a few leagues distant; and yet, he was on the banks of the Oder!

God grant that these poor fellows may hold out until some interference can be made; until some of the cabinet shall blush for outraged humanity, and say, there has been enough of blood, enough of misery; let the wretched exile have at least full freedom to direct his wanderings whither he will.

I am, Dear Sir,

Respectfully yours,

SAMUEL T. HOWE.

May 25, 1832.

CATRIONA ANDERSON-BETLEY
(Edinburgh)

SOME POLISH INFLUENCES ON JOSEPH CONRAD

> I always remember what you said when I was leaving Kraków: Remember, you said, — wherever you may sail, you are sailing towards Poland!
> That I have never forgotten and never will forget!
> (Konrad Nałęcz-Korzeniowski to Stefan Buszczyński, 14 August 1883).

The following sketch was intended as an introduction to a larger study of linguistic and literary influences from Polish in the writings of Joseph Conrad, including influences from his national background and parallels from contemporary Polish literature which reveals a similarity of mind and approach. However, a detailed analysis of only two of Conrad's novels provided so much of linguistic material — some 2.800 items — that it was obviously impossible to reduce the findings to an article and at the same time to provide any sort of meaningful framework which would bring them into line with the subject matter and with the wider meaning and tone of any works. I have therefore postponed a full discussion of the linguistic material and given instead a good deal of space to the Polish psychological background, the formation of prejudices and predilections, and so on; as information on these topics is difficult to come by without a reading knowledge of Polish, I do not apologise for including so much of it here.

The article has been divided into two parts: Part I contains "The Paradox of Conrad" and "Bilingualism — Homo duplex", Part II consists of "The Elusive Element".

PART I

1. *The Paradox of Conrad*

> I verily believe mine was the only case of a boy of my nationality and antecedents taking a, so to speak, standing jump out of his racial surroundings and associations.
>
> *A Personal Record*
>
> Of course I broke away early. Excess of individualism, perhaps? But that and other things, I settled along time ago with my conscience.
>
> (Conrad to G.T. Keating, 12th Dec., 1922).

'Paradox' in the title should be in plural if the form were not inelegant. From the beginning Conrad presents not one but a sheaf of contradictions. He attempted to do two extremely unlikely and difficult things with no connections between them and succeeded in both. A landlocked Pole from the Ukraine of the landed gentry he became the first of his nation to receive a master's ticket in the British Merchant Navy. When ill health drove him ashore he turned to writing novels and was successful at the first try, even if the financial rewards were uncertain.

In his new profession the paradox continued. On the strength of his first books he was labelled as a writer of grand sea yarns or exotic travellers' tales —something between Captain Marryat and Kipling; later developments such as *The Secret Agent, Under Western Eyes, Nostromo* were judged by the public as a change for the worse. But one change is generally followed by another — the pendulum goes on swinging — and now Conrad is acclaimed on the strength of these very works as an English writer, perhaps the greatest novelist of the century, a virtuoso of English prose, and as Prospero calling up spirits from the vasty deep of his soul, a King-Spirit shedding light on the minds of others, even if he cannot save himself.[1] At the same time holes are still picked in his English, his style (once botanised into anthologies) is now ornate, or rhetorical, or tritely aphoristic, while on the emotional side he is accused of pessimism, of an obses-

[1] From Juliusz Słowacki' poem *Król-Duch*, one of the key poems of the Polish Romantic movement.

sion with failure, treachery, intrigue, an excess of scruples and hesitations and obfuscation of motives and feelings. But he is still retained "on the strength" as a great English novelist.

The uneasy feelings of his first British readers that the man was, after all, a foreigner (what Conrad himself called 'a b - - - - y furriner') were supported by the eagerness with which his countrymen claimed him as theirs, with, as it were, 'a defeated joy, with an auspicious and a dropping eye . . .'. In his own country Conrad has been in turn castigated as a renegade, a rat abandoning a sinking ship for a safer billet in the Merchant Navy, and claimed as a Pole of world stature. It is not necessary to recall the bitter accusations of the *Kraj* — Orzeszkowa's article, "Tempi passati!" is one of Conrad's favourite quotations — there was much to excuse it. Probably the original article of Wincenty Lustosławski (himself a Pole living mostly abroad), suggesting that men of letters, artists, scientists etc. had a right to emigrate and work abroad if they felt the atmosphere in Poland too stifling, (I am paraphrasing Zdzisław Najder) would be accepted by most people today.[2] But for a Pole with Conrad's background much was expected; after all he was the son of Apollo Korzeniowski and Ewa Bobrowska, and the nephew of two Bobrowski uncles and two Korzeniowski uncles, one of whom perished in the cause.

The best and briefest explanations of just what this meant in Poland is the passage in *A Personal Record* describing the funeral of Apollo Korzeniowski in Cracow; those silent crowds lining the streets must have haunted Conrad's memory with a reproach at once patriotic and filial.

There is a much quoted passage from *A Personal Record*[3] which is often read as an apologia for his 'desertion', but the letter of 8th February, 1899, to R.B. Cunninghame Graham gives a picture of his loneliness and despair far more telling and more reliable than any literary composition. It helps, too, to explain his deep devotion to such friends as Cunninghame Graham and Karol Zagórski.

Indeed the Poles may have lost a major Polish writer when, as is suggested in *A Personal Record*[4] Conrad heard his first words of English spoken with what he later recognised as Scotch, in the hotel at the St. Gotthard Tunnel, and the next day he met his "unforgettable Englishman" at the Furka Pass. Conrad himself declared in a letter to Ernst Bendz, what if he had not written in English, he would not have written at all. Certainly he did not take up his

[2] At the very moment of writing these pages [1969] we have had the case of "A. Anatol".

[3] *A Personal Record*, Dent Uniform edition, 36.

[4] *A Personal Record*, pp. 29-31.

uncle's suggestion of writing articles in Polish for *Wędrowiec,* a Warsaw weekly; but what might he have done, if he stayed in Austrian Poland? At no time does he specifically deny the possibility of his writing in Polish?[5]; his denials, though general are clearly directed at the allegations (spread by Sir Hugh Clifford) that he might have chosen to write in French instead.

It is fascinating to speculate what sort of Polish writer he might have become. With his Nałęcz inheritance and the influence of his uncle Tadeusz Bobrowski, he might have provided a true synthesis of the two strains in the Polish tradition, realism versus idealism.[6]

At any rate he would have faced stiffer competition in Poland at the turn of the century than he found in Britain. Sienkiewicz, Prus, Żeromski, Reymont, Wyspiański, Kasprowicz were all writing; Korzeniowski is the invisible seventh of the Pleiad.

A further paradox lies in Conrad's background of Polish landed gentry, with all its ideals, traditions and prejudices, his wide horizons as a sailor and his restricted writer's life in the south of England. For the first the short story *Prince Roman* and *A Personal Record* provide vivid scenes, *The Mirror of the Sea* for the second, and Conrad's letters complete the triptych.

Three lives, three languages, a row of books and some of the most consistently high praise for any writer of the century — "among the very greatest novelists in the language — or any language". Is there any link between these lives? Perhaps: Conrad inherited a tremendous burden of unemployed loyalty, the sense of duty and complete devotion to a cause, "the ardent fidelity of a man, whose life had been a fearless confession in word and in deed of a creed which the simplest heart . . . could understand".[7]

But he was born at the worst point of Poland's history, when all possibility of action was obliterated by the Russian régime following the 1863 insurrection. Yet "the mountain grass cannot but keep form where the mountain hare has lain" — Conrad could never shed that sense of duty and loyalty, that nostalgia for the life of action of a Polish squire like his grandfather, whose only ideal of patriotic action was to "get into the saddle and drive them out", an ideal that he met and admired again in his friendship with Robert Cunninghame Graham. Even if the young Conrad reacted against this simplistic approach, it could only be with a gnawing sense of guilt, even

[5] Although he did declare "I hold our beautiful Polish literature in too high esteem to introduce to it my poor writing. But for the English my abilities are sufficient and secure my daily bread".

[6] I take this from the title of *Poland's Politics. Realism vs. Idealism* (1967) by Adam Bromke.

[7] "Poland Revisited", *Notes on Life & Letters,* Dent uniform edition, p. 227.

against his will. So he transferred his allegiances and devotion to the Merchant Navy and its men, sublimating the MacWhirrs and the Singletons, endowing them with an intuitive sense of duty to each other and to their calling — the same sense of duty — all too explicit — of Tadeusz Bobrowski, "making duty their aim, instead of the ideal of greatness", "those crowds aiming instinctively at securing only bread, so detestable to all visionaries, have their *raison d'être;* ... and they no longer seem detestable when ... a more thorough evaluation reveals that they embellish their existence — and often their shortcomings ... by some higher moral ideal of a duty accomplished, of a love for their family or country in the forms of sacrifices or bequests".[8]

In his writer's life, too, Conrad pursued the truth — *usque ad finem,* again, in Tadeusz Bobrowski's words: "if one must judge them with one's intellect, one must appraise with one's heart", — and perhaps he applied both to his works and his friendships.

The following pages attempt to indicate that in just these paradoxes may be found at least the root of some of the problems of Conrad's writing — linguistic and psychological; it is hoped that a few may even be solved.

2. *Bilingualism*: *'Homo Duplex'*

> It is very obvious that I don't possess the English language in any exceptional way.
>
> English was for me neither a matter of choice nor adoption. The merest idea of choice had never entered my head. And as to adoption — well, yes, there was adoption; but it was I who was adopted by the genius of the language ...[9]

However much readers and critics of Conrad may differ on either matter, most, I think, would agree that the two remarks are rather much to swallow.

The impression made by a first reading of Conrad by a new reader with some biographical knowledge is generally amazement at his command of English, in other words, the high level of bilingualism. Later he may observe anomalies in the English and, gradually, he may become aware of unusual approaches or attitudes, a general tone that does not seem entirely in the English tradition. Possibly a present-day reader may absorb this tone without any particular comment or query; if so, it will be because Conrad's tone has become the keynote of our age: he was its forerunner. But in the

[8] Tadeusz Bobrowski to Conrad, 9th Nov. 1891, in Z. Najder (ed.) *Conrad's Polish Background* (OUP 1964) pp. 152 sq.

[9] Letter to Ernst Bendz, 7 March 1923, in G. Jean-Aubry, *Life & Letters of Joseph Conrad* (1927), pp. 295-6.

first quarter of this century Anglo-Saxon readers were not ready for Conrad and what seemed unusual in him they found disturbing — and they did not care for being disturbed.

Bilingualism tends in Britain to be surrounded by mystique — due no doubt to the scarcity of it in this country. Although millions of ordinary people troughout the world habitually speak at least two languages with some success, this feat continues to be regarded in Britain with nothing short of awe. In the case of Conrad there was some justification of this awe; he was nearly 21 years old when he began to pick up a little English from the *Skimmer of the Seas.*[10] From various sources, including his own admission [11], we know that his ear for the intonation of English was not good, yet his sense of the rhytm of English prose became remarkable, (not merely imitative but creative, as will appear later).

In Poland, of course, bilingualism was very common, indeed normal in upper classes; a landowner like Tadeusz Bobrowski, spoke Polish, Russian and French, as well as Ukrainian (then called in Polish *ruski* or *rusiński*) to his peasants, and knew and quoted Latin. The place of French in the upper classes will be discussed fully later, but it is worth mentioning here that Adam Mickiewicz, the great national poet of Poland, spoke French fluently; in his exile he gave improvisations in French on any subject suggested by his audience. It must be said that the verses were criticised as stilted; in poetic register he was clearly more proficient in Polish!

At the same time it is worth noting that successful *late* bilingualism is not confined in the literary field to Conrad. Two examples — one Polish — will be sufficient. The first is the Greek poet, Dionysios Solomos (1798-1857), born in the island of Zante under Italian rule. His first language was Italian; as the son of a landowner he went to school in Italy, first Venice and Cremona, then to Padua University. He returned to Zante in 1818, apparently without a word of demotic Greek and underwent a complete revulsion against his foreign education. He mastered both classic and demotic Greek, made a special study of Cretan demotic poetry of the 16th and 17th century and became the first Great poet of the Greek demotic tradition. The second instance comes nearer home. Stanisław Przybyszewski was born in a part of Poland then under German domination in a community using dialect of Polish mixed with German vocabulary. He was sent to metropolitan Germany for his education and his literary career was launched in German; he joined the so-called Strindberg group of writers. He was, however, a musician as well

[10] *A Personal Record*, Dent's, Author's Notes, p. vii

[11] Letter to Joseph de Smet, 23rd Jan. 1911, *Life & Letters*, ii, p. 125

as a writer and under influence of his passion of Chopin he decided to visit Cracow for the first time. He went to Cracow and never returned to Germany, except for a short stay during the First World War. He 're-learnt' Polish, in time attaining a very fine Polish style, was associated with the *Młoda Polska* group of writers, and wrote a study of Chopin in poetic prose, and also several novels and plays.

It will be noticed at once that these two bilingual writers were moving in the opposite direction from Conrad — centripetal or homing. They were clearly stimulated by patriotic feeling, and their task, supported by their deepest instincts and emotions, was much more natural and understandable than his. Admittedly they, too, had to face the rivalry of better equipped and established writers, but they were sure of a welcome. Conrad was in a peculiarly lonely and delicate position — a Polish cuckoo in the English literary nest. No wonder he responded eagerly to words of praise or friendly approaches — and no wonder he is always generous in bestowing praise and encouragement on his English colleagues.[12] But no amount of praise from foreigners could warm the chill of criticism from Poland; the attack in *Kraj* must have wounded Conrad deeply. From his letter to the other Józef Korzeniowski, in 1901[13] "I have in no way disavowed either my nationality or the name we share, for the sake of success. It is widely known that I am a Pole", and a later letter in 1903 to Kazimierz Waliszewski — "If you are prepared to take my word for it and say that during the course of all my travels round the world I never, in mind or heart, separated myself from my country, then I may surely be accepted there as a compatriot in spite of my writing in English";[14] it can be seen that he was keenly sensitive to reactions in Poland and greatly desired to be accepted as a colleague and a fellow Pole. "It does not seem to me that I have been unfaithful to my country by having proved to the English that a gentleman from Ukraine can be as good a sailor as they and has something to tell them in their own language. I consider such recognition as I have won from this particular point of view, and offer it in silent homage where it is due".[15]

[12] He is more businesslike when giving his views on English writers to Aniela Zagórska—or in his advice to Norman Douglas: "To introduce the thin end of the wedge you must give me acceptable stuff on other than literary grounds. . . . People don' want intelligence. It worries them—and they demand from their writers as much subservience as from their footmen, if not rather more". Letter to Norman Douglas, 18 Oct. 1905, *Life & Letters*, ii, p. 24. But friendship seems always to have first place, e.g. his praise of Winawer.

[13] Letter of 14 Feb. 1901, *Najder*, p. 234. Conrad goes on to say that he dropped his difficult Polish surname in England simply because he could not endure having it mispronounced—a reaction I have come across more Poles than one.

[14] Letter of 8th Nov. 1903, *Najder*, p. 237.

[15] Letter to Józef Korzeniowski, 14 Febr. 1901, Najder, p. 234.

Clearly, enviable as bilingualism may be to those who do not have it, it brings its own problems. These may be psychological as well as linguistic, for the learning of a foreign language is not exclusively a linguistic problem; it may involve the whole environment of the second language. A very interesting study of these problems can be found in Uriel Weinreich's *Languages in Contact*; I will only mention a few points here.

Bilingualism, as the word is used in modern linguistics, does not imply that the speaker must attain in all registers of the second language as high a standard as he holds in his mother tongue; in many cases only part of the environment may be involved, e.g., a student learning, say, German or Russian in order to read for a doctorate, may ignore poetry or even the spoken tongue. Conrad's spoken English, for instance, was evidently not as good as his written English. Secondly, the first language, the mother tongue, holds a special position vis à vis all other later-learned languages;[16] it is learned in a quite different way and with a special urgency for communication, absorbed and overlearned with extreme thoroughness unlike other later languages which are learnt in an artificial atmosphere and without the same urgency of communication. It is rare, for anyone to remember learning to speak (unless for particular defects and difficulties); the whole process appear to have happened 'naturally'.[17] Conrad could not have remember the time when he could not *read*.

Thirdly, the emotional attitude towards the second language is variable from enthousiasm to hatred; enthusiasm, if nationals for whom it is a mother tongue are liked and are welcoming — and if the knowledge of the language could be profitable, hatred if the association of the language are painful (as was the case with Russian for Conrad)[18] or if it is being imposed by force as was the case with German in the school in Lwów.

The mother tongue has two other advantages over all the second languages: 1) the early development of the mind takes place under the influence of the mother tongue, its syntax and its vocabulary establish the form of the thought processes, 2) the mother tongue accompanies the first emotional confrontations of the child, and his first notions of what is painful and what is agreeable are associated

[16] In fact, learning to speak is not a natural part of growth in the way that walking is spontaneous at a certain stage of development. A deaf child does not speak, unless it is deliberately given very special training; a normal child learns to speak only because it hears and imitates speech.

[17] There are cases of displacement of the mother tongue due to loss of parents, adoption, deportation etc.

[18] Conrad probably never learnt Russian, but he must have heard it spoken as a child, and it would seem that he knew it quite well.

with the sounds that first bodied forth these feelings. In these ways the first language gains an ascendancy over all later languages and tends to intrude upon them, often without the speaker having any awareness of the intrusion.

There is a further minor situation arising between second languages; they can interfere with each other, not only, say, the second interfering with the third, but the third also interfering with the second, and so on. Most people find that the second learned language may be displaced by a later learned one, sometime only temporarily. The deciding factor (judging by personal experience) seems to be (a) urgency or enthousiasm with which the language is learned in the first place, (b) the degree to which it is integrated in the learner's life, i.e., how completely and exclusively he lives all sides of his life in the language. The order in which second languages are learnt seem to be irrelevant; the length of time that the individual has spent "living in the language" would seem to have some relevance.

The subject of bilingualism is a vast one, and of greatest interest in a world where languages are coming more and more into contact. The above remarks are only intended to underline particular features of bilingualism that affect the study of Conrad's English.

Conrad's mother tongue, Polish, was exceptionally well established in him before he left Poland at the age of 17; he was steeped in the literary language as well as in the spoken language of daily life. "Polonisms I have taken into my works from Mickiewicz and Słowacki", "My father read me *Pan Tadeusz* and asked me to read it aloud too. More than once. I preferred *Konrad Wallenrod* and *Grażyna*. Later I preferred Słowacki" (interview with Marian Dąbrowski, 1914).[19] I quote both these passages from Zdzisław Najder. He also provides the following interesting comment from Apollo Korzeniowski's correspondence: "Konradek . . . writes without my encouragement and writes well".[19a] Conrad was then writing "plays of patriotic content" which were performed by his friends.[20]

Among "the Polish poets", mentioned along with Victor Hugo and other French poets, would certainly be the name of Zygmunt Krasiński, the third of the great Romantic poets, whose disillusioned attitude both to the old order and to the forces of so-called "progress" comes nearest to Conrad's own outlook.

A further point: J. H. Retinger reported in *Conrad and His Contemporaries*[21] that, while he was speaking of Conrad's remarkable

[19] Najder, p. 9.

[19a] Najder, Letter to Stefan Buszczynski of 10 May, 1868, Najder, p. 10.

[20] Najder, Introduction, p. 10 n. 2.

[21] London 1941, p. 96. Amer. Ed. 1943.

powers of description of landscape, Conrad picked up a small worn copy of Mickiewicz and said: "There is where I learnt to describe landscape".

Moreover, until his uncle's death in 1894 Conrad was regularly employing the language in reading and in writing letters to his uncle and others.[22] Later in his literary life Conrad carried on quite extensive correspondence with various people in the Polish literary world. For the Zagórski family (his cousins) he cherished a great affection, especially for Karol Zagórski, "the man most akin to me in thought and blood" [23] and his letter to Miss Aniela Zagórska after Karol's death is the most heartfelt thing among the correspondence: "I always went to him in my thoughts", "être compris de lui, cette pensée était ma plus grande consolation".[24] Later, he could say: "And it is thus, with poignant grief in my heart, that I write novels to amuse the English".[25] Later still Conrad helped the younger generation of the Zagórskis, playing something of the part of his own uncle, Tadeusz Bobrowski, but without the sermons.

That he retained his fluency and accent in Polish is testified by visitors from Poland: Marian Dąbrowski in 1914 to whom he gave an interview, and, as late as 1924, Hanna Skarbek-Peretiatkowicz, who visited him in July (that is, three weeks before his death), found him reading a book of Polish war reminiscences by Zofia Kossak-Szczucka, *Pożoga,* concerning revolutionary uprising in Eastern Poland. He then declared that he would liked to translate it into English.[26] That he resorted to Polish during delirious intervals of malarial fever is only to be expected; Weinreich mentions similar cases.[27] On these ground, then, we can fairly assert that Polish held its ground as his mother tongue with a predominating emotional influence.

Opinions seem to be divided on the quality of Conrad's French. M. Jean-Aubry, who should be an authority, maintains that his French was almost impeccable, without any of the usual 'polonisms' of even the best Polish speakers of French.[28] Ford Maddox Ford,

[22] He kept up to the end of his life his connection with Spiridion Kliszewski, the son of a Polish *emigré* in Cardiff, as well as his correspondence with old friends in Poland.

[23] Letter of 6th Febr. 1898. *Life & Letters*, i. p. 228.

[24] *ibid.*

[25] Letter of 12th April 1898, *Life & Letters*, i, pp. 234-5.

[26] Their two-hour conversation was of course entirely in Polish. See *Voice of Poland* (Glasgow), 1943.

[27] U. Weinreich, *Languages in Contact* (1968) pp. 71 sq.

[28] *Life & Letters*, i, p. 160, note; but see the introduction on "Le français de Joseph Conrad", p. 22, *passim* in Rene Rapin (ed.) *Lettres de Joseph Conrad à Marguerite Poradowska* (Université de Lausanne, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres, xvii) Genève, 1966.

on the other hand, declared: "Conrad spoke French with extraordinary speed, fluency and incomprehensibility, a meridional French with as strong a Southern accent as that of garlic in aïoli".[29]

In turn, M. Aubry goes on to add that Conrad spoke English without any noticeable 'polonisms' but rather with a very strong French accent, and here Mr. Ford appears to agree! "Speaking English he had so strong a French accent that few who did not know him well could understand him at first".[30]

Robert Cunninghame-Graham in his tribute to Joseph Conrad, *Inveni Porta,* mentions "his (Conrad's) sudden breaking into French, especially when he was moved by anything". Connected with this we have the evidence of Conrad's letters to Cunninghame-Graham, especially the letter of 8th February, 1899.[31] The already quoted letter to Aniela Zagórska on the death of Karol Zagórski is also in this cathegory, i.e. the resort to French under emotional stress. Conrad's correspondence with French friends and connections is of course in quite a different category. We can also ignore the periods of his life in which Conrad spoke French continuously and *de riguer* i.e. the whole of the Marseilles period, the Congo voyage, and the Rouen episods, as well as various occasions elsewhere, e.g. visits to Mme Poradowska in Brussels. Much more interesting is his use of French when on the face of it English or Polish would be expected.

Another criterion of successful bilingualism is the range of use i.e. the number of registers in which the second language is used. We know that Conrad learned to speak French at a very early age. Apparently for only three months at Nowofastów, "the good, ugly Mademoiselle Durand" "had taught him not only to speak French but to read it as well: "N'oublie pas ton français, mon chéri", was her parting appeal to him when the child and his mother left Nowofastów to return to Czernihov. He did not forget his French; "At ten years of age I had read much of Victor Hugo and other romantics. I had read in Polish, and in French history, voyages, novels...; ... I had read in early boyhood Polish poets and some French poets".[32] Clearly the foundations of proficiency in speaking and reading were laid between his sixth and twelfth year.

It would perhaps be useful to comment here upon the peculiar

[29] F. M. Ford, *Return to Yesterday* (1931) p. 181. Galsworthy also speaks of Conrad's incomprehensibility when reading the ms. of *An Outcast* to him.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *Letters to Robert Cunninghame Graham,* ed. C. T. Watts, (1969), p. 215. The letter of 8th February, p. 117.

[32] *A Personal Record,* p. 142.

place that the French language occupied in Poland. It was a social dialect of the upper classes. Technically, perhaps 'dialect' is not quite correct, but it was certainly an auxiliary language for certain situations and certain topics. It was used in certain registers — literary, musical, artistic or simply tittle-tattle, both by men and women, and it conveyed a *cachet* of polish and culture. It could be employed in letter-writing and in social columns in newspapers, either in long discussions or in an interpolation, — as a tag, a cultural marker. How often does Bobrowski quote: "Tu l'as voulu, Georges Dandin!" or "A bon entendeur salut!" It was a prestige language; it owed its place in Poland to its literature, its general culture, the democratic tradition of the Revolution, the glamour of Napoleon — inconsistent but quite compatible! — in a word, the queen language of Western Europe, to which Poland always turned its eyes. At its peak during the Napoleonic period, the influence of French gradually weakened as Poland became more isolated, but it never vanished. It is perhaps most noticeable today in the vast number of French loan-words (with Polish spelling and inflections). But a knowledge of French remains the mark of a 'Dżentelmen', a civilised person, — très snob, perhaps, but echoes of it can still be caught from citizens of the new Poland.

"To the Pole the French are the European masters of the art of life".[33] Thus it was perfectly natural that Conrad and his 'cher maître', Henry James, fluted at each other in the language of culture and civilisation for their highly civilised exchanges. It was perfectly natural, too, that Conrad who held himself a Polish noblemen *deraciné* should 'hail back' at Don Roberto so frequently and lustily in French on the beliefs nearest his heart. This feeling for France and French is well conveyed in the short story *The Warrior's Soul*: "Paris was the centre of wonder for all human beings gifted with imagination ... Most wonderful conversations on all sorts of subjects went on in her salon." That is what French meant to a Pole.

The influence of English in Poland can be dealt with much more briefly;[32a] but for the existence of Conrad it would be marginal indeed. Historically, of course, it never came to the undisputed position held by French; however, interest in English grew between the two World Wars and at the present day it is one of the foreign languages taught in Polish schools. But in the XIX Century English did have considerable prestige among intellectuals; Apollo Korzeniowski, for instance, was deeply read in French in his student days,

[32a] This is not to be confused with the influence of English literature, as known from XIX Century translations of Scott, Byron, Shakespeare and Dickens. My attention was drawn to it by M. Andrzej Busza, who very kindly read the ms. of this article.

[33] Paul Super, *The Polish Tradition* (Allen & Unwin, 1939), p. 181.

but later learnt English sufficiently well to be able to translate *The Gentlemen of Verona* (already referred to) and *Hard Times* into Polish — to mention only a few titles.[34] Władysław Skłodowski, the father of Maria Curie-Skłodowska, was an excellent linguist, knowing thoroughly French, German and English as well as Latin and Greek. He read Dickens to his family from English texts, translating fluently into Polish as he went along.[35] But these men were exceptions; Tadeusz Bobrowski could still write to his nephew a propos of a business proposition: "Here English is likely to be known only to a few women." [36]

The influence of English literature in Poland is another question. Conrad as a child had read *Nicholas Nickleby* and *Bleak House* in Polish,[37] as well as Scott and Thackeray and presumably some of his father's translations of Shakespeare. But the list of English authors translated into Polish is very large; Byron, of course, figured largely, and had a great influence on the early XIX Century Polish poets, partly because of his part in the Greek War of Independence and his interest in the cause of freedom both for Italy and Poland, Shakespeare, rather oddly, was translated into Polish in the XVIII Century; it is not surprising that *Hamlet* and *King Lear* were more popular than the comedies.[37a]

We have Conrad's own testimony about when and how he learned English — I quote it in full: "I was nineteen before I learned English.[38] My first English reading was the *Standard* newspaper, and my first acquaintance by the ear was the speech of fishermen, shipwrights and sailors of the East Coast. But in 1880 I had mastered the language sufficiently to pass the first examination for officer in the Merchant Service, including a *viva voce* of more than two hours. But 'mastered' is not the right word; I should have said 'acquired'. *I never opened a grammar in my life.* My pronunciation is rather defective to this day. Having unluckily no ear, my accentuation is uncertain, especially when in the course of a conversation I became self-conscious. In writing I wrestle painfully with that language which I feel I do not possess but which possesses me, — alas!" It is all the more difficult to believe with M. Jean Aubry that Conrad

[34] Other titles: *Comedy of Errors, Much Ado About Nothing, As you Like It, Othello.*

[35] From *Maria Curie* by Ewa Curie; the only copy I have at hand is in Polish—the passage appears in Chapter IV.

[36] Letter of 20 July, 1886. Najder, p. 106.

[37] *A Personal Record*, p. 223.

[37a] *Lear* is of particular interest with regard to Conrad; the father-daughter relationship appears in many of the novels—*Chance*, *Nostromo*.

[38] Actually 20.

entirely avoided "polonisms" when he spoke English.[39] Dr Leavis wades in with ". . . the uncertainty about points of English usage apparent on practically every page of Conrad to the end," [40] — but immediately gives him plenary absolution in view of the consummate dialogue in its blend of inevitable naturalness etc. Unfortunately he also refers to "the French element so oddly apparent in his diction and idiom",[41] without giving examples; — of course, there are gallicisms, but they occur in well-defined areas which can be anticipated and they represent only a very small fraction of the total number of un-English items. Whereupon the shade of Conrad can hit back via the letter of 7th March, 1923;[42] ". . . idiomatically I am never at fault", although he goes to admit awareness of his "lapses of style". It is difficult to guess just what Conrad had in mind as 'style' or 'idiomatically' — not register, surely, — possibly inelegance of expression? Did Dr Leavis mean speech, or choice of words, — or style? On the whole, Conrad is rather tetchy over Bendz's criticisms,[43] especially the implication that in *The Arrow of Gold* he did not know what he was doing with Therese's 'franglais'. But quite apart from the novels there are numerous examples of unusual order of words in the letters, also of decidedly un-English 'idiom'; I give only one example of each here:

"not in my habits" [44]

"I *only* would like to point out" (incorporating also a 'would' for a 'should'!)[45]

"We are thankful for *the* small mercies." (full stop — not followed by 'that')[46]

". . . that forbidden thing, *the* Polish independence." — appears twice in "Crime of Partition." [47]

"Providence in its inscrutable way *had been* merciful" (unsuitable tense — either 'was' or 'has been')[48]

As for the strong French accent that both M. Jean-Aubry and Mr. Ford mention in connection with Conrad's English, it is tempting to suggest that what assailed their ears was not so much a 'midi'

[39] Italics in passages quoted are mine. *Life & Letters* i, p. 160.

[40] F. R. Leavis, *The Great Tradition* (1948), p. 232.

[41] ibid,. p. 210.

[42] *Life & Letters*, ii, pp. 295-6.

[43] There is Bendz's remark: "Conrad has an exaggerated partiality for the past—position of adjectives".

[44] *Life & Letters*, ii. p. 147.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 297.

[46] *Ibid.* p. 45.

[47] *Notes on Life and Letters*, pp. 169-70.

accent as syllable-stressing (common to French and Polish) plus agressive nasalisation, more emphatic vowels and a meaty Polish 'r', — also perhaps the substitution of the Polish 'rz' for the French 'j'. In fact, a Polish accent, with stress on the penultimate syllable. The rapidity — also vouched for — of Conrad's spoken English would in itself be likely to produce a degree of carelessness, but in his early books his English is based not on spoken English but on literary forms; it is not particularly easy to read aloud passages from *Almayer's Folly;* try this one on pages 107-108 in the Fisher-Unwin edition:

"In a moment the two, little nutshells with their occupants floated quietly side by side, reflected by the black water in the dim light struggling through a high canopy of dense foliage; while above, away up in the broad day, flamed immense red blossoms sending down on their heads a shower of great dewsparking petals that descended rotating slowly in a continuous and perfumed stream; and over them, under them in the sleeping water, all around them in a ring of luxuriant vegetation bathed in the warm air charged with strong and harsh perfumes, the intense work of tropical nature went on;..." and it does go on for another nine lines. It is 'excessively adjectival' (I quote Dr Leavis), but it does give the desired effect of riotous and sinister growth; this is partly due to the odd punctuation, of which Conrad may not have been aware. It reads much better in the Polish translation, because the inflected language compels precision and makes the length tolerable.

When we turn to the criticism of a bilingual's grasp of the second language we have to consider deviation from normal usage from two points of view. Under the impression that he is speaking or wrting quite correctly the bilingual may unconsciously use a form which will strike the native speaker at once as off the norm. It can be a genuine 'error' due to forgetfulness, or to what Dr Johnson called: 'Ignorance, sir, plain ignorance." Conrad does this, for instance, with the various parts of the verb 'lie' and 'lay' — I have five examples from *Almayer's Folly* alone; it cannot be thought for a moment that Conrad made these slips on purpose to produce some subtle recondite effect.[48a] I doubt also if Conrad's expression: "The whole thing was as well as done" [49] can be said to give special point to Bolt's stream of consciousness; it is a slip, a polonism based on the Polish form "tak dobrze jak zrobione" — where the adverbial form 'dobrze' is used, not 'dobry (-a, -e)', the adjectival form which would be the English equivalent of 'as *good* as done', but further

[48a] In *Joseph Conrad and His Circle* (1935) by Jessie Conrad. Conrad confuses 'lie' and 'lay', e.g. I laid down—meaning 'I lay down'.

[49] *The Rover,* Dent Everyman Ed., p. 60, line 18.

confused probably by memories of other English phrases: 'Well done', 'He did good', 'he did well to do', 'it may as well be done' etc.

But there are other occasions when what is clearly not entirely normal English is in practice very effective and an enhancement of 'ordinary' English usage. I give a rather long example from *The Rover*: [50] "This grey vapour, drifting high up, close against the disc of the sun, seemed to enlarge the space behind its veil, add to the vastness of a shadowless world — no longer hard and brilliant but all softened in the contours of its masses and in the faint line of the horizon, as if ready to dissolve in the immensity of the Infinite." The passage with its hints of blank verse, the omission of the second 'to' before 'add', the uncertainty of which is the subject of the last qualifiers — 'vapour' or 'world' and the very Conradian 'immensity of the Infinite', the accumulation of intangible, indefinite words — vapour, drifting, veil, vastness, shadowless, softened, faint, dissolve — it is at once a precise description of a meteorological phenomenon and an evocative sketch of a landscape normally static undergoing subtle modification — a landscape in transit, as it were, and also a turning point in the plot. There is nothing in Conrad's comments on his writing to suggest that he ever aimed at neologisms; he aimed at making a personal statement within the language as he found it. At this stage we may well admit that Conrad succeeds both by his strength and by his weakness. I do not go so far as to say that he exploited it deliberately, but — again a paradox — his "un-Englishness" is an ingredient of his achievement.

The nature and the source of the 'un-Englishness' will be taken up in the second part of the article — "The Elusive Element."

[50] *ibid*, p. 139, lines 13-19.

PART II

The Elusive Element

> "The English critics when speaking of me always add that there is in my work something incomprehensible, unfathomable, elusive. Only you can grasp this elusiveness, understand the incomprehensible. It is Polishness."
>
> To Marian Dabrowski, 1914

> "How cultivated and sensitive — or how superficial! — must his Anglo-Saxon readers to have accepted this fascinating and destructing (Sic!) artist! Do they not feel the despair lurking behind these truly nihilistic books? What bond could there be between his enthusiastic public and the revolutionary — visionary he is himself."
>
> Stefan Napierski
> in *Wiadomości Literackie*
> 8th August, 1926

At some stage we are bound to try to estimate the degree of success of a bilingual writer. In doing this we may consider bilingualism as a continuous effort on the part of a newcomer to reproduce in every detail the new language, spoken and written; in that case, complete accuracy is the criterion. On the other hand, bilingualism may be regarded as the acquisition of a new experience, something to be developed, a medium through which the personality of the newcomer, his own heredity and environment, can be expressed spontaneously and can in its turn enrich and expand the new language and its ways of of thought. In this case strict conformity to the original idiom is not the criterion; the criterion is the enhancement of the received material, and the acceptance of what is new is the measure of success. We can view the so-called 'polonisms' in Conrad from both angles; the first approach will certainly provide support for the claim that his English is very strongly influenced by his mother tongue, but the second approach will take us much nearer to the 'elusive' tone of Conrad's mind and need for understanding will force us to investigate his Polish background in the widest possible sense. As already stated in the foreword, the first approach — the strictly linguistic one — must be postponed; at present I shall only offer a few outstanding examples of the in-

fluence of his Polish past, mainly through its literature, but I am equally concerned to show the similarity of mind and approach between Conrad and his Polish contemporaries, and even later writers. I do not think that this is superfluous, in the case of an English author such detail might be taken for granted, but Polish literature has been almost entirely inaccessible in Western Europe ever since the political eclipse of Poland rendered her historical background more peripheral than ever, and at the same time removed any of the normal incentives to the study of a subtle, highly inflected language already daunting to a Western learner. More serious still, this political twilight was responsible for the hermetic nature of much of the finest prose and poetry written in Poland during the 19th and 20th Century.[51]

Thus, the underlying theme of *Quo Vadis,* the confrontation of a highly despotic and grossly materialistic political structure by a small group of idealists, pariahs beneath contempt, yet overwhelming in the conviction of ultimate victory, was overlooked at the time by British readers, although the analogy seems obvious today, even without the addition of a Sarmatian, i.e. Polish heroine with an attendant who might have slouched out of Reymont's *Chłopi,* and an ambiguous Greek sceptic with the attributes of a Polish Jew. It is the confrontation of realism versus idealism which we will meet again. In this state of affairs Polish writers — and readers too — have made a virtue out of necessity. By nature a highly vocal outspoken set of people (if one may judge by the characters from a *Pan Wołodyjowski*) under political suppression, they have cultivated the 'niedomówienia' — the inference, the hint, the implication. It was employed in social life, in the cabaret, in newspapers — understood and enjoyed by the initiated, unsuspected or enigmatical among the outsiders, Polish readers became habituated to the hidden meaning, the undertone, and thus to writing at different levels of meaning; writers recognised the greater depth and subtlety that this method gave to their work. They exploited it, and perpetuated beyond the political context in which it originated; it has become the tone of the Polish mind — hence a Conrad. For Poles Conrad needs no explanation; he is clearly writing in an accepted well-defined Polish tradition.

Conrad himself had declared that the un-English features in his writing were simply "Polishness", pointing out at the same time that the Polish tradition was derived from France and Italy. He is in fact most emphatic about it on more than one occasion, parti-

[51] A few titles: *Konrad Wallenrod* (Mickiewicz), *Gloria Victis* and *Bene Nati* (Eliza Orzeszkowa), *Wizya* (Maria Konopnicka), *Teutonic Knights* (Henryk Sienkiewicz).

culiarly repudiating the influence from Russian authors. "The Polish genius . . . has always produced its best when in contact with Western thought. Italy, France, Germany, England and Spain have all played their part in its building . . ." [52]

This contact began in 966 AD when Poland was baptised and received into the Church of Rome; its allegiance was unshaken by the Reformation and even reaffirmed during later periods of persecution. Thus from the 10th Century Poland's culture was linked with the West, her religion with Rome, her literature with the classical tradition; even her Slavonic language shows Latin influence. In art and architecture perhaps Italy held a price of place — the result, i.a., of royal marriages with Italian princesses — and in literature also; Dante, Petrarch and Ariosto influenced Kochanowski [53] as much as did Ronsard and the Pleiade. The influence of France and of England has already been described in some detail in the section dealing with language. There may be other reasons for elusiveness in Conrad and other examples of it not necessarily shared with other Polish writers. In an earlier section mention was made of the use of French by Poles and particularly by Tadeusz Bobrowski in his letters to Conrad, — phrases often intended to be cutting or sarcastic or at least off-taking. A still more striking use of French was the letter already quoted in which Conrad expresses his sense of loss after Karol Zagórski's death. From these two instances we may be led to ask if it is not the case that we often use a foreign language (or a slang, e.g. comic Cockney or 'Souse') to say something we do not care to say in standard English? Sentimentality, assumption of intimacy, vulgar humour, bawdiness, exaggeration, unpalatable home-truths, — we get away with it either in the 'sub-language' of slang or in an actual foreign language. Quotations also serve this purpose.[54] In fact, we are using the 'sub-language' or the foreign tongue or the quotation as a mask. From behind this persona we can say things we might not dare to voice in the explicit language of everyday; things too emotional or too intimate to hear one's voice saying, like the extraordinary confidences that strangers will make during long train journeys or at uncanny moments of crisis.

In this light we might review the area of Conrad's French and perhaps even make some suggestions about his assumption of

[52] T. M. Filip (ed.) *A Polish Anthology* (1944), Introduction.

[53] Jan Kochanowski (1530-1584).

[54] A common language situation in Scotland; many Scots who have never spoken Scots in childhood will borrow in later life for clearly defined situations, e.g. speaking to small children or pet animals, or to social inferiors whom they imagine will be flattered by it.

English. It is possible to wonder if Conrad turned to French, as Cunninghame Graham said, in moments of emotion, but also with the object of distancing the emotion a degree or two from his daily self, or of veiling feelings, too personal, too poignant for ordinary speech. Again in Cunninghame Graham's letter of 8th February, 1899, when Conrad is unburdening some of his deepest and gloomiest convictions as well as his personal views on politics and 'progress', he does so in French.

It is a small step from this to ask if, consciously or not, Conrad wrote from 'behind' English, hiding himself behind his books, lurking behind his characters, like Almayer covering up Nina's footprints, like Heyst with his playful irony, like Decoud with his cynicism, even his taciturn and guarded Real.[55] It is a like of solution; one gains the ease of confession, of unburdening intolerable secrets, putting it firmly on some other Ancient Mariner's shoulders. Perhaps this is why people write fiction.

Whatever Conrad's reasons for writing (and he states more than once that it was primarily to earn his living), problems certainly arise from his choice of English as his literary medium;[56] these problems may be psychological or linguistic, personal or technical, theme and medium, meaning and form — the polarity can be expressed in various ways but each time we are implying that the life-experience and imagination of the man is in some way confronting the linguistic material and literary conventions and at the same time as closely interlocked with it as Jacob and the angel. We live largely through language; experience, which is memory, can only be fully explored through language — Proust's madeleine by itself is not enough. Conrad' decision to explore his memories through the English language involves the other two languages in which he had lived, most particularly his mother tongue and his Polish hinterland stretching behind him far into the past like the great Lithuanian forest no higher than a hedge that he describes in *Prince Roman.*

"Memory is a fugitive thing. It can be falsified, it can be effaced, it can be even doubted." [57] Although psychology has been invoked, there is no intention to plumb its more grisly depths. Doubtless Conrad was selective; some of his childhood experience may have been erased by the sheer oblivion of misery or come back piecemeal or transmogrified. "I cannot think about Poland too frequently — it's too painful, bitter, heart-breaking, I could not live if I did."

[55] Suicide, actual, attempted, or virtual, is associated with all four and from Tadeusz Bobrowski's correspondence (given in full by Zdzisław Najder) we know that Conrad himself attempted suicide.

[56] In spite of his claim that English had taken possession of *him.*

[57] *The Warrior's Soul.* Note the order of "even".

(Conrad in an interview with Marian Dąbrowski). That Conrad could still say these words — what he calls 'the intolerable reality of things' — when he was fifty years old shows how much he must have steeled himself to write *A Personal Record* and provides a clue to more than usual manipulation of chronological order (it cannot be called 'disregard'), and, especially in the "Lithuanian dog" episode, a certain serio-comic note, a mock heroic touch with an undertone, quite in the vein of Cervantes. It can be very exasperating, and Conrad's phrase, "the informal character of my recollections", is a splendid understatement.[58] But one can see the idea behind the piecemeal revelation of his days in exile in Russia with his parents, the 'intolerable reality' is introduced to the reader almost inadvertently; even the momentous first step towards novel-writing is interrupted by the natural train of thought leading to the child — Conrad's early reading — the Polish manuscript of his father's translation of *Two Gentlemen of Verona* — in Chernikhov; the contrast between the almost flippant scene in Bessborough Gardens and the grave picture of sad childhood is strangely reflected in some lines from the play that Conrad must have read that day: "The uncertain glory of an April day, Which now shows all the beauty of the sun, And by and by a cloud takes all away!" And at once he switches to his next meeting with the *Two Gentlemen* in a five-shillings one volume edition in Falmouth "to the noisy accompaniment of caulkers' mallets." [59] He speaks a little of his Father, especially as he learnt of him later from others than Tadeusz Bobrowski, much less about his mother. He states that he did not remember her clearly, although he was six when she died. Possibly it is true; it was "too painful, bitter, heart-breaking", and a memory can be mercifully effaced. In any case Conrad is emphatically not a man to botanise upon his mother's grave.[60] Graves have a special significance for Poles. Conrad read Słowacki at Chernikhov when he was very young,[61] and no doubt knew well his famous poem: "That Angel burning at my left side."

[58] As anyone knows who has tried to hunt down reference in *A Personal Record.*

[59] *A Personal Record,* p. 72.

[60] An interesting cross-reference appears in Cyprian Kamil Norwid's poem "Post-Scriptum"—"To jakby poszedł kto na grobie brata herborysować! zioła rwać! to tyle? [It's as if someone went to botanise on his brother's grave! to gather herbs! as if that was all?]. Norwid (1821-1883) went into voluntary exile from Poland, sojourned in Italy, England, North America, eventually settled in France. He knew English very well but in fact Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz (1757-1841) had already translated Dryden, Milton, Pope, Gray, Doctor Johnson, also Wordsworth. He read *Rasselas, The Rape of the Lock* in prison in a Russian fortress.

[61] 'I preferred Słowacki to Mickiewicz. Il est l'âme de toute la Pologne, lui'. Interview with Marian Dabrowski, 1914. Najder, p. 9.

" . . . With you where white seagulls are,
When hyenas howl in the wind
With you beneath the snow of a Siberian grave
There where you pasture your reindeer among the graves."

Most telling of all is perhaps the section of *Beniowski* beginning: "Dawna ojczyzna moja . . ."

My former country
Others can breathe flame of your future,
I your poor child, stand afraid,
For I know the weeping of your ancient graves."

The image of graves appears in *The Warrior's Soul,* that "long, long trail of frozen corpses, I had an actual vision of that trail: a pathetic multitude of small dark mounds stretching away under the moonlight in a clear, still and pitiless atmosphere — a sort of horrible peace." These are only a couple of innumerable references; perhaps the most famous occur in "Agamemnon's Tomb" (by Słowacki): "Such is then my fate — to sit on tombstones and look for griefs that are trivial, slight and frail; my fate to possess dream-kingdoms . . .". The image of graves appears again with considerable effect in *Almayer's Folly;* after Nina's departure Almayer sees the track of her footprints down to the edge of the sea and, under his new compulsion of "Forget!" determines to erase them: "He piled up small heaps of sand, leaving behind him a line of miniature graves right down to the water."

In offering these references to Polish literature I am not necessarily implying in every case that Conrad knew the works quoted, and, consciously or unconsciously, echoed them; in the case of Słowacki and Mickiewicz it is highly probable that he did so. I am concerned rather in drawing attention to features which Conrad shares with writers in Poland as a result of their common inheritance and turn of mind. In some cases these features are so generalised, so distributed over the works, that quotation is inappropriate and discussion has to be very lengthy and detailed; this is particularly the case with plot or theme. There is a recurring theme in Conrad, for instance, of retribution, the result of an overweening opinion of oneself, a lack of self-knowledge; in Almayer this is unrecognised to the end. In more developed and subtle characters like Jim, Moynihan, Heyst, even Peyrol, responsibility is accepted and there is atonement by sacrifice. The case mentioned obviously demand separate discussion — they are not carbon copies. There is only room to mention one point here; except for Heyst, there is a social responsibility towards society as well as a personal one; it is reinstatement in the framework of a society, — clearly defined.

Those brief conclusions, the last word spoken, by Marlowe or Davidson or the hunchback in *The Rover* — or by the author, — they recall the last lines of Mickiewicz's poem "To a Polish Mother.":

"For memorial, only the dry timber of his gallows,
For fame only the talk far into the night of his brother Poles."

This accords entirely with the Polish tradition; Bobrowski's letters (cf. Najder, letter of 9th Nov. 1891) bring it out very clearly; it is not merely an egotistical self-justification, it is a debt to society.

The Polish literary tradition has always been *engagé;* art for art's sake or as entertainment has seldom been important. In pre-partition days satire in the form of the 'fraszki', a sort of 'flyting' borrowed from Italy, and religious poetry were in vogue, as they were in France and Britain. After partitions the note becomes less personal, more social, as in Krasicki's *Fables,* modelled on La Fontaine, like this one, "Caged Birds":

'The young finch asked the old one why he wept:
'There's comfort in this cage where we are kept.'
'You who were born here may well think that's so
But I knew freedom once, and weep to know.'

The note of 'engagement' increases as the 1830 insurrection approaches. 'Polish poetry as it appears in the works of Mickiewicz, Garczyński, Zaleski, Goszczyński, Krasiński and others, ... is the only poetry which lives in the present and can therefore exercise an influence on the future'. This remarkable statement was made by Mazzini in a lengthy appreciation of Mickiewicz, — strangely prophetic too, for Mickiewicz and Słowacki (whom he does not mention), Krasiński, and Cyprian Norwid (scarcely published in his lifetime), still at the present day make an impact on the new generation. Here we meet at once a feature of Conrad's work, a profound preoccupation with the serious or rather the tragic nature of human life, profoundly ironic too. Undoubtedly, as Dr. Leavis says, the presence of a serious and moral tradition of novel-writing in England was of the greatest help to Conrad, but 'Conrad's ability to face the world as Greek tragedy had faced the world' [62] and to deprecate or pity the individual's search for 'Happiness' was established by his early life and early reading.

Not all the images of 'pauvre humanité' are so tragic as those of graves and retribution. Some are deeply ironic, and none the less painful for it. Parrots provide one of the most poignant evocations of Poland; I found at least eight references on Conrad starting with the magnificent bird in *Nostromo,* undoubtedly Conrad's King-

[62] Jan Lechoń, *Mickiewicz in World Literature.*

Parrot: "Viva Costaguana!", but long before Cyprian Norwid's

'painted parrots
On the ceiling from end to end,
From beak to beak, will shriek "Socialism!" '

A wonderful poem in the style of an early T.S. Eliot; the stanza begins,

"Today I must go to the Baroness,
Who receives one so very nicely,
Sitting on a satin-covered sofa . . ."

The Arrow of Gold provides an elegant fowl, not so politically minded:

"I am not your parrot"

"No . . . He was a charming, good-mannered bird, accustomed to the best society." [63] "Don Juan . . . He talked very much like a parrot . . . etc. etc." "I don't like parrot talk. It sounds so uncanny . . ." "Very much like parrots who also seem to know what they say." [64] The last phrase is echoed in "Well Done" (p. 259) from *Notes on Life and Letters* ". . . talking like a parrot which so often seems to understand what it says." Conrad must have been rather obsessed with parrots: Mencken is accused of parrot-talk,[65] via George Keating.

But the prototype, the Ur-parrot of them all is Słowacki's bitter gibe in "Agamemnon's Tomb": „Poland they only cheat you with tinsel!

You were the peacock of the nations—yes, and the parrot!
I tell you this from a sad heart—myself guilt-laden".

Although *Almayer's Folly* is unlikely to be anyone's favourite among the novels, it offers some very interesting themes, I do not know if anyone has noticed curious echoes of *King Lear* in it—the father-daughter theme of love turning to hatred and also the idea of madness—the cry of "not mad, not mad!"—Conrad has a number of father-daughter relationships. The best comment comes from Jan Kasprowicz (1860-1926), one of the finest modern Polish poets:

"Spłonąłem chucią do krwi mojej własnej
Do Matki mojej i do Córki mojej.
"I burnt with lust towards my own flesh and blood,—
For my mother and for my daughter".

[63] *Arrow of Gold*, Dent Uniform ed. p. 198.

[64] *ibid*, p. 200

[65] To George G. Keating, 14th Dec. 1922, *Life & Letters*. ii, p. 289.

Still in *Almayers Folly* the theme of remembering and forgetting, —"Ford, I cannot forget", "Tomorrow I shall forget", "The longed for oblivion", and "that particular fiend whose mission it is to jog the memories of men, lest they should forget the meaning of life. . ." Clearly a Polish fiend, for Słowacki longs for "the waters of Lethe that the wounds of his spirit should lose the memory of their pain",[66] but also mourns the loss of memories, "the pictures dreamy and dear". "If I forget you, O Poland, may my right hand lose its cunning! " (Litany of a Polish Child).

Deeply rooted in Conrad's past are the numerous references to dreams and dreamers, and their content in his own writing. Poland's history has driven her writers sometimes to escape from reality into dreams, sometimes to express reality symbolically through prophetic dreams. I shall curtail the Polish references as much as possible: Słowacki—"My heart has fallen asleep, yet it dreams—", "My fate is to possess dream-kingdoms", "the shadow of hope is like a dream".

But the most remarkable parallel comes from Stanisław Wyspiański (1869-1907) from *Wesele,* his finest play: the peasant bride describes her dream to the priest: "In a carriage of pure gold I met the devil, my dream. . . I dreamt I sat in the carriage—Śniło mi się że siedzę w karecie — tak romantyczne! " The devils are masked—but where are they taking her "To Poland! " "But where is that Poland I ask you, sir, do you know?" And the poet answers: "In a cage under your heart—that is your Poland". Conrad to Galsworthy,[67] "In 1874 I got into a train in Cracow (Vienna Express) on my way to the sea, as a man might get into a dream. And here is the dream going on still".

And in *Poland Revisited* (p. 198, Dent Uniform edition) the idea of visiting Poland is 'elusive like an enticing mirage', then it becomes "not a mere pays de rêve", Conrad, himself 'an habitual pursuer of dream' will revisit "the glimpses of old moons". And there is Peyrol in *The Rover,*—"Dream left astern. Dream straight ahead. . . Life was a dream less substantial than the vision of Ceylon lying like a cloud on the sea",—and that "grey-headed and foolish dreamer" Almayer, who announces his "dream of splendid future" on page one. Even Tadeusz Bobrowski—"I detect the dreamer! "—slating Conrad for following the Nałęcz propensity for dreams—"Your father was an idealistic dreamer"—even he begins to feel "one's whole power of resistance has become consumed in dream-

[66] Juliusz Słowacki, *Król-Duch* [King-Spirit], in Filip's *Anthology,* pp. 261 sq.

[67] To Galsworthy, 25 July 1914, *Life & Letters,* ii, p. 157.

ing". A final testimony comes from M. Gustave Kahn writing in the *Gil Blas;* he summed up Conrad's quality in the words 'un puissant rêveur'.

And the last—most quoted of all—Stein's "Follow the dream—and again follow the dream—usque ad finem!" A curious echo from the letters,—it is a synthesis of the dream of Apollo Korzeniowski with the pragmatical realism of Tadeusz Bobrowski. It is not inappropriate that Conrad uses the phrase in a letter to Bertrand Russell of 22nd December 1913.[68]

Another significant word is 'stone' — with associated words like 'stone-effigy', 'his stony immobility', like a carven-image, "his uncanny living statue manner", "like a white monument of stone" — all from *The Rover.*[69] In the same book there is even the polonism "he went to sleep like a stone" — "zasnął jak kamień", — whereas we sleep 'like a log'! The associations with stone etc. seem to be the negation of life and feeling, responsiveness, or in some cases there is a suggestion of repression, cruelty, tyranny: in other words, the grave and the prison — things never far apart in Poland. An anonymous Polish peasant song — enigmatical and sophisticated as they so often are — says, "A stone upon a stone and on those stones more stones and on the topmost stone another pile of stones", implying a grave, but Mickiewicz in *The Book of the Polish Pilgrimage* speaks of a prison, a Kafkaesque fortress, "of the great edifice of European politics there remains not one stone on another." The idea is found in "Ozymandias" too, and in "Hyperion" — perhaps it was the *Zeitgeist*? Słowacki also sees knightly figures of stone and, as a guardian of abandoned graves, he says, "so as not to sleep in the midst of delusions, like a crane I hold my heart in my hand . . . heart-stone . . . poor withered heart" — again the idea of the death of the heart.

One of the most interesting echoes, involving a well-known tradition in Poland occurs in *Notes on Life and Letters,* "Poland revisited", Conrad describes his misery on the day of his father's funeral: "There was nothing in my aching head but a few words: "It's done' or 'It's accomplished' (in Polish it is much shorter). Most probably he had in mind 'skończyło się!' or 'stało się', 'dokonało się' — it is like the words attributed to Kościuszko after his defeat at Maciejowice *Finis Poloniae*! — entirely apocryphal, according to historians, but now a piece of folklore. Słowacki uses it in *Beniowski* and follows it up with the phrase: "Niech się komedia gra!"

[68] Footnote, p. 36 in C. T. Watts (ed.) *Joseph Conrad's Letters to Cunninghame Graham* (1969).

[69] There are similar references in *Almayer's Folly.*

— "On with the motley!" Conrad in his letter of 1905 to Cunninghame-Graham [70] throws in the final phrase of *Pagliacci*: Finita la commedia!

M. Jean-Aubry has already noted the resemblance between the inscription in Conrad's own hand on the back of a photograph: "To my beloved Grandma... grandson, Pole, Catholic, nobleman, 6 July 1863 — Konrad", and the selfdescription of J.M.K. Blunt in *The Arrow of Gold*, — American, Catholic, and gentleman: in Polish it is simply a statement of fact, a definition of recognised status. The phrase rings oddly from an American, but Conrad may have thought it appropriate to a Southerner rather reminiscent of the strange Grangerfords in *Huckleberry Finn*.

There are passages too throughout *Youth* which recall Mickiewicz, especially "Ode to Youth", written at the age of twenty-two:

> "Youth, give me wings!
> Let me soar above a dead world
> To the heavenly land of illusions,
> Where enthusiasm works miracles,
> Strews the flowers of new things
> And clothes hope in golden pictures",

— a passage very likely to have been committed to memory by Conrad as a child.[71]

Up to now the examples I have given of Polish influence on Conrad's life and works have been short, fairly specific, and visible on the surface. But there are influences wider and deeper, with more subtle effects on the personality, which cannot be contained in quotation marks: they are like a great underground river pouring through a wide lake, its course marked only by the darker blue and icier chill of its current. Such influences are dangerous too, even fatal sometimes to peace of mind. Throughout all his life Conrad felt the tug of his aristocratic antecedents and the demand of their standards; in the words of Saint Jêrome, 'Dip your wool but once in the purple and your shall never clear it of the dye'. One of these traditions was loyalty, unswerving loyalty to a cause, unquestioning loyalty to comrades, and complete faith in an ideal; anything else was a living death. This theme, and its relevance to Conrad's novels has been a subject of comment for many critics, but is too wide a subject to discuss in detail here. It is closely linked to its opposite, betrayal; the sequence is loyalty to an ideal, weakness and failure,

[70] *Life & Letters*, ii, p. 12.

[71] Also from Stefan Żeromski, *Słowo o Bandosie:* "Youth! You heir to all things! You generation that is bringing forth the future Spring! . . . Rivet on your armour, young soul!".

betrayal, shame and despair, atonement, death. There are many parallels in Polish literature: the story of Soplica-Robak in *Pan Tadeusz* (Mickiewicz), with its note of redemption, is an obvious one, Sienkiewicz, too, in *Quo Vadis* shows the sophisticated Greek cynic dying for Christianity from a revulsion of shame for the materialistic alternative. Materialism and selfishness are the opponents and individualism too has its dark side — "in the joy of all are hopes of all, . . . the nectar of life is only sweet when it is shared with others" [72] (Mickiewicz, "Ode to Youth"). Dr Leavis expresses it very well when he speaks of Conrad" awareness of the sense in which reality is social."[73] This sense of responsibility to, and participation in, society is a particular feature of the Polish 'Romantic' poets; one is reminded of Sir Walter Scott, the sense of tradition (so like Mickiewicz), the sense of *society* and its claims, as much as the picturesque individual, — and of Dionysios Solomos, mentioned earlier, seeking his roots in his past. Landscape, too, in Polish literature participates in the theme, it is not mere decoration for sensibility, it is dynamic as it is in the best of Conrad. So it was for Scott or Solomos. The whole subject would require separate treatment, but it is rather surprising that among Conrad's contemporaries Thomas Hardy's name has never, to my knowledge, been linked with Conrad's; he too has the sense of landscape both as a formative influence on the living and as a constant reminder of the past; he has the pessimism too.

The last point I want to take up involves the Bobrowski-Conrad correspondence, the realism of Tadeusz Bobrowski ranged against the idealism of Apollo Korzeniowski, the wavering of Conrad between the two, and, I think, the final resolution in *Victory*.

Many writers have seen in Heyst some features of Conrad himself, his unfailing polished courtesy, his sense of the isolation in which an individual can exist even among others, the impossibility of communicating completely with them — except in wild dashes of French — and even Karol Zagórski might not have been his 'secret sharer' if he had met him again. Now Zdzisław Najder has put at our disposal Tadeusz Bobrowski's correspondence with his nephew.[74] From a study of it I should like to suggest that, with modifications, Tadeusz Bobrowski was playing very much the part of the Elder Heyst to Conrad. There is no doubt (the information again comes from Najder), that Tadeusz Bobrowski did denigrate Apollo Korzeniowski to his son; that is to say he represented him in the most un-

[72] So that Decoud could not live even for a few days on a desert island.

[73] F. R. Leavis *The Great Tradition* (1948) p. 230.

[74] In *Conrad's Polish Background*, OUP (1964).

pleasant light as a selfish and conceited would-be prophet and saviour — (I cannot take any other meaning from the letter of 9th November, 1891) — who sacrificed his family to his own vain-glory. In his Memoirs, too, Bobrowski 're-writes' the facts about his brother, Stefan, — conceivably with the desire to whitewash the family with the Russian authorities. I shall give here only a few of Tadeusz Bobrowski's more waspish remarks!

Sept. 1876 — 'the Korzeniowski family — not like your dear mother — do you need a nanny'

Aug. 1877 — 'a descendant of the excellent family of Nałęcz.'

July 1878 — "Idling', 'debt', 'the fantasies of a hobbledehoy', 'commit no more stupidities', 'don't pretend to be a rich young gentleman.'

May 1880 — 'You would not be a Nałęcz if you were steady in your enterprises.' 'You must not believe in either good or bad luck', 'childish dreaming', 'a product of our epoch whose only slogan is "enjoyment", 'You! — a Nałęcz!'

Aug. 1881 — 'Your Grandfather squandered all his property, your Uncle died heavily in debt'.

Nov. 1891 — 'Certainly humanity has a lesser need of producing geniuses than of the already existing modest and conscientious workers who fulfil their duties...' 'We are a collection of proclaimed and generally unrecognised celebrities — whom no one knows, no one acknowledges, and no one ever will! ...' 'the "quasi" intelligentsia the members of which are mainly concerned with enjoying life and not with its duties.'

One can hardly avoid the conclusion that Tadeusz Bobrowski wanted to attach his nephew to himself (by paying his debts and generally assisting him), and at the same time to mould him according to his own principles in life; it is difficult not to feel that he wanted also to detach Conrad from memories of his own father (whom as a child he adored). Perhaps Bobrowski's motive was his bitter grief over the death in exile of his sister, Conrad's mother, perhaps it was jealousy of Apollo Korzeniowski — remember that funeral cortege in Cracow, the streets lined with workers and students—nobody would ever give Bobrowski a send-off like that.[75] Still, the affection between the uncle and the nephew was very real and no doubt very valuable for both of them; Bobrowski was a childless widower and Conrad needed support. But the constant iteration (I have only quoted a few items) of pessimism, cynicism,

[75] There was also a radical difference in politics: Apollo was a "socialist", a thing abominated by Bobrowski and not at all liked in later years by Conrad himself.

disillusionment — it is all there, with the addition of a most pragmatical materialism.

"Give me the first seven years of a child's life" — that is supposed to be the Jesuit's boast — "and I will make him mine!" Well, Conrad's first seven years and more (he was eleven when Apollo died) were his father's and his father's books' — and Conrad was a precocious reader. But still — there were Uncle Tadeusz's letters. From them came perhaps Decoud's cynicism, Heyst's scepticism — and Conrad's, too, — and that irritating light playful tone of voice. Conrad's tragic childhood alone would explain his pessimism, although a sense of heroism might have redeemed it, but Bobrowski systematically denigrated the heroism: "They fool you with tinsel", he might have said. But Conrad was 'un puissant rêveur', nothing could check his dreams although he learned to distrust them as illusions — not to follow them 'usque ad finem'. But the books were there — 'my father made me read aloud *Pan Tadeusz*. Many times. . . . Later I preferred Słowacki. . . . Il est l'âme de toute Pologne, lui.'

In the house at 136 Poselska Street in Cracow — 'a large drawing-room, panelled and bare . . .' 'there were many books lying about, lying on consoles, on tables and even on the floor . . . in a little oasis of light made by two candles in a desert of dusk . . . I read! What did I not read!' [76]

The boy who read remained a Nałęcz. Fifty-five years later he arranged for the Nałęcz coat-of-arms to be embossed on the cover of the latest edition of his books. 'It is important that the drawings should be detailed and clearly reproduced.' [77]

[76] From *A Personal Record.*

[77] To Aniela Zagórska, 7th March, 1923. Najder, p. 288.

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OBER OST LAND: LUDENDORFF'S "ANOTHER KINGDOM" (1915-1918)

(A chapter from history of the territories between Germany and Russia during the First World War).

The offensive of the Central Powers on the Eastern front in the summer of 1915 was spectacular; German troops entered Warsaw on August 5, Kovno on August 17, Grodno on September 2, and Wilno on September 18. Having recovered Lwów on June 22, the Austrians entered Lublin on July 25, and on August 5 captured the Russian fortress "Ivangorod" (Dęblin) that protected Warsaw from the south, and then advanced into Volhynia.

By the end of autumn of 1915, about 250.000 klm.^{2} of former Polish Commonwealth territory, acquired by Russia in 1792, 1795, and 1815, had been occupied. The conquerors entrenched themselves on a line roughly corresponding to the Commonwealth eastern frontier after its second partition in 1792, running along the river Dvina, south of Riga and west of Dvinsk, then to the south, west of Minsk, as far as Pinsk and the river Pripet' in the Polesie marshes, and further south through Łuck and Dubno. They maintained this line for over two years before starting their new advance eastward in 1917-1918.

At a conference in Berlin on August 12-15, 1915, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, Stephan Burian, and German Chancellor Theobald Bethmann-Hollweg, discussed the new situation and reached few practical decisions of only interim character. The Austrian request for a condominium in Warsaw was declined, and it was decided that the former so-called "Congress Kingdom", except the Suwałki and Chełm *gubernias,* should be considered a separate political entity, although divided into German and Austrian zones of occupation. It was also decided that the provisional régime must be "thoroughly friendly and conciliatory" * and both administra-

* Burian, *Austria in Dissolution,* London 1925, p. 86.

tions should aim at gaining the sympathy of the native population without predeterminating their political future.

On August 24, 1915, *Grundzüge für die Geschäftsführung im Generalgouvernement Warschau* (Principles of the Administration of the Warsaw General Government) were issued in Berlin, and a distinguished General-Engineer, famous for the capture of Antwerpen, Brussels and "Novo-Georgievsk" (Modlin), Hans Hartwig von Beseler, was named General Governor. As a kind of Viceroy, he was directly responsible to the Emperor and therefore exempt from the authority of the Supreme Commander in the East**

Emperor Wilhelm's decision on the formation of the Warsaw General Government did not preclude on ultimate solution to the Polish question, but its exemption from the authority of the Supreme Commander in the East presaged special treatment of Poland. This decision was suggested to the Emperor by the Chief of the General Staff of the Field Army, General Erich v. Falkenhayn, without prior consultation with the Commanders in the East, who considered this a personal outrage. Under the date of August 25, 1915, Max Hoffmann noted in his *War Diaries*:

> "We are more and more annoyed with GHQ. As a memento, apparently, of the anniversary of Hindenburg's appointment in the East, they have deliberately taken Poland from us and put it under a Governor-General at Warsaw directly responsible to H.M. So the Field-Marshal has asked to be allowed to alter his title of C-in-C "East" as this designation had been for some little time painfully ironical." [1]

H. J. v. Brockhusen, Hindenburg's son-in-law attached to his staff, reminisced that

> "Father Hindenburg felt all this rather deeply. Ludendorff formally foamed with rage. He considered all this as a personal offense." [2]

On August 27, 1915, in a bitter letter to the Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs, Arthur Zimmermann, Ludendorff wrote:

"Since Poland has been taken from me, I must establish for

** *Sechzig Jahre Politik und Gesellschaft* von Bogdan Graf von Hutten Czapski, Berlin 1936, vol. 2, pp. 242-3.

[1] M. Hoffman, *War Diaries*, vol. 1, London, 1929, pp. 76-7.

[2] H. J. von Brockhusen-Justin, *Der Weltkrieg und ein schlichtes Menschenleben* (The World War and a Common Man's Life), p.75. (Quoted by W. Conze, *Polnische Nation and Deutsche Politik* 1958, p. 87).

myself another Kingdom in Courland and Lithuania. Only give me the political directives." [3]

Ludendorff's request could hardly be granted, because the Berlin Government still had no determined policy with regard to Germany's war aims in general, and the territories occupied in the East in particular. Ostensibly, Germany had no rapacious intentions. "No lust of conquest drives us on," the German Emperor stated in a speech from the throne on August 4, 1914.[4] In the first weeks of the war, the wide-spread abhorence of increasing the number of Poles in Germany [5] led to the idea of a Polish State, stretching far to the east and serving both as a buffer against the Russian giant and "a reservation" for the non-assimilable Poles. On the other hand, numerous partisans of a separate peace with Russia were ready to return her Polish provinces to her.[6] However Russian obstinacy in refusing to enter into any negotiations made the latter policy obsolete. Meanwhile the number of people pleading for a radical "improvement" of the eastern frontier of Germany was growing. They suggested avoiding the increase of non-Germans within the German borders by a similar method as was planned with regard

[3] H. Delbrück, *Ludendorff's Selbstporträt* (Ludendorff's Portrait by Himself), Berlin, 1922, p.70. Zimmermann was considered "the strong man" in the German F.O.; in the autumn of 1916 he became Minister, after Jagow, and was replaced by Kühlmann in July 1917.

[4] R. H. Lutz, *Fall of the German Empire*, Stanford, 1932, vol. 1, p. 8.

[5] According to Fritz Fischer, *Germany's Aims in the First World War*, London, 1967, pp. 202-3, in a long memorandum on the Polish question of September 2, 1915, Jagow expressed opinion that "the annexation of Poland would be a national disaster, since it would bring millions of alien subjects into the German state". The leader of the German Progressive Party Georg Gothein, wrote in a post-war booklet *Warum verloren wir den Krieg?* (Why Did We Lose the War?), 2 ed. Berlin 1920, p. 183: „Für Preussen-Deutschland ... musste ... der Zuwachs von mehrenen Millionen Polen als nationales Unglück erscheinen".

[6] On October 29, 1914, in an extensive Memorandum on the War Aims, published in *Die Ursachen des Deutschen Zusammenbruches im Jahre 1918* (The Causes of German Collapse in 1918), vol 12, part 1, enclosure 11, the Prussian Minister of Interior, von Loebell, pleaded against the continuation of war against Russia until the last drop of blood is shed *(bis zum Weissbluten)* and for an "honourable peace " with Russia *(ehrenvollen Frieden mit Russland)*. In his opinion, there was "absolutely no proof that the buffer- or in-between states are more convenient and less dangerous for us than the Russian Great Power". "The truth is that Russia by no means was an unbearable neighbour; on the contrary, in our most difficult situations, she was as convenient as possible *(denkbar bequem)*". Stressing that, except some improvement of defence of East Prussia's frontier on the rivers Niemen and Narew, Germany had no real need of Russian pre-war territory, Loebell believed that "not sympathy but a healthy interest demands possibly sparing Russia at the conclusion of peace". (pp. 190-1).

to the Poles in the Old Country — by transfering them into the planned "reservation." [7]

In fact, since the very beginning of the war, far-reaching and detailed, although rather fantastic, annexationist programs were advocated by German extreme Right-wing political groups.

A. Bartels' (Deutschvölkischer Movement) Annexationist Plan:

On August 6-9, 1914, a German poet, author of historical novels and dramas, and historian of literature, Adolf Bartels, wrote a "political memorandum" entitled: *The Price of Victory: A German West Russia.* He was a very "modern German" who believed that "the struggle is on the basis of life," that all nations are incessantly fighting with each other for reciprocal extermination, and that in relations among the States there is no right or wrong but only strength and weakness. He thought that in the modern world Germans were standing before the question: "To be or not to be," and the only possibility for their survival was the acquisition of the area which he called "West Russia" and which, in fact, was the old Polish Commonwealth.

> "We can do nothing less but take the land up to Dvina and Dnepr," he wrote. "We need all the land up to the Dvina and Dnepr, and up to the Black Sea; we must push Russia to Asia and set up the possibility of a German State a hundred million strong." [8]

The fact that this territory was populated by over thirty million non-Germans did not discourage Bartels. He would prefer to take "the land without population",[9] but did not plead for mass extermination. He was partisan of the "organized migration of nations" and thought that all Russians, Belorussians and Littlerussians (Ukrainians), "some ten to twelve million, perhaps even more," should

[7] According to a notice of German Undersecretary of Interior, v. Lewald, published by H. Lemke in *Jahrbuch für Geschichte der UdSSR*, vol. 3, 1959, pp. 245-6, a Polish deputy to the *Reichstag* from Silesia, W. Korfanty, said as early as September 24, 1914, that if the borders of the future Polish state were drawn not "too narrowly" and Wilno, Grodno and Minsk gubernias were included into it, "a considerable part of the Polish population in Prussia" could be moved there, and this would be the best solution of the Polish question in Prussia. In early 1916 G. Gothein envisaged the planned Polish state as a reservation for all non-assimilable elements from the conquered area. He exposed his ideas in a booklet *Das selbstständige Polen als Nationalitätenstaat* (Independent Poland as a State of Nationalities), Stuttgart, 1917.

[8] *Der Siegespreiss (Westrussland deutsch).* Eine politische Denkschrift von Adolf Bartels, Weimar 1914, p. 16.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

be moved to Asiatic Russia "which is big enough for them to establish their new native land." [10]

Some four million Jews were also to be removed from the area to be conquered, possibly to Turkey. Half jokingly half seriously, Bartels suggested twice in his "memorandum" to gather all the Jews in Odessa, load them on ships and send them to the not far-away Palestine, the place of their craving. He expressed hope that, in return "for the needed millions", the "Young-Turkish-Jewish rulers of that time could be persuaded to accept them in their empire.[11]

Bartels did not plan the compulsory removal of the rest of the native population but differentiated them according to their nationality, when detailing their possible future. He started with the Poles whose total number he evaluated at around eight million in Russia. some three-and-a-half million in Germany, and four-and-a-half million in Austria.

> "It goes without saying," he wrote, "that we could never think about once more giving full state-sovereignty to the Poles;" "... an independent united Polish State will always be dangerous to Germanism (*Deutschtum*)," and "in particular, a big Polish State would present the greatest handicap for our new tasks." However, Bartels added, "we do not need at all to think about doing away with the Polonism (*Polentum*). Although they are Slavs and not too likeable from many points of view, they opposed Russianism and Panslavism, and we may leave them their nationality (*Volkstum*)" under the condition that they accept the "New Order" (*Neugestaltung der Dinge*) and would be satisfied with the possibility of a "cultural life" (*Kulturleben*) under it.[12]

In Bartels' opinion, a Polish Protectorat (*Schutzstaat*), fully encircled by German or "strongly Germanized" territories, and colonized to some extent by German peasants, would be bearable for victorious Germany even without wholesale Germanization. It would be composed of the nine "Vistula gubernias" (without Suwalki which Bartels proposed annexing directly to East Prussia), with some nine-and-a-half million inhabitants. Its King should be a young Saxonian Prince of the Wettin House who would rule it "for decades" as a dictator (*durchaus absolutisch*), discriminating in favour of the peasantry. During that time, the Polish peasants would become accustomed to German rule, while the aristocracy would

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 27 and 23.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 5 and 27-8.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

be made powerless in consequence of radical land reform, and the town population "strictly supervised." [13]

The problem of the smaller nations: Ests, Letts and Lithuanians, evaluated by Bartels at about three million in total, was easier than that of the Poles. Bartels believed that all these peoples would only profit by merging into Germany, and that a clever policy could ultimately induce them to understand this. Protestantism, dominant among the Ests and Letts, could also be used for the sake of Germanism. Thus, Bartels suggested forming three different political entities in these regions. In the Grand Duchy of Livland, composed of former Estland and Livland gubernais with about two million inhabitants, a Hohenzollern Prince, established in Riga, would be assisted by a kind of House of Lords, composed of the local German aristocracy, and would have at his disposal a small army composed of Germans, Ests and Letts. After an interim period, a similar situation could be achieved in the Duchy of Courland, composed of the former Courland and Kovno gubernias, with some two-and-a-quarter million inhabitants and a Duke of the Schleswig-Hollstein House.[14]

The Russian gubernias of Wilno, Grodno and Mińsk would form, according to Bartels' scheme, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with a regular population of over five million, mostly Belorussians who were to be ultimately removed to the east. In this "State" colonization and Germanization would be developing in "the most intensive and ruthless way", and it should be left for the longest time under military rule, with a very German-minded and strong Grand Duke, whom the Bavarian House of Wittelsbach could possibly provide. Bartels suggested that a fifth "State" under German protection and with a Prince from the former Kur-Hessian House be established in Volhynia, where the general situation would be similar to that of "Lithuania". Farther to the south up to the Black Sea, he proposed formation of three more Buffer-states: Podolia, Kiev and Kherson, under Austrian protection and with princes from the Habsburg House. He believed that all these "south-Russian states" should be left under military rule "for a very long time" in order to create German predominance there by methods similar to those suggested for the "Grand Duchy of Lithuania".[15]

While admitting that the ultimate assimilation of the conquered area would take several generations, Bartels pleaded that "the German work of civilization" be started immediately, even during the

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 26 and 31-2.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 31-2.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

war.[16] The military men were to play the most important part in it. Like their Teutonic ancestors, German soldiers should not limit themselves to fighting and stronghold building in the East. They should also "till the soil, build railways", and do any other "work of civilization." The Germanization (*Eindeutschung*) would follow them by itself. All schools and other cultural institutions should be immediately placed under German management. Throughout the whole conquered area, German must become an alternative tongue, and it should be taught to the children from the very first grade of primary school.[17]

In a book published in 1965, Gert Linde affirmed that Bartels' "memorandum" was privately printed as a manuscript and was not generally available for the public. The copy preserved at Hoover Library seems to contradict this assertion. Its price "60 pfenigs" is explicitly marked on the title page, as well as a publicity notice that it is the second thousand printing. It was published in Weimar by the *Deutschvölkischer* publishing and printing house of F. Roltsch, and Bartels' Preface was dated in Weimar on August 20, 1914. It seems, in fact, that the author of the pamphlet was a mouthpiece for the *Deutschvölkischer* movement, which was explicitly mentioned on pages 38 and 41.[18] This strongly anti-Semitic movement, a predecessor of the future *Nazism*, was rather insignificant in 1914, and its "memorandum", published in a couple of thousand copies in a provincial town, did not gain notoriety. The author himself considered it rather controversial and said, in a hypothetical discussion with a "Skeptic", which concluded the pamphlet, that if it is not effective today, it will be effective in the future:

> "I still believe in the power of ideas. The German youth that is taking part in this war, will carry into effect the thoughts which are obviously inherent in this print and which they will find in it when the revenge war with France and Russia comes in 20 or 30 years from now. . ." [19]

[16] In 1914 Bartels foresaw a possibility that, because of a probable revolution in Russia and the fall of Czardom, a formal peace treaty would not be concluded and the German rights to the occupied former Russian territories would be based on the principle: "We are here, and we will stay here". *Ibid.* p. 20.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 21 and 36.

[18] G. Linde, *Die deutsche Politik in Litauen im ersten Weltkrieg* (German Policy in Lithuania during the First World War), Münster 1965, p. 16; on p. 23 the author abstracted the official *Deutschvölkische Forderungen* (Requests) which were, in fact, identical with those of Bartels.

[19] Bartels, p. 41.

H. v. Class' (All-German Union) plan:

Unlike the *Deutschvölkischer,* the All-German Union (*Alldeutscher Verband*) was a very influential political organization in prewar Germany, and its Memorandum on the War Aims, signed by its Chairman, Heinrich v. Class, an attorney and *Justitzrat* at Mainz on the Rhein, had a considerable response. It was the result of discussions at several All-German meetings since the beginning of the war, was privately and rather expensively printed "as a manuscript" in December, 1914, and sent unsolicited to about two thousand outstanding personalities, the Chancellor and many other high officials and officers included. It was not limited to the problem of Russia but treated the general "National, Economic, and Socio-political Aims of the German People in the Present War" on all its fronts.

With regard to the East, Class' Memorandum was seemingly more moderate than Bartels' pamphlet, while sharing its main thesis that:

> "Russia's face must be forcibly turned back to the east, and her frontiers reduced, approximately, to those of Peter the Great." [20]

Instead of 22 gubernias with some 30-40 million inhabitants demanded by Bartels, Class claimed for Germany only three Baltic gubernias and a "safe" "landbridge" connecting them with the Old Country, in total some seven gubernias, populated by seven million at the end of the 19th century. In addition to annexing Estland, Livland and Courland, Kovno, Wilno and Suwałki gubernias were considered as the "landbridge" and parts of Pskov and Vitebsk gubernias were claimed in order to provide Germany with a "natural" frontier with Russia, running across the lakes and along the rivers.[21]

While fully accepting the plan of establishing a Polish State, either independent or—rather—united with Austria-Hungary, Class demanded a proper "rectification" for Germany's benefit of its western and northern frontiers, but was ready to include into it not only the rest of the nine "Vistula gubernias" (except Suwałki), but also Grodno, Mińsk and a part of Mohylev gubernias up to the river Dnepr. The area south of the Polesie marshes was beyond direct German interests, according to Class. As in the north, he postulated there a Russian frontier pushed back to that of the pre-Peter time,

[20] Als Handschrift gedruckt. *Denkschrift betreffend die national-, wirtschaft und sozialpolitische Ziele des deutschen Volkes im gegenwärtigen Kriege* von Heinrich Class (no place or date of the publication), p. 38.

[21] *Ibid.,* pp. 39-40.

but left to Austria the practical solution of the most difficult Ukrainian problems.[22]

Except Poland, Class did not suggest formation of any Buffer-state in the occupied territories, but their direct annexation by Prussia. He advocated their wholesale Germanization, and divided their regular inhabitants into three groups. He suggested removing the Russians and the Poles to their respective States in exchange for the Germans who used to live there. He believed that the Lithuanians with whom the Poles had been united for several centuries, would be also accepted in the Polish State and settled down in Mińsk gubernia. For the Ests and the Letts, Class gave a choice either to leave for Russia immediately or to remain for a quarter of a century in their old places as aliens with no political rights, and then to be compulsorily removed if not assimilated. A third group, the Jews, presented particular difficulty. According to Class, they could by no means remain in the territories annexed by Prussia because of their economic and cultural level, and should be removed either to Russia or to Palestine. However, to make the first alternative possible, Germany would have to force Russia to abolish all her anti-Jewish laws and regulations. If friendly Turkey could be persuaded to establish a "national Jewish State" under Turkish sovereignty in Palestine, the second alternative would become possible and, at the same time, the general Jewish problem in Europe would be solved.[23]

The German Government's attitude: Schwerin's and Sering's reports:

Even if the German Government were not too unsympathetic to the prospect of territorial acquisitions in the East, as long as the war was not definitely won or the separate peace with Russia excluded, they considered it inopportune either to accept any annexationist programme or even make it public. Thus, when, in December, 1914, 1,950 copies of the All-German Memorandum reached their addressees, the Government opposed its further distribution and formally prohibited public discussion of the war aims.[24] However, the ideas of annexation were endorsed by the leading German industrialists, Krupp and Stinnes included, and they were seconded and further developed in memoranda of economic associations in

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39 and 42.

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 46-50 and 64-5.

[24] In his reminiscences *Wider den Strom* (Against the Stream), Leipzig 1932, pp. 343 ff., Class reported on the origin of the All-German Memorandum, its seizure by military authorities and the following dispute with the Government on its release.

March and May, 1915, followed in July by the so-called "Intellectuals' Address" signed by 1,347 persons. On the other hand, a "liberal" address, delivered to the Chancellor on July 27, 1915, and signed by 140 scholars and social workers, objected to "the incorporation or association (*Angliederung*) of independent peoples accustomed to independence." [25]

According to Franz Fischer, Bethmann Hollweg's attitude in the face of rather excited public opinion was "cool and reserved." [26] Without showing any preference, he continued his policy of keeping all doors open for a move in any direction. However, not later than January 1915, he commissioned a vigorous advocate of the policy of annexations and colonization, Friedrich v. Schwerin, *Regierungspräsident* in Frankfurt on Oder and Chairman of the Association for Promoting the Internal Colonization, to work out the details of such a policy. The wealth of materials in Schwerin's confidential memorandum of March 25, 1915, made him one of the most influential Government advisers. On July 13, 1915, a special conference at the Imperial Chancellery debated the problems of annexation and colonization of the Polish "frontier strip" and of Courland and Lithuania and, without reaching final decisions, recommended the continuation of detailed studies of these problems.[27]

In early August, 1915, Major von Gossler, a conservative deputy to the *Reichstag* and a former Prussian *Landrat*, and Lieutenant-Colonel Prince Joseph von Isenburg-Birnstein, a Roman Catholic, a son of an Austrian Archduchess and a cousin of the Bavarian King, were nominated Chief Administrators of Courland and Lithuania respectively,[28] and in September, 1915, another trusted

[25] See S. Grumbach, *Das annexionistische Deutschland*, Lausanne 1917, pp. 124 ff. and 409 ff.; an abbreviated English edition, *Germany's Annexationist Aims*, London 1917, pp. 171ff.; Lutz, vol. 1, pp. 311-320; Fr. Fischer, pp. 167-172.

[26] Fr. Fischer p. 171 and chapter 6 "The War Aims Policy of the Reich's Leaders", pp. 184 ff.; on the origin of the Government's war aims in the east see also E. Volkmann's study in the *Ursachen*, vol. 12, part 1, pp. 42-7.

[27] Fr. Fischer, pp. 116-17 and 273-5. I. Geiss' study on the *Polish Frontier Strip* in Germany (1960) and (enlarged) Polish edition, *Tzw. Polski Pas Graniczny*, Warsaw 1964, pp. 127-51.

[28] Gossler went to Courland's capital city Mitau (Yelgava), while Isenburg first established his offices in Tilsit, East Prussia, and administered only the northern part of Kovno gubernia (ca 15.000 sq. klm.), occupied by the „Niemen" (8th) Army. The territories occupied by other German Armies: 10th, 12th and 9th, including the southern and eastern parts of Kovno gubernia and the city of Kovno itself, at first were beyond Isenburg's authority and had their own Chief Administrators: Rüdiger v. Haugwitz (Suwałki—ca, 14.100 sq. klm) and v. Beckerath (Wilno—ca 12.500 sq. klm.) in the area of lines-of-communication of the 10th Army; Theodor v. Heppe (Grodno) in the area of the 12th Army; and v. Bockelberg (Białystok) in the area of the 9th Army—*Bericht über die Einrichtung und Fortentwickelung der Verwaltung Wilna für die Zeit bis Ende 1915* (Report on the Formation and Progress of the Wilno Administration until the end of 1915), p. 3; *4. Verwaltungsbericht der Verwaltung Suwalki* (Suwałki Ad-

adviser of the Chancellor and of Foreign Minister, v. Jagow, the *Geheimrat* Max Sering, Professor of Agronomics at Berlin University, was sent into the occupied areas for further economic and political studies.

Sering's substantial report was fully in line with the memoranda of Class and Schwerin.[29] It rejected implicitly the alternative of a compromise peace with Russia, and set up as the German political and strategic goal pushing the Russian western frontier to the line of lakes Peipus and Pskov, along the rivers Drissa and Dvina, and up to the city of Rovne (Równe) and the river Zbruch (Zbrucz). The huge area of some 160 thousand square miles, equal to 4/5 of Germany and populated by 24 million-odd people, was to be separated from Russia and either directly annexed by or "associated" to Germany or Austria-Hungary, or form buffer states linked with them.

Sering considered the Baltic provinces the most suitable for immediate direct annexation. He sketched in his report Courland's history and her present political, economic and cultural situation, stressing the German ascendency established there long ago. Even before the war Courland was not too densely populated (25-32 persons per square kilometre), and the war's mass evacuation made it "a land without people." [30] The German estate-owners would welcome the distribution of a part of their estates among the imported German peasants whose birth-rate was the highest in Europe or even in the world, and reached up to 72 per thousand, while the birth-

ministration's Fourth Report) pp. 3 and 7-8; *Amtsblatt für den Verwaltungsbezirk der Etappe der 9. Armee (Bialystok).* (Official Gazette of the Administrative Region of the Lines-of-Communication of the Ninth Army in Białystok), No. 1 of December 17, 1915.

On April 9, 1916, an Ober Ost order, signed by Ludendorff, moved Isenburg's offices from Tilsit to Kovno and extended his authority on the whole occupied Kovno gubernia (ca 33.900 sq. klm), as from May 1, 1916—*Gazette*, No. 20 of April 14, 1916, Zif. 152.

[29] Sering's September, 1915, report was summarized by Fr. Fischer, pp. 274-5, and published in Polish translation in a Warsaw underground publication *Z Dokumentów Chwili* (Out of the Documents of the Moment), No. 15 of January 16, 1917, pp. 37-57.

[30] It was estimated that out of about 800.000 pre-war Courland' population 570.000 were evacuated to Russia, of whom ca. 500.000 were Letts (Jomsburg). *Völker and Staaten im Osten und Norden Europas.* Berlin-Leipzig, vol. V, 1941, p. 390 f.n. 5. According to an official publication *Gliederung und Namenliste der militärischen Landesverwaltung des Oberbefehlshabers Ost*, (Roster of the Military Administration of the Territory of the C-in-C in the East), prepared in July 1917, by the Fifth Department of the Ober Ost Staff, pp. 13 and 19-23, the average density of population in Courland was 14.2 persons per square kilometre, and it was less than ten in five out of eight rural districts; see also *Das Land der Ober Ost*, Stuttgart and Berlin 1917, pp. 90 and 431.

rate of the native Lett peasants was only 20.9 per thousand. Final Sering's conclusion was that after direct annexation

> "a determined policy would make Courland into a possession entirely homogeneous with the Old Country within two or three generations."

Believing that the situation in Livland and Estland was similar to that of Courland and that they also could be thoroughly Germanized in a relatively short time and at not too excessive costs, Sering pleaded in the conclusion of his report for possibly prompt occupation of those provinces and their direct annexation after the war was over.

According to Sering's report, the situation in Lithuania differed from that in the Baltic provinces.[31] Great historical traditions of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy were still vivid among her population, her higher classes were not German, and she was at least twice as densely populated as Courland.[32] Despite these handicaps, Sering advocated immediate annexation of Lithuania under certain conditions. According to information he received from a Catholic priest in Mitau, the Catholic clergy and other leaders of the Lithuanian national movement did not claim complete independence for their country, but wanted to preserve their religion and their tongue which were persecuted by the Russians. Thus, Sering believed, they would accept the German rule if it were to discriminate in favour of Roman Catholicism, protect them from the Russians and the Poles, and safeguard their tongue in primary education. His ultimate conclusion was:

> "When that country will be connected with the German States by a railway-system and customs union, when the high schools become German, the German language will soon gain wide popularity, and the present Russian Lithuanians will, most probably, become as good (German) subjects as their Prussian compatriots."

Removal from the area to be annexed of local Poles, and Polish estate-owners in particular, into the Polish Buffer-state, possibly extended to the east, would facilitate this task. Sering suggested that the vacated estates to be used partly as a reward to victorious German commanders and partly to be colonized by German peasants.

Although Sering's report was not officially seconded by the

[31] When speaking about Lithuania, Sering did not refer only to the territory administrated by Isenburg, but included the whole Kovno gubernia, the northern districts of Suwałki and large parts of Wilno ad Grodno gubernias.

[32] According to official data (see f.n. 30), the average density of population in greater Lithuania in July, 1917, was over 30 persons per square kilometre.

Government, it greatly influenced German policy in the east. However, several practical questions and, first of all, the precise line dividing the areas to be annexed and Germanized from the non-assimilable territories to be included into the buffer area, remained unsolved. In the following years, this led to some controversy in which Ludendorff had to play an important part. As Michał Römer stressed in early 1916,[33] the controversy was whether the territory of the former Grand Duchy was to be divided between Germany and Poland or kept entirely by the former. In the first alternative, the possession of the Grand Duchy's capital city, Wilno, was of greatest importance, and Ludendorff did not intend to give it to the Poles.

Ludendorff as a State builder:

By the end of October, 1915, after completion of the summer offensive, the Eastern Headquarters was moved into the occupied area and located at Kovno in Lithuania. It was a small provincial town which had played a certain role in history: one of the strongholds of Teutonic Knights was built there in the 14th century to safeguard the lines of communication with Livonia, and it was at Kovno that Napoleon started his invasion of the Russian Empire in 1812. In his *War Memories,* Ludendorff wrote that after arriving there:

> "My mind was flooded with overwhelming historical memories. . . . I determined to resume in the occupied territory that work of civilization at which the Germans had laboured in those lands for many centuries. . . . I had faith in final victory. . . . A happy future of assured prosperity seemed to be opening out for the Fatherland." [34]

While Hindenburg went hunting aurochs, stags and wolves in the Białowieża and Augustów forests in order to escape the boredom of winter inactivity in Kovno, his politically minded Chief of Staff was eager to resume the labours of the Teutonic Knights and, according to Hindenburg, "devoted himself to it with that ruthless energy which was all his own." [35] In fact, his official position made it possible for him to put into practice some of the ideas launched in

[33] *Zeszyty Historyczne* 17, Paris 1970, pp. 126-7.

[34] Ludendorff, *War Memories,* London, vol. 1, pp. 178-79. The Emperor Wilhelm, visiting Wilno for the first time on December 12, 1915, recalled that his ancestors had used to take part in the weddings of the Jagiellonian princesses which took place there—*Das Litauen Buch* (Book of Lithuania), Kovno 1917, pp. 134-5.

[35] Hindenburg, *Out of My Life,* London 1921, vol. 1, pp. 181-2.

Bartels' pamphlet of the first days of the war: "till the soil, build railways" and do any other "work of civilization," which was ignored until then.[36]

Commanders of military units that entered the enemy land were the first German authorities in the occupied areas. "A belt along the whole front remained the Operation Zone, under the direct control of the Army Commands," Ludendorff wrote in his *Memories*.[37] It was some 20 miles wide, and behind it lay the Zone of Lines of Communication (*Etappenzone*) with the home country. Each Army had its Inspector-of-lines-of-communication (*Etappeninspekteur*) with several *Etappenkommandanten* who served also as administrative officers in the occupied territories. The security of lines of communication and of the rear in general, was their main task. For the more complicated administration of the urban centres, special *Burgermeisters* (Town Mayors) were assigned, mostly from the neighbouring German cities. People with some administrative experience were nominated Chief Administrators of separate regions, each enclosing several *Etappenverwaltungen*. The safety of the rear and the exploitation of the occupied regions' economic resources were still their main preoccupation, while matters not directly connected with the interests of the fighting armies concerned them little. Ludendorff's attitude was quite different: he cared for the long-range aims of the German "work of civilization" no less than for the immediate necessities of the war.

In order to introduce the uniform policy of the occupational administration, on November 4, 1915, "administrative departments" were set up at the Staff of the Supreme Commander in the East. They became the central authorities for the whole Zone of Lines of Communication in the occupied area, a kind of "guiding summit" (*leitende Spitze*) or even a "regular" government composed of departments: of political affairs, finances, agriculture, forestry, church

[36] There is no doubt that Ludendorff was sent Class' Memorandum in December, 1914; a copy of Sering's Report was received by the Supreme Command in the East on September 21, 1915 *(Z Dok. Chw.,* No. 15, p. 57), but there is no direct evidence that Ludendorff was acquainted with Bartels' booklet. However, his post-war close co-operation with the *Deutschvölkische Freiheitspartei* of which he became one of top leaders in December, 1922, makes it highly probable that during the war he had already had contacts with the *Deutschvölkischer* movement. There was, in fact, striking similarity between Bartels' theory and Ludendorff's practice: at least three railways (Taurogen-Radziwiliszki, Mitau-Szaule, and Swienciany-Lake Naroch) were built in the Ober Ost area during the war; several German officers ran the landed-estates abandoned by the owners; and many of Bartels' ideas were applied in the Ober Ost schools.

[37] Ludendorff, *War Memories*, vol. 1, p. 190.

and school affairs, justice, mails and trade.[38] On December 1, 1915, a new official publication started to appear: *Befehls- und Verordnungsblatt der Oberbefehlshabers Ost* (Gazette of Orders and Ordinances of the Supreme Commander in the East), containing the quasi-laws of the new Ober Ost "state".

Within a few months, between November, 1915, and June, 1916, the until then disparate administrations of six separate regions: Courland, Lithuania, Suwałki, Wilno, Grodno and Białystok, were reorganized, unified and centralized. Without any order from Berlin or the Government's formal decision, a new political formation took shape, a quasi-state with its own supreme power, legislation, administration and jurisdiction, its own policy, its own system of direct and indirect taxation, customs, money, etc.[39] No established patterns were followed, except, perhaps, some reminiscences of medieval Teutonic practices and those applied in modern German colonies.[40]

> " 'Precedent' that gravedigger of independent judgment, could not apply here, thank God!" Ludendorff wrote in his *Memories.* "We had to construct and organize everything afresh . . . Owing to the absence of any home administrative or legal machinery, our administration had a character of its own." [41]

[38] "Sie bilden die Zentralstelle der gesamten Landesverfassung und können . . . wohl mit einem Ministerium verglichen werden", stated the official *Das Land Ober Ost,* Stuttgart and Berlin 1917, p. 86.

[39] In an editorial on the second anniversary of the Ober Ost, the official *Kownoer Zeitung,* No. 306 of November 4, 1917, wrote that the administration set up by the Inspectors of the lines-of-communication in order to solve the current tasks in the occupied territories "was not sufficient for the situation which the German victors found in the East . . . It was necessary to set up something entirely new, and not only in the economic sphere: in agriculture and industry, i.e. in the branches which are directly relevant for providing for maintenance of the fighting troops, but also in all other branches of the administration of the country—in school and church matters, in administration of justice, and also in the sphere of fiscal administration, that is in all spheres which make life in a state possible . . . the German militarismus created in the middle of the war in the form of the Ober Ost administration, a completely new State-entity, of which there were no example until now". "The widely-developed administration in the Ober Ost territory is the creation of Fieldmarshal von Hindenburg and his Chief of Staff, Ludendorff. After both of them were called for action in a larger scale, their creation continued to work in their spirit", stated *Das Land Ober Ost,* p. 94. "Diese ganze weitverzweigte Landesverwaltung . . . eine Schöpfung Hindenburgs and Ludendorffs. Ihren Geist spürt man allerorten" wrote K. Strecher in his report on a journey through the Ober Ost —*Auf den Spuren Hindenburgscher Verwaltung,* Berlin 1917, p. 26.

[40] Ludendorff wrote in his *War Memories,* p. 206, that in the field of land and colonization policy in the Ober Ost he "had in mind plans similar to those which the Navy had carried out with great success at Kiauchou".

[41] *Ibid.,* pp. 189-196.

The purely military character of the emerging quasi-state, officially called the "Land Ober Ost" but frequently nicknamed "Hindenburg-" or "Ludendorff-land", was strictly preserved, and it was imposed from above upon the native population without any co-operation from them.

Ludendorff's first impression that Kovno was "a typical Russian town" did not last long. The veneer of the last century disappeared soon after the withdrawal of Russian troops and officials, and the multi-racial, multi-lingual, and multi-denominational face of the old Grand Duchy and of the Commonwealth reappeared. It seemed strange to Ludendorff who wrote in his *Memories*:

> "Owing to the dearth of German works of reference on the subject, we knew very little about the country or the people, and found ourselves in a strange world." [42]

Even before he had time to become better acquainted with this newly found world, he realized that not the Russians but the Poles constituted the main hindrance to his intention of making it German. Polish cultural, economic and political strength was conspicuous in all regions, except Courland, and Ludendorff soon realized that

> "The population made up as it is of such a mixture of races, has never produced a culture of its own and, left to itself, would succumb to Polish domination." [43]

In order to prevent this, a resolute policy was needed, aiming at possibly diminishing, and not increasing, the importance and influence of the Poles and the Polish culture and tongue. In fact, during the first months of the German occupation, the opposite had been happening quite often. In some cases (Wilno), the occupational authorities co-operated with the Civic Committees, mostly headed by Poles, and a considerable number of German conscripts from Poznania, West Prussia and Silesia contributed to the fact that, in contacts with the natives, Polish was used more often than any other local language, except Yiddish.[44] In order to stop this practice, the

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 178 and 188. On August 27, 1915, a German war correspondent wrote from Żyżmory, a small village located between Wilno and Kovno: "As everywhere, I notice that the Russification of this country is only superficial. A Russian dictionary is but a poor aid, for one notices the blank look of the native",—quoted in *Pro Lithuania*, Lausanne 1915 No. 5-6, p. 97.

[43] Ludendorff, *Memories*, vol. 1, p. 178.

[44] A Pole who came to Warsaw from Kovno reported on December 2, 1915, that „Polish was frequently used in the relations with the military, because the Kovno garrison was composed exclusively of Poznanians"... *Hoover (Wiskowski Collection)*, III D.1.—18. On the other side, Lithuanian Bartuska complained that the German soldiers from Poznań contributed to the Polonization of Lithuania, *Observations du Délégué du Conseil National Lituanien à la suite de son voyage dans les régions de la Lituanie occupées par l'armée allemande*, Lausanne 1918, p. 8.

first ordinance published in the new official *Gazette,* and signed by Hindenburg on November 23, 1915, reserved to the Supreme Commander "the decision of which languages are to be considered the regular (*übliche*) tongues in particular districts." As a result, the use of Polish in Kovno gubernia was restricted.[45] Subsequent confidential circulars and orders were more explicit and detailed. The Chief Administrators were instructed to discontinue cooperation with Civic Committees, which were to be formally dissolved, and in general to stand out against Polish ascendency. Education was one of the first fields in which this new policy was applied.

Problems of education:

Originally, the German administrators showed no interest in education and left it entirely to private initiative. This was a radical change from the Russian time when licenses for private schools were granted very sparingly. In Courland, some of the old-established German schools had survived, despite the latest wave of Russification. Closed after the outbreak of the war, they were reinstituted under the occupation. In the last pre-war years, the Lithuanians were permitted to open Lithuanian primary schools in Kovno and Suwałki gubernias, and voluntary associations *"Saule"* (The Sun) and *"Ziburys"* (The Light) were set up for this purpose. With financial assistance from Lithuanian emigrés in America, several primary schools and a training school for teachers were opened. The latter was located in Kovno in an imposing building, completed just before the war and intended for a Lithuanian secondary school, should a license be granted.[46] Some of these schools were not evacuated to Russia and they resumed their activities under the Germans. Several unlicensed, and clandestine schools, mostly Polish but also democratic Lithuanian and Belorussian, also came into the open. In addition, many new schools were set up by local social workers, activists and clergymen, and soon the total number

[45] According to a notice of December 2, 1915 (preceding note) the official ordinances in the Kovno district were originally published in German, Lithuanian and Polish; subsequently Polish was retained for the city of Kovno, while German and Lithuanian only were used in the country.

[46] On the pre-war Lithuanian schools see J. Wronka, *Kurland and Litauen Ost-Preussens Nachbarn* (Courland and Lithuania, East-Prussia's Neighbours), Freiburg im Breisgau 1917, p. 125. The *Saule's* schools were evacuated to Voronezh which became subsequently an important Lithuanian cultural centre in Russia. *Ziburys'* middle school for girls was evacuated from Mariampol to Yaroslavl on the Volga. The third Lithuanian voluntary association *Rytas* (Morning) was formed in Wilno gubernia in 1914 and had no time to start its activities before the war—*Pro Lithuania,* 1916, No. 11-12, pp. 144-5.

of the primary schools was greater under the Germans than under the Russians.

Rebuilding of the school system was particularly successful in Wilno. A special Committee of Education was formed under the chairmanship of the former City Mayor, Michał Węsławski and composed of outstanding professional teachers.[47] It acted as a regular Board of Education and within the city organized and supervised four colleges with over 800 students, six secondary schools with over a thousand students, and about 50 primary schools with some four and a half thousand pupils. In fact, despite a substantial decrease in the city population, the total number of schools, teachers, and students supervised by the Polish Committee of Education was not much smaller than those supervised by the Russian authorities before the war.[48] In addition to several professional training courses and classes for illiterate adults, the Committee contemplated the restoration of Wilno University, "temporarily" closed by the Russians in 1832, and organized Adam Mickiewicz People's University, at which lectures in four local languages were planned. However, both the Lithuanians and the Jews, let alone Belorussians, could not provide qualified lecturers and, in the autumn of 1915, lectures at the Wilno People's University were delivered only in Polish.

The Jews in Wilno had several religious schools, but only one secular secondary school in which both the German tongue and German teachers were used. The Lithuanians, in addition to a couple of primary schools with a few score of pupils, opened on October 18, 1915, a secondary school in Wilno with 47 students in five forms.[49] Two other Lithuanian secondary schools were opened later: in Kovno with five teachers and 91 students and in Poniewież.[50] The second Jewish non-religious secondary school was opened in Kovno; it had 12 teachers, of whom three were Germans, and 360 students.[50] The Belorussians had not high or secondary schools in 1915, and very few primary ones. Beyond the city of Wilno, some hundreds of the Polish primary schools were dispersed throughout the whole occupied area, not only in the Wilno but also in the

[47] Among the members of the Committee of Education were the future professors of Wilno University, Stan. Kościałkowski and Stan. Cywiński, and directors of the high schools, Zofia Paszkowska and Zbigniew Turski —*Hoover, Wisk, coll. III*, D. 1,13.

[48] According to Wilno Chief Administrator's *Bericht* for 1915 (ab.f.n. 27), p. 13, 58 schools with 374 teachers and 7.700 students were functioning in the city of Wilno at the end of 1915, while there were 62 schools with 359 teachers and about 10,000 students before the war.

[49] *Zeitung der 10. Armee*, No. 391 of October 18, 1917, p. 4.

[50] *4. Verwaltungbericht . . . Suwalki* (ab.f.n.27), pp. 36-7.

Grodno, Suwałki and Kovno gubernias.[51] According to a German official report, even in the city of Kovno, there were in March, 1916, nine Polish schools, eight Lithuanian, one German, and one Jewish.[50] Primary schools were rather scarse in the original Lithuania Region; on April 1,1916, there were there only 79 *Volksschulen* with 149 forms and ca. 7,000 pupils for 551,690 of total population, according to German official *Verwaltungsbericht* of May 10, 1916, pp. 36 and 3. Only the district grants (*Kreismittel*) and the school payments (*Schulgeld*) were used for their maintenance, and contribution from any other source, in particular from the private associations, religious communities, priests or private persons had not been officially accepted (*ibid.* p. 36). According to official data, for the period between February and September, 1916, 15,298.36 marks were spent for the maintenance of the schools while the school payments amounted to 1464.30 marks (Enclosure VIII to the 5th Report of November 1, 1916.)

On their side the Lithuanians objected to opening Polish schools in mixed localities and imputed that "Vevey money" was improperly used for this purpose.[52] Public disputes on this subject not only contributed to widening Polish-Lithuanian discord but also called the Germans' attention to the school problem which was of pre-eminent importance from the point of view of Ludendorff's — and Bartels' — long-range policy. The matter became even more grave and urgent when Ludendorff's attention was called to the fact that in "various Polish school-books" "Dantzig, Gnezen, Posen and Vilna" had been named the "Polish towns." This fact impressed him "deeply," and he instructed Major Altmann, Inspector of Schools in the Prussian Ministry of Education, to urgently draw up "a scheme for the guidance of schools, to the further benefit of the population."[53]

According to this "Scheme" entitled "Basic Principles of Restoration of the School System" and signed by Hindenburg on December 22, 1915, no teaching activity, even in private (*Erteilung von Privatunterricht*), was allowed without the permission of the German Chief Administrator. While paying lip service to the principle that education should be given in the "mother tongue" of the

[51] "In the countryside over 400 Polish schools were founded", stated an appeal for financial assistance, signed „Polish Mothers" and dated in Wilno, January, 1917, —Hoover, Wisk, Coll., III, D 1, 28; 200 Polish schools in the neighbourhood of Wilno were mentioned in an article in *Poln. Blätter*, 1917, No. 50, p. 164, and in *Litwa za Isenburga*, p. 83.

[52] In Vevey, Switzerland, was the headquarters of the international Relief Committee for the victims of the War in Poland, founded by Henryk Sienkiewicz.

[53] Ludendorff, *War Memories*, vol. 1, pp. 203-4.

children,[54] the "Principles" reserved to the German Supreme Commander in the East the decision of how much German should be taught in "the schools with a non-German mother tongue," and in the next paragraph stated explicitly

> "German must be taught in all schools from the lowest to the highest grade as many hours as possible, in order that each child be sufficiently proficient in spoken and written German, when leaving the school."

The time-table of school work was to be approved by German authorities and strictly followed in all classes. German was mandatory in all school clerical work and in relations with the German Inspectors, and all teaching personel was to become fluent in it as soon as possible. "The unsuitable (*ungeeignete*) persons will be fired by the Chief Administrator", laconically stated art. 14 para 2 of the "Principles". "Deference to German authority and its armed power" was explicitly included among the main goals of education (art. 5), and any activity "contradictory to the aims of German administration and its military order" was prohibited by art. 6 of the "Principles". Executive Instructions to these Principles, signed by Hindenburg on January 16, 1916, made mandatory the display of a map of the German *Reich* in every school.

Even before these documents were published in the official *Gazette*, (as an enclosure to No. 7 of January 28, 1916), the German School Inspectors began their activities. As a rule, they were nominated from among the German pedagogues who served in the army in most cases as non-commissioned officers. They did not know any language but German, and were supposed to supervise and evaluate the work of the teachers who mostly did not speak German. Ludendorff admitted that "the language difficulties weighted heavily against us, and cannot be over-estimated," but affirmed that in educational matters the rights of each denomination and race were respected and "anything of a provocative nature was studiously ex-

[54] According to the Executive Instructions to the *Principles*, the language used by the parents of school-children when they spoke with them was to be considered their "mother-tongue". In doubtful cases, the Chief Administrator had to decide, after consulting the school authorities. In a Memorandum presented to the German occupational authorities after his return to Wilno in July, 1918, the former Russian Ober-procurator in Wilno, Samislowski, stated that when, in 1905, the Russians had allowed teaching religion in the "mother tongue" of the children, they had a similar problem. Since "nearly all Catholic Belorussians answered that their mother tongue is Polish", "the Russian Ministry of Education decided that the parents' declaration alone is not sufficient for determination of the mother tongue of their children, and supplementary information must be collected on what language is in fact used in the homes of the children". Samislowski's Memorandum on the Political situation in the Wilno Gubernia under Russian Rule was published by the *Wilnoer Zeitung* in a separate booklet edition; its Polish translation in *Zeszyty Historyczne* (Paris), No. 28, 1974, pp. 92-99.

cluded." [55] Evidently, his definition of "provocative" did not include either overloading the school curricula with German classes or demanding "deference to German authority and its armed power." He wrote proudly:

> "As long as I controlled the administration, we maintained a neutral attitude towards the various races. The Poles regarded us as anti-Polish because we gave the Lithuanians equal rights with them." [56]

Refusal to the Poles of everything that was out of Lithuanian reach, was a logical consequence of such a policy.[57] The People's University in Wilno, for which the Lithuanians were not able to provide qualified lecturers, was banned in December 1915. For the same reason, Ludendorff turned down a Polish memorandum on the urgent necessity of restoring the Wilno University for the benefit of the country.[58]

In February, 1916, the Wilno Committee of Education was formally dissolved and the German School Inspectors became the only supervisors of all schools. They strictly censored all school-books, the import of which from Warsaw was prohibited, and in accordance with Ludendorff's philosophy of "equal rights", they considered Polish schools too numerous and too strong.[59] In consequence, schools and training courses for new teachers, set up by the Committee of Education, were curtailed or disbanded, while new courses for Lithuanian, Jewish and Belorussian teachers were laboriously organized by the German School Inspectors.[60] The latter

[55] Ludendorff, *War Memories*, vol. 1, pp. 188 and 203.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 205.

[57] When criticizing the British policy in Palestine in 1920-30, L. B. Namier, *Conflicts, Studies in Contemporary History*, London, 1942, wrote that "the well-known maxim . . about 'holding the scales even' in practice means "to make the obstacles to our work proportionate to our effort" (p. 171).

[58] Ludendorff, *War Memories*, vol. 1, p. 204; the text of memorandum—*Hoover, Wisk. Coll.*, III, D 1, 16.

[59] The 6th *Verwaltungsbericht* on Greater Lithuania for 6 months between Oct. 1916 and March 1917 stated that there were at that time in Wilno 12 high schools 1 Lithuanian, 6 Polish and 5 Jewish; it considered the number of teachers in Polish schools "unproportionally high" *(unverhältnismässig hoch)* in 3 high schools only with 28 forms and 801 pupils there were 97 teachers—and announced reduction of their number *(Die Verringerung der Zahl wird erwogen)*—pp. 41-2.

[60] The Polish "Report on Education" smuggled from Wilno to Cracow in May 1917 stated that 5 regular schools and classes for training teachers were established in Wilno in 1915 by the Committee of Education; they were subsequently ill-treated by the Germans, and their further expansion, formation of new forms and admission of new students, prohibited—*Litwa za Isenburga*, pp. 82 and 86. Neither the Committee nor its schools were ever mentioned in the official German reports; the first *Bericht* on Wilno District for 1915 admitted that "numerous schools" were

"reinstated by the assistance committees and by associations and voluntary contribution, as well as by Church congregations" *(Inzwischen sind durch die Vereine und freiwillige Beiträge sowie die religiösen Verbände zahlreiche Schulen wieder in Betrieb gesetzt)*—p. 13. After combining the Wilno-Suwałki region with Kowno into the Greater Lithuania, its Report for six months between Oct. 1916 and March 1917 said that "beside the teacher training classes established by the military administration, there are at Wilno 4 private schools for training teachers", 3 Polish with 52 lecturers in 7 forms with 124 students, and one Lithuanian with 11 lecturers in one form with 20 students—p. 42.

Painstaking efforts of military administration to train teachers for non-Polish schools were extensively described in the German official reports. The 3rd *Verwaltungsbericht* on Lithuania proper of May 10, 1916, complained scarcity of properly trained teachers for 79 primary schools with 149 forms and ca. 7.000 children, and said that opening of a 4-month classes for their training was planned on June 1, 1916 (p. 36). The 4th Report of August 1, 1916, reported on the opening of these classes in Kovno on June 23 for 71 "native teachers and older high-school students" (pp. 17-18). The 5th Report of Nov. 1, 1916, extensively reported on a German training course, held in Kovno from June 19 till Oct. 13; at which 55 persons graduated for teaching in the Lithuanian schools; the Report expressed hope that there will be enough qualified people to teach ca. 13.000 children in the winter. (pp. 30-1). After the Wilno-Suwałki region was included, the 6th Report on Greater Lithuania of ca. 63300 sq. klm. stated that in addition to 4 private schools for training teachers at Wilno (above) "several pedagogic training classes were set up by the administration, and mentioned that the Jewish classes in Suwałki and a second Lithuanian course in Kovno were completed on Dec. 2, 1916 and March 15, 1917, respectively; Lit. classes in Mariampol with 40 students were in progress; and a new Lith. course with 60 students in Kovno and second Jewish course in Suwałki were to be opened. (According to G. Linde, p. 45, there were no qualified candidates for Lith. classes planned in Suwałki in the autumn 1916). The 7th printed Report on Greater Lithuania for a period from April till Sept. 1917 listed five "bigger training classes for native teachers";

1. in Kovno from May 15 till Sept. 15, 1916 for 54 Lith. teachers;
2. in Suwałki from Aug. 21 till Dec. 3, 1916 for 44 Jewish teachers;
3. in Kovno from Nov. 15, 1916 till March 15, 1917 for 38 Lith. female teachers;
4. in Mariampol from March 15 till July 15, 1917 for 38 Lith. male teachers;
5 in Kovno from May 15 till Sept. 15, for 51 Lith. teachers; Total 225.

According to this official Report, both "bigger" four-month classes and shorter summer courses through which 417 "native teachers" passed, were a great success; they secured *gedeihliche* development of the schools in the Ober Ost and found a positive response among the native population, shown by an increase in the number of candidates for new classes in Mariampol (p. 39).

The Ober Ost papers supplemented the official reports by giving some more details on the teacher training classes sponsored by the military administration. On May 21, 1917, the *Kownoer Zeitung*, No. 140, reported on the solemn inauguration by Prince Isenburg of four-month training classes for Lith. teachers at Kovno. Under direction of two School Inspectors, *Feldwebel* Naujeks and *Landsturmann* Thieler, two "main teachers" *(Hauptlehrer*, probably from the Prussian Lithuania), Buttkus and Bajorat, a Catholic priest, Dr. Schowo, and " a native Lithuanian teacher *Herr* Karklies", trained 60 odd students in two divisions. Out of 38 working hours weekly, 8 were in German: 4 written German, 3 reading and one speaking.

On Dec. 3, 1917, the *Kownoer Ztg*, No. 334, in a note on School Matters in Lithuania and Courland stated that 422 persons had been graduated at the teacher training classes in Kovno, Suwałki, Mariampol, Libau and Mitau. Since, according to the 7th Report on Courland of October 1917, there were 82 students in Mitau and 115 in Libau (p. 43), the total number of native Lith. and Jewish teachers trained by the Germans in Greater Lithuania amounted to 215 persons, considerably less than there were Polish teachers in 1915 under the Committee of Education.

The training of Belorussian teachers was even less advanced. I had no

were also ready and willing to assist the existing schools by providing them with German text-books and other educational equipment, as well as supplying them with teachers which were temporarily lacking. Some of the schools accepted this assistance, but later complaints were made that, as Ludendorff stated:

> "the supplied members of the teaching profession from the *Landsturm* . . . unfortunately knew no other language . . . (and) spoke only German to the children." [61]

The Polish schools did not ask either for teachers or text-books, and they were not favoured by the German inspectors. However, most of them survived the frequent and not too friendly inspections and, after two years, their number diminished only slightly. Opening of new Polish schools became extremely rare and very strong pressure on the part of the parents was needed to persuade the authorities that they, in fact, spoke Polish with their children, and not Lithuanian or Belorussian. On the other hand, several new schools were opened for the graduates of hastily organized training courses and with the *Landsturm's* soldiers assigned to train the native children. As a result, according to studies by German authors.[62] the total number of primary schools in the Ober Ost rose from 826 to 1350, but the percentage of Polish schools decreased drastically, while the number of Lithuanian schools more than doubled, and Belorussian rose tenfold. The following table illustrates these changes:

	Polish	Lithuanian	Belorussian	Others: Jewish, German, Lettish	Total
Oct. 1916	368(44.5%)	248(30.1%)	8(1%)	202(24.4%)	826(100%)
Apr. 1918	308(22.8%)	686(50.8%)	88(6.5%)	268(19.9%)	1350(100%)

The quality of the new Ober Ost schools did not correspond to their quantity, and they were bitterly criticized even by Lithuanians

opportunity of consulting the German official reports on the Grodno and Białystok Regions, but according to a notice dated in Białystok on June 19, and printed in the *Kownoer Ztg* No. 170 of June 22, 1917, the first training course of Belorussian teachers, organised in Świslocz by German School Inspector Bendziocha in the autumn of 1916 was completed with "satisfying results" on January 17, 1917; and the second four month classes were opened on February 5, 1917. Thirteen boys and 11 girls aspiring to teachers' posts (Schulamtsbewerber) were trained by one "military" and two "native Belorussian teachers" and on June 4 to 6 they passed their examinations. On July 1 two months refreshing summer classes for Belorussian teachers were opened, but the number of participants was not indicated.

[61] Ludendorff, *War Memories*, vol. 1, p. 203.

[62] G. Linde, *Die deutsche Politik in Litauen im ersten Weltkrieg* (German Policy in Lithuania during the First World War), Münster 1965, pp. 44-6, and in particular Hans Zemke, *Der Oberbefehlshaber Ost und das Schulwesen im Verwaltungsbereich Litauen während des Weltkrieges* (The C-in-C in the East and the schools in the Lithuanian Administrative area during the World War), Kriegsgeschichtliche Arbeiten edited by W. Eize, Berlin 1936. The following table is based on these data; see also W. Conze, f.n.85 on pp. 192-3.

and the German politicians. In a memorandum presented on October 20, 1917, to the German Chancellor and the Ober Ost authorities, the Interim Presidium of the Lithuanian Taryba wrote extensively about the "so-called teachers' training courses" in which

> "the Lithuanian language, history, geography and even religion were taught by the persons who themselves were not proficient enough in Lithuanian." [63]

On the German side, during the post-war parliamentary enquiry on the *Causes of the German Collapse in* 1918, it was explicitly stated that the Ober Ost administration "had done considerable harm" in Lithuania (*ziemliches Unheil angerichtet*) by their efforts to organize schools "in the Prussian manner.[64]

By the end of 1917, the tension between the German authorities and Polish teachers and clergy took a particularly drastic form in the Białystok-Grodno region, where non-Polish schools had been set up with special zeal.

While the formation of six Lithuanian schools and one training centre for Belorussian teachers was officially reported by September 30, 1917, six months later 26 Lithuanian and 70 Belorussian schools were already in existence.[65] Since, in most cases, these "new schools" were replacing the formerly existing Polish ones, the local population protested most vigorously. As a result of these protests, all Polish schools in the Grodno-Białystok region were closed by March, 1918, and some of the leaders of the protest movement, considered by the authorities particularly "impudent and insolent" (*anmassend und frech*), were arrested or deported to Germany. Many of them were Catholic clergymen.[66]

Problems of Church administration:

In his *War Memories,* Ludendorff stated that after the Russian authorities left the country, "the priests alone possessed a certain amount of influence" on the population.[67] Like the latter, these priests were of several denominations, and their attitude toward the occupational authorities varied. Since most of the Greek Orthodox clergy left the country with the Russians, "the Evangelic clergy

[63] P. Klimas, *Der Werdegang des Litauischen Staates* (The Formation of Lith. State), Berlin, 1919, p. 84.

[64] The opinion of an expert, Dr. Bredt in *Die Ursachen des Deutschen Zusammenbruches im Jahre 1918* (The Causes of German Collapse in 1918), vol. 8, Berlin 1926, p. 332.

[65] G. Linde, p. 45.

[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

[67] Ludendorff, *War Memories*, vol. 1, p. 187.

in Courland were wholly on our (German) side," and "the Jew did not know what attitude to adopt, but he gave us no trouble," [68] only the Roman Catholics remained out of the main religious groups. In fact, they formed the predominant majority among the Ober Ost Christian population (except Courland), but they were divided along national lines, and their regular bishops were absent at least for some time.

The senior Bishop of Wilno, Eduard Baron von Ropp, (born in 1851 to an aristocratic family settled for some centuries in so called Polish Livonia (Letgalia, near Dvinsk), was qualified by a German author as "a little Pole, a little German, a little Lithuanian, but throughout Catholic." [69] He studied and began practicing law in St. Petersburg, but, in 1879, entered the seminary in Kovno and, during his studies, became proficient in Lithuanian. Then, for over a decade he served as a parish priest in Libau, Courland, and, in 1902, was ordained Bishop of Tiraspol with a seat in Saratov on the Volga, where there were large colonies of Catholic Germans. Transferred to Wilno in 1904, Ropp actively opposed disunity among the Catholics, initiated a supra-national Catholic Democratic political party, and was elected deputy to the First Duma in 1906. Suspected of anti-government feelings and accused of pro-Polonism by the Lithuanians, in 1907 Ropp was banished from Wilno by an administrative decision, as had befallen his three predecessors, bishops Krasiński, Hryniewiecki and Zwierowicz. This time, however, despite Russian demands, the Pope refused to recognize the vacancy of the Wilno see and charged the interim administration of the diocese to the Prelate Casimir Michalkiewicz. Born in 1865 to a petty-gentry family in Kovno gubernia, Michalkiewicz tried to continue Ropp's policy and, like Ropp, to be "a little" of each of the native nationalities. However, his attemps to patronize the Lithuanian and Belorussian Catholic societies and to subsidize their publications were considered to be made in bad faith, and he was accused of being "perfidious and rabid Polonizer".[70] During the German occupation, Michalkiewicz remained in Wilno; he was bitterly opposed by Lithuanians and, although his authority was weaker than that of a regular bishop, remained cool to the Germans.

On May 4, 1914, a professor of the Catholic Theological Academy in St. Petersburg, Francis Karevich-Karevicius, was ordained the Samogitian Bishop in Kovno. He was born in 1861 to a peasant

[68] *Ibid.*, pp. 204 and 188.

[69] J. Wronka, p. 113.

[70] An anonymous article "La Métamorphose d'un quasi-évêque", *Les Annales des Nationalités*, Paris 1914, No. 6-12, pp. 359-62.

family in Kovno gubernia and, unlike Michalkiewicz, was a Lithuanian nationalist, and was opposed by the local Poles. After the outbreak of the war, the military authorities did not allow him to stay in the fortress of Kovno and he left for the cure in a Caucasus spa and then established himself in Petrograd.

Both the Wilno and Kovno dioceses were formally included in the Mohylev archdiocese, while the third Catholic diocese in the Ober Ost area, that of Seyny, in Suwałki gubernia, was a part of the Warsaw archdiocese. Its bishop, Anthony Karaś-Karosas, born in 1856 to a peasant family in Kovno gubernia, was evacuated by the Russians in 1915, and the Seyny diocese was temporarily administered by the Canon M. Dobryłło. The absence of regular Catholic bishops in the Ober Ost area caused some inconvenience to the occupants, and in summer of 1916 an unofficial agreement was reached about Karevicius' return to Kovno. He came in the autumn of 1916 through Sweden and Germany and, for some time, was the only Catholic bishop in the Ober Ost. A few months later, in April 1917 Karosas was also allowed to return and resume his post "with the assent of the Ober Ost." [71]

The Germans were fully aware of the interecclesiastical national discord and took full advantage of it. In his *War Memories,* Ludendorff made a clear distinction between the "Lithuanian" and "Polish" clergy and stated that with the former, represented by Bishop Karevicius, "we were soon on satisfactory terms," the "Polish Catholics, however, were hostile to us."[72] He considered the "muddle-headed ambitions" of the Lithuanian democracy politically exorbitant, while the aims and requests of the Lithuanian clericals seemed to him to fit perfectly well with long-range German policy. On the other hand, according to him, "the Polish clergy were the pillars of Polish national propaganda", and in their alleged "war with the Lithuanians" he was undoubtedly on the latter's side. However, as long as "the Imperial Government did not commit itself to any definite policy" with regard to the Polish question in general, and to a possible division of the territories of the former Grand Duchy between Germany and new Polish State in particular, any open political intervention in this "war" "would have been mistimed." [73] Thus, for the time being, Ludendorff was forced to maintain an ostensibly "neutral attitude towards the various races" in his "another Kingdom."

[71] *Gazette,* No. 77, of May 11, 1917, Ziffer 566. According to G. Linde, p. 48, "Karas war indes erheblich weniger deutschfreundlich als Karevicius".

[72] Ludendorff, *War Memories,* vol. 1, p. 204.

[73] *Ibid.,* p. 205.

For some time the Germans ignored the existence of Belorussians as a separate race or nationality and prohibited public use of the Belorussian tongue, considering it a "Russian dialect." Informed about their error, they showed a considerable interest in this potential asset in their complicated game against Polish ascendency. In his *Memories,* Ludendorff wrote:

> "In the autumn of 1915 I thought I would like to obtain some idea of the distribution of this race. At first they were, literally, not to be found. Subsequently we discovered they were a widely-scattered race but superficially Polonised (*ganz verbreiter, aber äusserlich polonisierter Stamm*) and with such a low standard of civilization that it would be a long time before we could do anything for them." [74]

He decided, however, it was worth trying, despite some doubts from Grodno region Chief Administrator, von Heppe, on the expediency of this policy.[75] The formation of Belorussian schools was encouraged and the publication of a Belorussian paper *Homan* (Clamour) was arranged in Wilno. It was published twice a week and, at first was not too unfriendly to the Poles, but subsequently accomodated to the Ober Ost policy and, along with the Lithuanian *Dabartis* (Present Time), became a quasi official organ of the occupational authorities.[76]

On December 20, 1915, an ordinance "on the Press", signed by Hindenburg on December 5, was published in the Ober Ost official *Gazette,* (No. 3, pos. 26), and in the first months of 1916, in accordance with the ostensible policy of "equal rights for all races," each of the main nationalities of the Ober Ost was allowed to have a

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 188, with inaccurate translation corrected according to German edition, Berlin 1920, p. 145. On this occasion, Ludendorff accused the Poles that they "had robbed" the Belorussians "of their nationality and given nothing in return." Ignoring the case of Września school-children in 1902, he also expressed particular indignation that "the Belorussians were preached the Word of Lord in Polish, not in their own tongue, and this with Russian approval!"—*ibidem,* p. 204 with some inaccuracies corrected according to German edition, p. 159.

[75] G. Linde, p. 42, f.n. 122. M. Hoffmann agreed with Heppe, but could not help him "because it was Ludendorff's idea".

[76] The first five issues of *Homan,* probably edited by W. Łastowski, were positively reviewed in a "Letter from Wilno", dated "Beginning of March", 1916, and published in *Poln. Blätter,* No. 19, of April 1, 1916. However in the report sent from Wilno to Vienna in May, 1917, it was said that *Homan* was "a little sheet especially used in fighting against Poles and the Polish character of the country, *Litwa za Isenburga,* p. 95. A not very accurate reminiscences on "Homan" were published by Kvietka Vitan (J. Dubiejkauskaja) in *Zapisy of the Byelorussian Institute of Arts and Sciences in New York* No. 13, 1975, pp. 67-9.

paper in its own tongue. This was a great concession because since the occupation the publication of non-official papers was not permitted, and only some multilingual sheets appeared, containing official German announcements, dispatches and local advertising, all in rather poor translations into the local tongues.[77] The only exception was the Lithuanian *Dabartis*. Its publication was started on September 1, 1915, in Tilsit, by Wilhelm Steputat-Steputaitis, a member of the Prussian *Landtag* of Lithuanian origin and a reserve officer of the German Army. Later on, *Dabartis* was moved to Kovno and formally included into the Ober Ost Political Department, where Steputat became the head of a section.[78] When the publication of *Homan* was decided, licenses were also granted for the publication of Jewish and Polish papers in Wilno and Lettish in Mitau.[79] However, while *Dabartis* and *Homan* were published and, in fact, edited by the German administration, the Yiddish *Letzte Nai's* (Last News), Polish *Dziennik Wileński* (Wilno Daily), and Lettish *Dsimtes Sinas* (Homeland News) were published and edited by private persons. Practically, it made no great difference, because they were not only submitted to a double censorship, military and political, but were obliged to publish all materials sent to them by the Germans in proper translation and without changes. Some technical-economic restrictions were also imposed on the Polish paper: its size could not be larger, and the price lower, than those of the German daily *Wilnoer Zeitung*. At the same time, the price of *Homan*, which was printed and published in the *Wilnoer Zeitung* offices, was cheaper by one half. Despite this, and despite other efforts to favour the distribution of *Homan* and to hamper that of *Dziennik*, the latter was in great demand, although difficult to obtain outside Wilno, while many copies of the former remained unsold and, ultimately, were sent to the camps of Russian prisoners-of-war.[80]

[77] On December 2, 1915, a Pole who came from Kovno to Warsaw reported that Polish was outrageous and practically incomprehensible in a trilingual sheet published in Kovno, but his offer of gratuitous assistance in editing the Polish part was rejected—*Hoover, Wisk*, III D 1, 18.

[78] *Gliederung*, p. 5; *Land Ob. Ost*, p. 87. According to G. Linde, p. 41, *Dabartis* was published in Białystok; in fact, it was published first in Tilsit and then in Kovno, and only for a short time, between June and October, 1917, in Białystok where the Ober Ost Headquarters was temporarily moved.

[79] According to the "Letter from Wilno" (above f.n. 76). *Dziennik Wileński* was published by "a group of Catholic clergy" and edited by Jan Obst, Dmowski's partisan. According to P. Klimas, p. XI, on February 10, 1916, Ludendorff refused to grant a license for another Lithuanian paper considering that "the widespread *Dabartis* must suffice for their needs.'"

[80] *Litwa za Isenburga*, pp. 93-4. According to a private report from Wilno, received in Warsaw in March, 1917, 15,000 copies of *Homan* were originally printed, then the printing decreased to 3,000, of which about 2,000 were sent to the Russian POWs camps, *Hoover Wisk. Col.*, III, D 1, 35, p. 2. According to the 6th official Report on Greater Lithuania of May 25, 1917, p. 44, 2.200 copies of *Homan* were printed.

Papers published in German were much more numerous in the Ober Ost than those in the native tongues. In addition to the papers published for soldiers, but distributed also among civilians, as f. ex. *Zeitung der* 10. *Armee* (Tenth Army's Paper), practically every larger town had its own German daily paper (*Zeitung*). In Mitau, Libau, Kovno and Wilno, they were edited by professional journalists on a rather high level; in smaller towns, they contained mostly official materials and local news and were multilingual: German-Yiddish-Polish in Białystok, Grodno and Suwałki, and German-Russian in Pińsk.[81]

Economic problems:

In the economic sphere Ludendorff introduced fewer changes than in the political. The Ober Ost continued to apply and perfect the policy of exploiting the material resources of the occupied area in order that "it might supply the army and our people at home" and "to contribute to the equipment of troops and our requirements in war material." [82] Since the country was not industrialized and remained mostly agricultural, no acre of uncultivated land was tolerated. The peasants were asked to cultivate the plots of their absent neighbours, and the German landstewards, mostly commissioned or noncommissioned officers, were assigned to the estates of absent owners. The Russian POWs were allocated as landworkers, and sometimes even the German soldiers and military horses were used in emergencies.

Ludendorff admitted in his *Memories* that "it was no simple matter to finance the whole administration", but the sources of revenue: customs, monopolies, taxes and national industries, were gradually developed and "the receipts sufficed for the administration of the country without assistance from the Imperial Treasury." [83] In addition to taxes on landed property and commercial and industrial enterprises, which existed under the Russians, the Germans introduced "a rough system of graded taxation per head". The ordinance of April 6, 1916 (*Gazette* No. 20, of April 14), stated that each male fit for work and 15 to 60 years old, had to pay six marks for 1916, and eight marks each following year. Para. 4 of the ordinance allowed the district administrator to fix a higher head-tax

[81] *Land Ob. Ost.*, pp. 452-3.

[82] Ludendorff, *War Memories*, vol. 1, p. 188.

[83] *Ibid.*, pp. 201-2. According to official data of the German administration of Lithuania its total income from February 1 till September 30, 1916, amounted to 10 852 085.70 marks; total expenses to 3 577 436,89; the surplus—7 274 648,81—Enclosure VIII to the 5th Report of November 1, 1916.

for individual persons or "certain classes" of the population and, in fact, Polish estate-owners were asked to pay several hundred or even thousand marks yearly.[84] However, the bulk of occupants' revenue derived not from direct taxation, but from customs and monopolies. Heavy customs duties were imposed on all manufactured products, imported mostly from Germany, and Ober Ost monopolies on the sale of cigarettes, tobacco, spirits, salt, matches, sweets and confectionary, and other products of mass consumption, raised their prices to exorbitant levels, providing considerable profits.

On the other hand, the whole yield of agriculture and of animal husbandry was carefully monitored and the major part of it was requisitioned from the producer, up to the milk of the last cow, the meat of last pig, the wool of last sheep, and the egg of last chicken. In consequence, as Ludendorff admitted, "the condition of the town population was desperate." Their food had been strictly rationed, and the rations were inadequate because the bulk of the requisitioned products went to the army and the German "home country." According to German official data, out of the yield produced in Kovno, Wilno and Suwałki gubernias in 1916-17, less than 40% of the wheat, 19% of the potatoes, less than 3.5% of the butter, less than 2.5% of the eggs, and less than 15% of the meat, were left for the native population, while the rest was either consumed by the army or exported to Germany.[85]

The general impoverishment of the native population increased the role and importance of the welfare voluntary associations. The War Relief Committees became the only native organizations tolerated by the occupants after the dissolution of Civic and Education Committees. They were differentiated along national lines and subsequently evolved into quasi-representations of the local Poles, Lithuanians, Belorussians and Jews.

German censuses:

In order to gather exact data concerning the "strange land" they had to administer and exploit, the systematically minded Germans

[84] *Litwa za Isenburga*, p. 66 *Hoover Wisk. Col.*, III D 1, 20. According to the official data (above), the revenue from direct taxation amounted to 884 428 marks (at the cost of 7 389,25); from indirect taxation, customs, monopolies etc. to 4 691 612,37 marks.

[85] A detailed table of the yield produced from 1916 until June 30, 1917, in Greater Lithuania was reprinted by Börje Colliander, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Litauen und Deutschland während der Okkupation 1915-18*, Abo, Finland 1935, p. 58; see also G. Linde, pp. 53-7. Goods exported to Germany were officially valued at 111 385 498,93; imported to Lithuania—23 577 802,40; excess 87 807 696,53 marks, according to Enclosure XII to the 6th Report of May 25, 1917.

organized several censuses in the occupied territories. As early as November 30, 1915, Isenburg issued a *Polizei-Verordnung* announcing the general statistical accounting for his region and, in particular, general and professional census of people, cattle, and engines, as well as the general settlement of real-estates.[86]

In the city of Wilno the first census was made even earlier, on November 1, 1915. It was connected with the planned introduction of food rationing, and it was necessary to know the exact number of bread-eaters, adult and children, without any interest in their other personal characteristics. The census showed a considerable decrease in Wilno's population: from about 200,000 before the war to 142,063 on November 1, 1915, of whom 32,326 were children under 10.[87]

On January 28, 1916, the Ober Ost official *Gazette,* No. 7, published Hindenburg's ordinance of December 26, 1915, introducing obligatory internal passports for all natives over ten years of age. The passports were bilingual; they were made in German and in the "mother-tongue" of its possessor. At first German-Lettish, German-Lithuanian, German-Polish, and German-Yiddish passports were prepared, to which the German-Belorussian were added by an ordinance signed by Ludendorff on March 27, 1916.[88] The Executive Instruction published simultaneously with the original ordinance explained that the mother-tongue was "the language spoken by the parents of the passport's holder at the time of his birth or during his childhood, and which he learned first. Possibly it can also determine nationality. However, it is possible that somebody now speaks Polish without being of that nationality. Then, it should be handled accordingly." [89] Thus, a kind of national cadaster was instituted that could provide the occupants with a more or less exact picture of the ethnic composition of the native population. However, issuing passports to over two million people took a lot of time and was not completed before the fall of 1918.[90]

[86] Polizei-Verordnung betreffend eine allgemeine statistische Aufnahme des Gebiets der Deutschen Verwaltung für Litauen (Police-ordinance concerning the general statistic enquiry on the territory of the General Administration for Lithuania) in the *Verordnungsblatt der Deutschen Verwaltung für Litauen,* No. 8, pos. 44.

[87] The detailed information on all German-made censuses in Wilno is provided by a work of Michał Brenstejn, *Spisy ludności m. Wilna za okupacji niemieckiej od d.1 listopada 1915 r.* (Censuses in the City of Wilno during the German Occupation from the First of November, 1915), Warsaw 1919. See also *Poln. Blätter,* No. 102 of August 15, 1918, pp. 62-64.

[88] Ober Ost official *Gazette,* No. 18, pos. 148.

[89] *Ibid.,* No. 7, p. 109.

[90] *Das Land Ober Ost,* pp. 173 ff., informed that 13 *Passkommandos,* of 14 officers and some 600 men, were organized in Tilsit in December, 1915, and sent to the districts where the field-gendarms were organizing the

A regular census was made in Wilno on March 9-11, 1916. It served both political and economic purposes and, in addition to people, included domestic animals and poultry, cars, motor- and bicycles, wagons, machinery, land, etc. The political significance of the census was stressed by its very careful preparation. It was organized by the German *Oberbürgermeister,* Pohl, assisted by the German Chairman of the Central Census Committee, Horn. Nine members of this Committee were appointed by the *Oberbürgermeister* from among the most outstanding representatives of the three main local nationalities. Among them were three Lithuanians: a lawyer A. Janulaitis, and A. Smetona and Al. Stulginskis, the latter two became later respectively a President and a Prime Minister of the Lithuanian Republic; three Jews—a merchant Rachmilevich and a lawyer Rosenbaum, both future Lithuanian ministers, and a physician Dr. Szabad; and three Poles—Dr. Jan Boguszewski and Felix and Władysław Zawadzkis, the latter a future professor of Wilno University and Polish Minister of Finances.

Each of the members of the Central Committee was put at the head of a Precinct Census Committee, composed of two members of nationalities different from the Chairman and nominated by the *Oberbürgermeister.*

	Chairman	Members
I	A. Smetona (L)	Z. Jundziłł (P) and Zackheim (J)
II	Dr. Szabad (J)	Jan Piłsudski (P) and P. Gajdelionis (L)
III	A. Janulaitis (L)	M. Brenstejn (P) and Dr. Bloch (J)
IV	Rosenbaum (J)	Z. Jasiński (P) and J. Szernas (L)
V	F. Zawadzki (P)	M. Birziska (L) and Romm (J)
VI	Rachmilevich (J)	Dr. M. Kiewlicz (P) & Landsbergis (L)
VII	W. Zawadzki (P)	A. Zmujdzinovicius (L) and Eigel (J)
VIII	J. Boguszewski (P)	J. Vileysis (L) and Dr. Lapides (J)
IX	A. Stulginskas (L)	A. Slosarz (P) and Katz (J)

The census itself was made by 425 persons nominated by the *Oberbürgermeister;* among them there were 200 Jews (47%), 150 Poles (35%), 50 Lithuanians (12%) and 25 Belorussians (6%).[91]

gathering of groups of natives for passportisation. Each person was fingerprinted and photographed with the passport's number attached to his, or her, chest. A handsome profit was earned: at the cost of 792.70—142.981,60 marks were received according to the above quoted budget for 6 months of 1916. Until the autumn of 1917, 1,800,000 passports were issued. In districts where the process of passportisation was completed, the compulsory possession of passports was gradually ordered. Ultimately the possession of passports was made obligatory in the whole Ober Ost area by ordinance of October 8, 1918, *Gazette,* No. 117, of October 17, 1918.

[91] M. Brenstejn, p. 7.

On February 28, 1916, the census was officially announced in five languages by placards signed by von Beckerath, the Chief Administrator of the Wilno region. The announcement aroused great interest among the population, and the divers national groups started their propaganda to persuade the individuals to give during the census answers favourable to them. This propaganda did not stop after the census was completed because, for a few days after, any interested person was allowed to verify within the precinct committees the exactness of the census data concerning himself and his family. From among the Wilno Poles the data of 2,248 persons were checked out to discover that 440 of them had been included among Lithuanians, 519 among Belorussians, 3 among other nationalities and 66 completely omitted.[92]

After appropriate corrections had been made by the precinct committees,[93] the ultimate results of the census caused very great surprise. Although the data of the March, 1916, census in Wilno were never officially revealed, it became widely known that out of a total of 140,840 persons censused, those who said their "mother-tongue" was:

			and their religion was:		
Polish	70,629	(50.15%)	Roman Catholic	76,196	(54.10%)
Yiddish	61,265	(43.50%)	Judaic	61,233	(43.48%)
Lithuanian	3.699	(2.60%)			
Russian	2,030	(1.46%)	Greek Orthodox	2,049	(1.45%)
Belorussian	1,917	(1.36%)			
German	1,000	(0.72%)	Protestant	1,158	(0.83%)
Other	300	(0.21%)	Other	204	(0.14%)
Total	140,840	(100%)		140,840	(100%)[94]

Deeply downcast by the returns of the census, the Lithuanian members of the Central and the Precinct Committees deposited, on March 19, 1916, a declaration to the German *Oberbürgermeister* affirming that, according to their "intimate conviction", the census

[92] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[93] In the 3rd precinct, where Brenstejn was at the Committee, the total number of Poles and Jews increased by 106 and 4 respectively, while the number of Lithuanians and Belorussians decreased by 45 and 19 respectively, *ibid.*, p. 19.

[94] *Ibid.*, 21. Somewhat different data were published by A. Rucevicius in *Lietuviu Kalendarius* (Lithuanian Calendar), Wilno 1917; Poles—68,687 (50.16%); Jews—59,112 (43.17%); Lithuanians—3,671 (2.68%); Russians —2,101 (1.55%); Belorussians—2,046 (1.5%); Germans—1,096 (0.8%); Others—201 (0.14%). Total—136,914—*Ibid.*, 22. The data found in the archives after Germany's collapse and published by the Polish authorities in the *Note sur la Statistique Démographique des Confins Orientaux de la Pologne*, Paris, Mai 1919, differed very slightly from the Brenstejn's figures (a small difference in the numbers of Jews and Russians).

returns regarding the nationalities statistics by no means corresponded to reality. Wilno, they said, is the centre of the Lithuano-Belorussian country, and Polish immigrants from the Kingdom of Poland are scarce there. In spite of this fact, "nearly all Catholic inhabitants of the city registered themselves as the Poles."

The Lithuanian members of the Census Committees affirmed that "this surprising transformation of the Lithuanians and Belorussians into the Poles" could be explained by both the conditions of political and social life and the economic domination of the Polish well-to-do classes. According to them, the Poles had succeeded in dominating the administration of the city under the Russians and had taken into their hands the power of the Church. Their aggressiveness even increased after the arrival of the Germans; they dominated the police and the welfare institutions, and became intermediaries between the German authorities and the natives.[95] Understood by the German soldiers from the Poznań province, the Polish tongue became dominant in both the city and the region of Wilno. Polish intelligentsia was well organized and, long before the census, they started oral and written propaganda among the population insisting that all Catholics must declare themselves Poles if they do not wish to be considered non-Catholics, i.e. "Lithuanian heathen" or "Belorussian schismatics." As a result of this propaganda and the, alleged, political and economic pressure, the population, particularly the indigents, were so intimidated that some of them "publicly renounced their Lithuanian or Belorussian mother-tongue, and pretended that they understood nothing but Polish, despite the fact that the census officers and other witnesses stated that they spoke Lithuanian or Belorussian fluently." Under such conditions, concluded the Lithuanian declaration, genuine returns could not be acquired in the city or in the country "even when the census is made by absolutely impartial officers." [96]

In fact, this phenomenon, considered by Lithuanians "surprising", was by no means limited to the city of Wilno. Censuses made in March, 1916, in six rural districts of the Wilno region, and in the Grodno region (the city of Grodno and five rural districts) had economic rather than political aims and were prepared less cautiously and scrupulously than in the city of Wilno. However, the general data were similar. In the rural areas, both near and far away from Wilno, the number of people who declared Polish as their "mother-tongue" was much greater, both in absolute and relative numbers,

[95] This was, probably, a reference to the "Polish dominated" Civic Committee.

[96] Full text of the declaration was reprinted by Klimas, pp. 20-22.

than the number of Poles shown in the Russian census of 1897. The changes in delimitation of the administrative units, and the lack of data for separate localities, make a more detailed comparison impossible,[97] but the general picture is striking. In the areas where, in 1897, the Russians showed the percentage of Poles to be from one to six, and, exceptionally (in Wilno and Troki districts) 11 and 12%, over half of the inhabitants, in 1916, declared that their "mother-tongue" was Polish, and in particular districts their percentage was over seventy, and in the districts of Wilno and Raduń (Grodno region) it approached ninety.[98]

The number of Lithuanian speaking people, insignificant in Wilno and Grodno regions (24.7% and 2.75% respectively), was predominant in the Kovno region, according to a census made there on July 15, 1916. Out of about 1,100,000 censused persons over 900,000 (85%) declared their mother-tongue to be Lithuanian, and only 73,000 (7%)—Polish, 54,000 (5%)—Yiddish, and 34,000 (3%)—other, Lettish, Russian or German. However in some of the 25 districts of the Kovno region, those, in particular, which were located between Kovno and Wilno, the percentage of the Polish speaking population was much higher, and in the city of Kovno itself they were even a relative majority of about 40%.[99]

[97] The influence of the borders of the area for which the statistical data were given can be illustrated by the case of the Wilno rural district whose frontiers were changed several times during th German occupation. According to Prof. E. Romer, *Spis ludności na terenach administrowanych przez Zarząd Cywilny Ziem Wschodnich (Grudzień 1919)* (Statistics of languages of the Provinces being under the Polish Civil Administration of the Eastern Lands (December 1919)), pp. 5 and 18, the four German data for the "Wilno district" gave the following information on the relative strength of the Polish element there:

	I	II	III	IV
Total population of the district ...	74,740	63,076	197,881	252,150
Number of Poles	68,136	56,632	148,200	118,400
Percentage of Poles	94.7	89.8	74.3	47.7

[98] The data of the 1916 censuses were reported in the confidential reports of the Wilno, Wilno-Suwałki and Grodno regions' Chief Administrators, and they leaked out to some local publications. The general results of the 1916 and 1918 German censuses, found after the German defeat in 1918, were published in the *Note* quoted in f.n. 94. Unfortunately, the details of those censuses were lacking and only the totals and the percentages of the various ethnic groups in the territorial administrative units made by the occupants were available.

[99] The general results of the census made in the Lithuania (Kovno) region on July 15, 1916, were reported in a contemporary document preserved in the Wiskowski Collection at Hoover Institution (III D-1, 54). The pre-war population of the city of Kovno of some 80,000 drastically decreased in 1916 to about 18,000 (including the suburbs), of which 7,100 were Poles, 5,000 Jews, 2,700 Lithuanians, and about 3,000 others (mostly Germans and Russians).

The German censuses of 1916 were by no means perfect.[100] They did not cover the whole Ober Ost area, were organized at different times and by different authorities who used different methods. However, despite all their shortcomings, they gave a relatively clear picture of the "strange world" which at first puzzled Ludendorff. It fell into two disparate parts: Lithuanian and non-Lithuanian. In Kovno and the northern part of Suwałki gubernias, and in the scraps of Wilno and Grodno gubernias adjacent to them, the Lithuanians were the predominent majority; on the rest of the Ober Ost territory, the city of Wilno included, they were an insignificant minority. This fact could not have been ignored by any politician, but different conclusions could have been drawn from it. The partisans of division of the occupied territories between Germany and the planned Polish State would see in it an indication about drawing the dividing line. The partisans of radical annexationist plans had to take it into consideration when choosing proper methods to be used for prompt and most efficient assimilation of the inhabitants of annexed territories.

Ludendorff-Beckerath Controversy:

After about six months in Kovno, Ludendorff produced the first draft of his great plan for arranging "the German East". On April 27, 1916, in a confidential Directive (*Verordnung*) to the Chief Ad-

[100] The Germans did not make public the returns of their censuses and in their publications for general use operated exclusively with the data of the 1897 Russian census. They studied this data very carefully and, in early 1916, presented it in a graphic form drawing a general ethnic map of the western part of the Russian Empire as well as maps showing the density of Germans, Great Russians, Jews, Poles, Letts, Lithuanians, Belorussians, and Ukrainians in separate districts, and maps of 13 western gubernias showing the percentage of each nationality in each of the districts. Completed in April, 1916, the work was sent for evaluation to the Prussian Minister of Interior, von Loebell, who in his answer, addressed to Hindenburg, fully appreciated its political importance. Loebell attached special value to the preface to the maps signed by Hindenburg, in which two general ideas were expressed: (a) that between Poland and Russia proper "lies a huge third complex . . . whose especial characteristic is that ethnically it is neither Great Russian nor Polish, although it used to be linked with either of these states"; and (b) that the ultimate solution of its future "lies on the blade of the sword." Forgetting about his opinion of October 1914, that no rectification of Germany's pre-war frontier with Russia was practically necessary (above f.n. 6), Loebell expressed in June, 1916, his hope that, in consequence of the war, the Baltic-Lithuanian area, including possibly Mitau and Wilno, would be permanently linked with Prussia and the German *Reich*. On this occasion he also expressed his opinion on the necessity of radical rectification of Germany's frontier with the planned Polish state. (Loebell's letter to Hindenburg of June 22, 1916, was reprinted by Geiss, enclosure 5). After their approval by the Prussian Minister, the maps and the Preface were printed in the fall of 1916 as an official Ober Ost publication under the title *Völker-Verteilung in West-Russland* (Distribution of Races in Western Russia) and advertised in the official *Gazette*, No. 53, of October 15, 1916. A second edition of this work was published in 1917.

ministrators he stated that although only the future peace treaty would formally decide on the change of State frontiers, it was possible, and even probable, that the whole, or a part, of the area occupied in the east would be included in the German *Reich*. Then their task would be not only to provide food for a substantial part of the German population, but also to serve as "a source of useful man-power" (*Quelle brauchbaren Menschenersatzes*), and it should be colonized by German peasants, artisans and workers. The preparatory work for this long-range and large-scale operation must start without delay, even before the ultimate formal solution is reached. Both the historic and the recent experiences in German colonization in the East as well as the particular conditions in each separate region, must be carefully studied and taken into consideration in this preparatory planning work. The Poles, who are notorious for their obstinate resistance to the German colonization, must be discriminated against, and, at least a part of them, would possibly be removed later. The other native inhabitants, Lithuanians and Belorussians in particular, must be favoured in order to gain their sympathy for the Germans. The Directive concluded with a demand to present on September 1, 1916, detailed reports on their regions, containing:

1. statistical data on the population according to their nationality and religion;
2. precise information on the conditions and distribution of the landed property, especially that owned by the Poles;
3. information on the areas appropriate for colonization, in particular on the local prices of the land, extent of war damages, and the possibilities of allotment of real estates.[101]

The Chief Administrator of the Wilno region, *Rittmeister* von Beckerath, fully agreed with the general political aims of Ludendorff's Directive, but disagreed with the methods suggested by it. Since his arrival in the autumn of 1915 from Western Germany to newly occupied Wilno, he co-operated with the Polish leaders of the Civic Committee and found them intelligent and efficient, and by no means anti-German. He believed that their economic interests would prevail and that, ultimately, they would prefer union with Germany rather than with semi-independent "Congress Poland". To Beckerath's great disappointment, Ludendorff's anti-Polish policy upset the originally friendly atmosphere. When the carefully pre-

[101] Ludendorff's *Verordnung* of April 27, 1916, was briefly summarized by Fr. Fischer, p. 277, and abstracted in more detail by R. Stupperich, "*Siedlungspläne im Gebiet des Oberbefehlshabers Ost (Militärverwaltung Litauen und Kurland während des Weltkrieges*" (Colonization Plans in the Ober Ost Area during the World War) in *Jomsburg*, vol. 5, Berlin 1941, pp. 352-3.

pared March census revealed that both "numerical strength" and political and economic "importance of the Polish element (was) much greater than has been supposed," he considered it his duty to oppose the policy which he believed was wrong or even dangerous for German interests. He paid with his post for this opposition, and afterwards he sent a substantial memorandum to the Supreme Commander in which he expressed his opinions on "the policy with regard to nationalities which is now applied in Wilno" and his apprehension that "some of the methods implemented in this field might impede the intended permanent incorporation of this region into the German state." In this memorandum, he wrote in part: [102]

> ". . . Although I belong to the resolute partisans of the political aims determined by the Supreme Commander in the East, I began to doubt whether the methods which were applied until now are adequate. On the basis of my observations, I believe that not only the numerical strength of the Poles but also their political and economic importance in Wilno has been underrated. . . (Our census) proved that the importance of the Polish element is much greater than has been supposed, and also that the Poles in the Wilno administrative region are the only element, who possess state-building qualities. . . I would consider it a fatal mistake to treat the Jews as the basis for German domination. . . The Belorussians never disclosed any tendency for state independence . . . (and) certain separatist tendencies cultivated by a few archaeologists and writers should be considered local phenomena without political significance. . . The Lithuanian movement should not be overestimated. . . The weakness of the Lithuanian movement results from the fact that it is limited to only one social class (peasantry). . . This people is not too numerous, and the tongue is too little developed. . . I would like to warn against the optimistic hopes loudly spread by the Prussian Lithuanians. The Lithuanians had by no means any special sympathy for the Germans . . . and because of the popularity among them, their clergy included, of radical political tendencies, the greatest care must be taken . . . Despite Russian oppression, the Poles are still a cultural and economic power. If it is possible to rule without them in time of war, to rule against them in peace-time seems to be not only difficult but even dangerous, since all other nationalities are incapable of offering any proper support to an efficient government. Thus, it

[102] Beckerath's memorandum was not made public by the Germans and it is generally unknown to the authors who have studied the problem of Wilno. Its Polish translation was published in 1919 in Warsaw by L. A(bramowicz), *Litwa podczas wojny* (Lithuania During the War).

is necessary to consider whether the lack of confidence which we show with regard to the Poles and which, ultimately, could make them enemies of German rule, is justified. . . I consider it improper to exclude at once the Polish population from participation in the country's administration and, by a behaviour considered by them as biased, to estrange them from German rule and to push them toward a union with a Polish national state which may be created after the war."

Beckerath's argumentation did not convince Ludendorff. He believed Germany strong enough to shape her "happy future" without seeking any assistance from the "Polish element" and even against their most resolute resistance. In the province of his birth, Poznania, he was accustomed to such resistance, while Beckerath was a meek and naive West-German. Besides, the Berlin government had already begun to study the problem of removing the Poles into their "reservation", and this would solve the general Polish problem. On the other hand, the notorious weakness of Belorussians and Lithuanians was more advantageous than disadvantageous from Ludendorff's point of view. Just because of their weakness, they would be easy to manage, ready to pay any price for preventing Wilno from becoming formally "a Polish city", and their future Germanization would present no problem.

This last point was agreed upon even by people who ostensibly opposed annexation or association with Germany "of independent peoples accustomed to independence." Paul Rohrbach, an outstanding writer and influential politician who was one of the signatories of the "liberal" address of July 27, 1915 (see above), stated in a booklet which was very popular at that time that "the Lithuanian is looking already now for a possible link with the Germans (*Anschluss an den Deutschen*)", and concluded that "if the war will lead to the association of these areas with Germany (*Anschluss jener Gebiete an Deutschland*) . . . their ultimate Germanization will follow in a necessary and natural way." [103]

Thus, Ludendorff did not recall his anti-Polish Directive, which was the primary cause of his conflict with Beckerath, and, after the dismissal of the latter, combined the Wilno and Suwałki regions under a trustworthy Prussian, Count Yorck von Wartenburg. On May 19, he sent a rather cool letter of thanks to Beckerath for his memorandum which he passed to Yorck with a notice that it "does not contain any reasons for changing principles which had been applied until now.[104]

[103] Paul Rohrbach, *Russland und wir* (Russia and Us), 26-30 thousand, Stuttgart 1915, p. 65.
[104] L.A., p. 12.

The Ober Ost "Constitution":

When the basic work of centralizing and reorganizing the administration of the occupied regions was completed, Hindenburg signed, on June 7, 1916, a long 92 paragraph ordinance entitled: "The Administrative Statute of the Area of Lines-of-Communication Subordinated to the Supreme Commander in the East (Ob. Ost)".[105] It was, in fact, a kind of "constitution" of Ludendorff's "another kingdom." Its first paragraph stated:

> "On the basis of the Emperor's commission given to him by transference on him of the power of Supreme Commander, the Ob. Ost. exercises the total legislative, judiciary and executive state-power in the occupied part of Russia subordinated to his orders. A limitation to it may be imposed only by the order of H.M. the German Emperor and King of Prussia, the Supreme War-Lord of the German Army."

Purely German and military character of the whole regular administration and judicial courts was stressed in the following paragraphs, and then their general policy and the duties of the native population were defined:

> 6. 1. The task of the administration is the rebuilding and preservation of well-ordered political and economic conditions in the occupied area.
> 2. The interests of the Army and the German *Reich* have priority with regard to those of the occupied country.
>
> 7. 1. The native inhabitants have to obey promptly and willingly all the ordinances and orders of the German officials. On their side, the officials will give no unjust orders.
> 2. The native inhabitants have the right to complain against dispositions of the German officials only when such a right is explicitly conceded to them by ordinances published in the Ober Ost *Gazette.*
>
> 8. 1. The co-operation of the native inhabitants in the administrative activity may take place in accordance with this ordinance and only on the order of authorized officials.
> 2. On no occasion can they be put in a position of superiority with regard to native Germans (*Reichsdeutsche*). They are to act in an honorary capacity without (regular) remuneration for their troubles . . ."

[105] *Gazette*, No. 34, of June 26, 1916, Ziffer 259. In September, 1917, Hindenburg's successor in the Ober Ost, Prince Leopold of Bavaria, explicitly mentioned the ordinance of June 7, 1917, as a legal basis for the formation of the Lithuanian Taryba, Klimas, p. 91.

In open contradiction to Ludendorff's instructions and secret orders, lip service was paid to the principle of equal treatment of all nationalities in para. 9 which stated that "different races of the area are to be treated equally by all German officials." The same paragraph prohibited any activity that could "break peace among the native inhabitants."

German was proclaimed the only official language; however, "for the purposes of matter-of-fact understanding in relations between officials and the native inhabitants" the use of "Lettish, Lithuanian, Polish and Belorussian, as well as the Yiddish tongue" was permitted (para. 11). The contents of orders and ordinances published in German in the official *Gazette* which had importance for the population, were to be published "in short sentences" in the same local tongues (para. 15).

The structure and the tasks of the administration of regions (*Bezirk*) and district (*Kreis*), urban and rural, and their financial means, budgets and book-keeping, were described in detail in paragraphs 16 to 92. The urban self-government, which was granted to some extent under the Russians, was revoked by the ordinance and replaced by "consultative councils" (*Beirats*), the members of which were assigned by the "German Mayor" (*Deutscher Stadthauptmann*). Similar *Beirats* could also have been called to life in the rural districts, and in the rural communes a "native headman" was added to the "German Head" (*Deutscher Amstvorsteher*) with the primary task of "transmitting the orders and ordinances of the German administration to the native inhabitants." (para. 28).

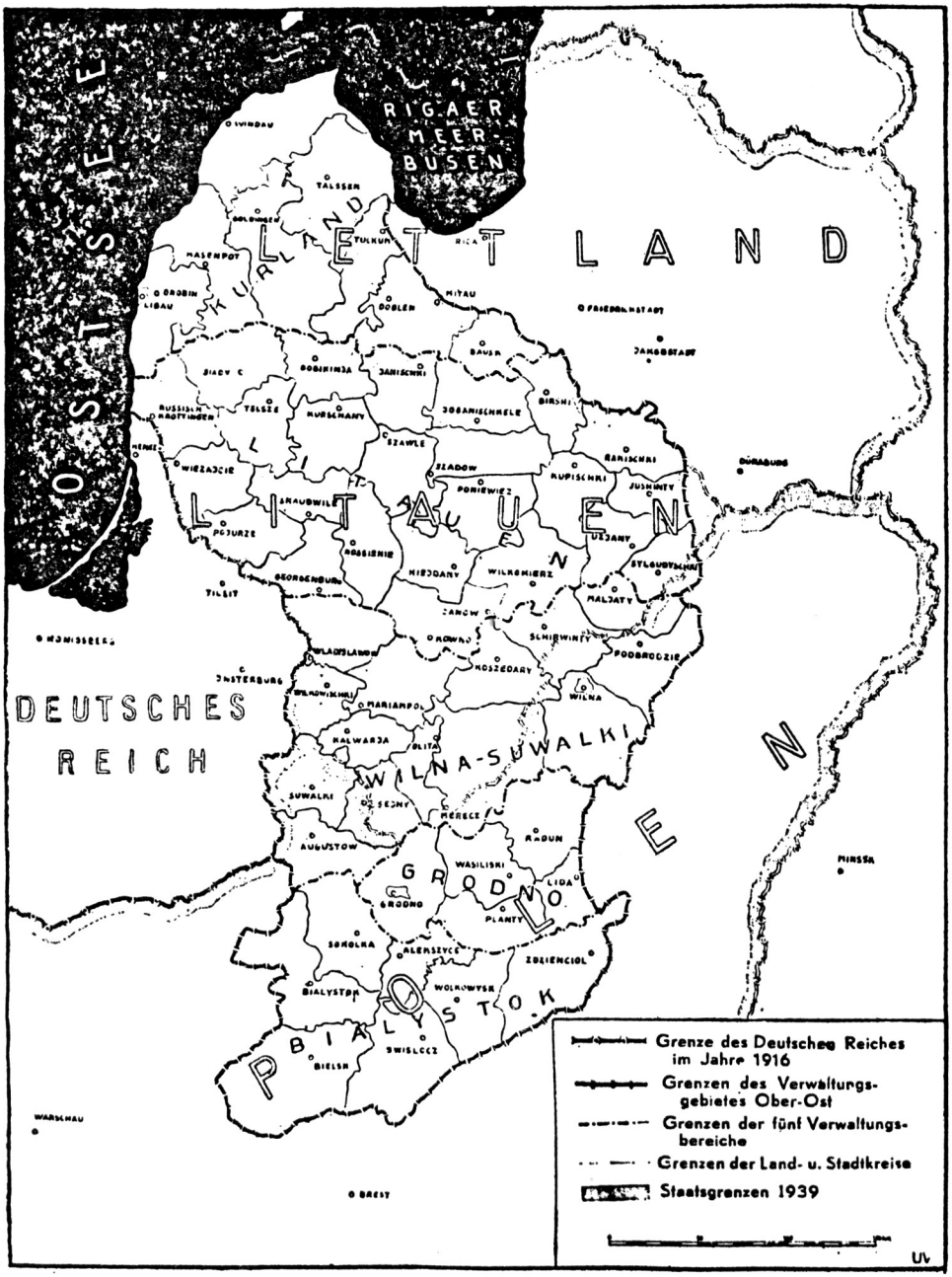
In sum, the Ober Ost "constitution" seemed to realize in practice Bartels' political ideas of a German "State" established by the military on formerly Russian territory, in accordance with the principle: "We are here, and we will stay here" (see above f.n. 16). For "a very long time" it was to be ruled *"durchaus absolutisch,"* and its military rulers had not only to fight against the Russians, but to start immediately "the German work of civilization": "till the soil, build railways, etc." German was made the "alternative language", taught to the children from the very first grade of the primary school which, as all other cultural institutions, was placed under German management and supervision in order that the Germanization could follow the German soldier "by itself."

The most striking feature of Ludendorff's "another Kingdom" was native population but also from the "civilian" government in the native population but also from the "civilian" government in Berlin. According to the first paragraph of the "constitution", they could by no means intervene in the exercise of the legislative,

judiciary and executive powers of the Ober Ost Supreme Ruler.[106] This point of view could hardly be accepted by the "civilian" government and caused increased friction between it and the military.

Except the shortlived chancellorship of Michaelis (from the middle of July until the end of October 1917), no "civilian" government in Berlin during the First World War was inclined to accept the ideas of a separate Ober Ost "State". They preferred to rule in the East indirectly, through the native "men of confidence". Ultimately, after the German defeat in 1918, an independent Lithuanian republic emerged from the Ober Ost and the German sponsored "Taryba", and it persisted for some 20 years, until the new "revenge war" predicted by Bartels. Then, the *Deutschvölkischer* theories were revived and applied by the Nazis even in a more radical form than by the Ober Ost. However, the "New Order" (*Neugestaltung der Dinge*) which finally was established in the East, after the Second World War is drastically different from what has been desired by the Germans.

[106] The fact that the Ober Ost authorities could refuse an entry-permit to an influential political leader, proved their *de facto* independence from Berlin. M. Erzberger, *Erlebnisse im Weltkrieg* (World War Experiences), 1920, p. 184.



Das Verwaltungsgebiet Ober-Ost 1916

ALBERT JUSZCZAK
(New York)

A GLANCE AT THE POETRY OF TADEUSZ SUŁKOWSKI*

INTRODUCTION

1. *Generalities*

Tadeusz Sułkowski was a Polish soldier and émigré who came to London in 1947 and died there in 1960. He left behind three volumes of poetry,[1] an epic poem,[2] much uncollected (though printed) verse, and some articles which appeared in the émigré press in Paris and London, and in the Second Corps press when that army was in Italy. There is also the manuscript of a rudimentary draft of an essay on Marcel Proust.

Sułkowski considered it his duty to write good poems: contributions to the moral upliftment of his readers. He was very dedicated to his art and wanted to live by the standards he set in his poems. He was a highly sensitive being with a deeply-ingrained sense of moral justice, and a profound desire for moral purity. At the same time he had a nagging, persistent homosexual bent. His drive towards self-betterment was impeded, time and again, by the pull of this morbid weakness. The tension generated by this inner conflict was the stuff of his very intense personal drama — a drama broadly reflected in his poetry.

There can be no doubt today that he is an important literary figure of the post-World War II Polish emigration to Western Europe and the Americas. Among Polish poets whose talent matured in exile after W.W.II, he is probably the most outstanding.

In some sense his contemporary profile was as minutely visible

* (Note: All English quotations except from T. S. Eliot and G. Whalley are translations from the Polish done by the author of this article.)

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1 *List do Dnia* was published in 1933, *Dom złoty* was published in 1961, and *Żal niedoskonały*, though finished in 1939, has not been published yet in its entirety.

2 *Tarcza* was published in 1961.

as Cyprian Kamil Norwid's had been. Norwid opposed certain commonly held beliefs of the Polish community in France in the latter half of the nineteenth century. He took a harsh moralistic view of the political and social attitudes of his contemporaries. Sułkowski was not openly critical, nonetheless he went against the grain of the early post-war years émigré attitudes by completely avoiding patriotic, nationalistic verse and expostulations on issues of the moment (these were problems constantly raised in those years by the poems of such respected and popular poets as Wierzyński, Baliński and Lechoń) and by cultivating a single, very personal matter: the lone, frail man against his weaknesses.

In pursuing his own line of thinking Sułkowski created an original poetry which outlines some difficult moral and artistic problems of our times and, especially in *Tarcza* and *Dom złoty,* makes a concerted effort to offer solutions.

Though these solutions are based on the poet's own experience, they are similar to guidelines for living in our world which have also been mapped out by other poets of Sułkowski's era. As a neoclassicist who matured, in that line of thinking and that type of poetic form, after World War II, Sułkowski forms but one link in a poetic tendency fruitfully explored by many poets in recent times. Some characteristics of this tendency are belief in the need for catharsis, belief in the spiritual value of suffering, the need for positive thinking (i.e. for joy) to stave off despair and give hope, and the belief that rigorous reflection is best expressed by simple, disciplined poetic form where the word is a unit of meaning for which the poet assumes full responsibility.

Tadeusz Sułkowski's merit within this wide context is that he concentrated more exclusively on the need for spiritual progress than any other contemporary Polish émigré poet; than any other Polish poet of our times.

2. *Chronology of Life and Work*

Sułkowski was born in 1907 and raised in Skierniewice, a town within commuting distance of Warsaw. Though his father died when Tadeusz was a boy, his mother managed to keep finances in excellent shape by continuing to run the family butcher shop. The young poet had no financial worries and being of a retiring nature he preferred to live at home. Here, enveloped by the provincial quietude of the town, he was master of his environment in the form of a mother he tyrannized and a younger sister he chose to ignore.

After graduating from the local boys' *gimnazjum* he apparently just sat at home for a while, writing poetry and reading. At about

the age of twenty-two he started attending the University of Warsaw, as a Polish literature major. He studied with Józef Ujejski and Zofia Szmydtowa. Toward the end of his university career (which he abandoned abruptly), in 1933, Hoesick published his *List do dnia.* This feat was apparently made possible by an aunt in Warsaw who paid the cost of publication. The reviews were very good and from respectable critics indeed: Karol Zawodziński, Stefan Napierski and Stanisław Furmanik.

The volume *List do dnia* was the first time Sułkowski had anything printed. Yet once he started he continued to publish steadily throughout his poetic career.

After leaving the formal study of Polish literature he joined the Army and ended up as an officer in the Infantry Reserves. His headquarters were in Skierniewice which meant that he continued living at home and enjoying all the amenities of garrison life. During this period he read extensively, attended cultural events in Warsaw and organized them in Skierniewice, and wrote. Between 1933 and 1939 several of his poems were printed in a number of periodicals. In addition, in this six-year period he prepared a second collection of poems: *Żal niedoskonały,* which has not been published yet (1978) though parts of it appeared in the summer 1969 issue of the London émigré quarterly *Oficyna poetów.*

Sułkowski was a product of the literary atmosphere and trends of 1930's Poland. At that time the country was alive with many literary currents. Searching for those strands which were to become the major components of the poet's work, one has to look both to the classicizing current in the pre-1939 period and to the baroquicizing trends of that time. The baroque characteristics are the dominant factors in the volumes *List do dnia* and especially *Żal niedoskonały* while the classicistic elements became dominant in the post-war poetry: the poems published in *Orzeł Biały* and *Wiadomości,* the two posthumously-published volumes *Dom złoty* and *Tarcza.* To illustrate: just as the references to Sęp Szarzyński are explicit in the two pre-war volumes, so the references to the Golden Mean and to Horace become explicit in the post-war period. The mature Sułkowski emerged as a champion of joy — the shield against the destructive, sad, dark elements of life. Consequently, his poems shed all dark tonations, become affirmative statements of life. *Tarcza,* whose analysis follows this introduction, is the epitome of the poet's post-war philosophy.

The poet was called to active military duty in March 1939, saw action in the first two weeks of the war, was wounded, captured and subsequently placed in a hospital in Łódź. He spent World War II in the German P.O.W. camps of Hadamar an der Lahn and

Murnau. He probably wrote poetry at Hadamar but only one poem is clearly identifiable as coming from there. He wrote poems in Murnau of which some were published after 1945.

In Murnau he applied himself to a systematic study of philosophy, Polish literature, and a few other tangent areas of interest. With this effort he reached a new, mature perception of poetry. Over four hundred pages of notes jotted down on ruled notebook paper have remained as testimony to his ardent studies. These notes are extracts from his Murnau readings, and recordings of events and ideas: an erratic pseudo-journal of almost no biographical significance, but of artistic meaning.

After liberation by the American Army in 1945 the poet went to Italy and joined the Polish Second Corps. Several of what are probably Murnau poems were published in Rome in the third and final volume of an anthology devoted to the poetry of Polish poet-soldiers who served in the Second Corps.[3] He also printed several poems in *Orzeł Biały* when it moved to Brussels and he to England, but at the urging of a close friend he soon switched to the London-based *Wiadomości* where he continued to publish to the very last (his final poem appeared there in September 1959).

In London Sułkowski was the manager of the Writers' House (*Dom Pisarza*), an institution meant to help the many poor Polish artists and writers who needed a cheap place to stay. In this house, between March 1947 and July 1960 he wrote some of his most outstanding poems. He died there on July 27 1960, the victim of a severe heart attack. He lies buried at the local cemetery which is just a three minute walk from where he lived.

TARCZA

In 1952 and 1953 Tadeusz Sułkowski was going through very trying times. In such instances many poets have turned to memories of their childhood. Sułkowski did too, and utilized those memories for the setting of his epic poem.[4] But to say that *Tarcza* was the outgrowth of sad times would be to miss the lesson of Sułkowski's poetic career. *Tarcza* is the identification of art and life with joy. It is an attempt to show that art is the natural habitat of man and that life virtuously crafted is life artistically shaped. These concepts find their roots in the very first words of Sułkowski's poetry — in

[3] Jan Bielatowicz, ed. *Przypływ, Poeci 2 Korpusu*, (Rome: Biblioteka Orła Białego, 1946), pp. 117-129.

[4] Tadeusz Sułkowski, *Tarcza*, London: Oficyna Poetów i Malarzy, 1961. All lines quoted from *Tarcza* are from this edition.

the title of his first volume of poetry, *List do dnia.* He developed these ideas steadily and gave them final shape in *Tarcza.* Besides this he was, almost from the very beginning, a lyric poet with epic ambitions and worked to improve his technique and broaden his scope to epic vision. For all these reasons *Tarcza* is a crowning point and that is perhaps why its author practically ceased writing upon its publication.

Two models for *Tarcza* the epic poem have been found. The first is Homer's description of Achilles' shield in Book 18 of the *Illiad.* Elements such as the choir, the newlyweds, the town square, are present in Homer and reappear in *Tarcza.* Homer's shield served Sułkowski both as a source of imagery and as philosophic inspiration. Homer's description of the shield presents a philosophy of harmonious existence in which Nature (as the collective of divine and mundane forces) and man live in a well-integrated, symbiotic relationship. Just as Achilles' shield was to protect its owner from the dangers of enemy spear and arrow shafts, so Sułkowski's "shield", though an abstraction rather than a physical object, is a protection for man from the miseries of life. The poet explains:

O radości, matko dzieła,
Ziemska tarczo dla cierpliwych.

(page 23, lines 3 &4)

Thus this poem could also be titled *Radość* (*Joy*) since it deals with joy as the inspiration for and protectress of man in his efforts to create. For at the basis of Sułkowski's concept of life lies the act of patient self-creation from the materials offered by earth and life.

The second work which perhaps influenced *Tarcza* is found in more recent times. A number of epic poems, besides *Tarcza,* were written in London during and after World War II. The most noteable of these are: Stanisław Baliński's *Trzy poematy o Warszawie,* Antoni Słonimski's *Popiół i wiatr,* Jan Rostworowski's *Dni ostatnie i noce pierwsze,* Marian Czuchnowski's *Na wsi* and Bronisław Przyłuski's *Strofy o malarstwie.* Of these only Baliński's *Trzy poematy o Warszawie* (published in 1943) seems to have influenced Sułkowski.

The third part of Baliński's poem: "Wieczór w Teatrze Wielkim" has eleven sections, some of which correspond in name to sections in Sułkowski's poem. For instance Baliński has a section titled *Aria i pieśń* while Sułkowski has an *Aria na sopran i flet* and an *Aria na bas i trąbkę.* Both Baliński's "Wieczór w Teatrze Wielkim" and Sułkowski's Part II of *Tarcza* are set in a theatre and have interludes between the acts. Both have choir parts. Both are descriptions of a theatrical performance (though in Baliński's case it is an opera, and in Sułkowski's it is a ballet-drama). Furthermore, just as *Trzy*

poematy... begins with a panorama of Warsaw to fix the realistic environment in which the theatrical performance takes place, so *Tarcza* begins with *Rynek* (*The Town Square*) which is also a fixing of the concrete environment in which the ballet is performed. Aside from these structural matters, which seem to have helped Sułkowski plan the organization of his own poem, the two works have little else in common, if anything at all.

*

Before analyzing *Tarcza* one might ask whether it is just an epic poem, an evocation — like *Pan Tadeusz* and *Trzy poematy o Warszawie* — of the joyousness and carefreeness of a way of life that will never return? It seems that *Tarcza* is an allegory as well. Perhaps one of the clearest definitions of allegory and its poetic function has been given by George Whalley, who says:

> ... I wish to advance the view that allegory in its full poetic development is a symbolic mode, and in its formulated state is a species of cyphering.
>
> Allegory is a convention by which the inner drama of conscience and love may be revealed. Different features of the individual soul are personified and, within the conventional setting of a dream, the personifications take on individual identity and act out the inner drama in a discursive (usually epic) narrative...

Whalley amplifies his perception of allegory further on:

> Allegory in its full development is a highly specialized form of symbolic expression... The purpose of allegory is psychological revelation. ... allegory reveals by dissection; it separates out prominent psychic elements and personifies them as dramatic "characters"... In the symbolic allegory we find the characteristic symbolical resonance between the allegorical persons and the faculties of the soul, between the narrative and the inner drama;...[5]

Tarcza is moralistic and allegorical because it tries to teach that joy is the sustainment of progress in life, and because it reveals certain qualities of the human psyche by means of personification.

Part I. Rynek

The epigraph of *Tarcza* "Grzmijcie bębny, dźwięczcie trąby" comes from the text of a cantata by Johann Sebastian Bach and symbolizes the kind of pure joy which the poem heralds. The reason

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[5] George Whalley, *Poetic Process* (New York: World Publishing company, 1967) pp. 190-191.

for the allusion to Bach is clear if one considers the allusion within the context of Sułkowski's interest in the Classicist tradition. What Horace meant to Sułkowski in poetry, Bach meant to him in music.

A rationale for the writing of the poem comes toward the end of Part I (titled *Rynek*) and is therefore something of a philosophical preparation for the allegory proper which occupies the major part of the poem. This rationale reads:

> . . . gdy ziemia pada,
> Trzeba, aby artysta odkopywał prawa
> Zwykłych ludzkich żywotów. By spod ognia wyrwał
> Ziemską radość i wołał, że jest jeszcze żywa,
> I ocaloną piórem w ręce ludzi złożył,
> I sam nad przepaściami, o radości tworzył
> Chór jak budowlę w słońcu. Dom może postawić
> Poeta nawet z fali groźnej i z błyskawic.
>
> (page 8, lines 16-23)

The importance of joy in life, which was alluded to in the poem's epigraph, is developed in the above lines. The house the poet refers to is the shelter that the right attitudes and the right actions give to human existence. In a sense, then, "dom" and "tarcza" and "radość" are aspects of the same symbol and can be used interchangeably when speaking of *Tarcza.*

Rynek is a deliberate, stately description of a hot summer day, horses and wagons, people and their activities. It is a description rich not only in visual imagery, but also in the imagery of sounds and smells and tastes, even touch. The high number of senses contacted and stimulated by the descriptions in *Rynek* helps form a very detailed and realistic image. This depth of depiction is achieved because Sułkowski shifted, in *Tarcza,* from metaphorical image to the more concrete reistic description, and because he needed to make the poem relate more strongly to common experience, to a common sense of reality, in order to make his allegory (part II of the poem) more believable and accessible. The importance of this descriptive technique prompts to give some salient examples of it. First, then, visual imagery:

> A upał polerunek kładzie na maść drogą,
> Aż błyska grzbiet, kłęby toczone i ogon
>
> (page 5, lines 3, 4)

This visual description passes from colour to shape and contour:

> . . . łeb konia tak prosty
> Że znać pod brązem skóry ułożone kości,
> Płat czoła, formę oka i łagodne nozdrza,
>
> (page 5, lines 5-7)

Now olfactory imagery: odour and fragrance, contrasted:

Kobyła w przód podana, leje nieruchoma
W parze od amoniaku. Pachnie ciepła słoma,
Rzemienie i chomąto . . .

(page 6, lines 5-7)

This image gives, in succession, the acrid, powerful smell of ammonia, the gentle fragrance of straw, the full, heavy, sweet smell of sweaty leather. Here are two examples of description involving the sense of touch:

To pysk w górę odrzuca i wtedy z warg śliskich

(page 6, lines 3)

and a little further on:

Na bruku kosze z łozy o drewnie wytartym

(page 6, line 21)

These images give a feel, respectively, of the slipperiness of the horse's lip and of the polished, cool smoothness of the bushel's wicker wood. In the following image, involving taste:

Pszczoła lata nad gruszką, co brzemienna pękła,
I złoty cukier kroplą po owocu ścieka.

(page 6, lines 31, 32)

one can almost taste the sweetness of the pear's juice heated by the sun. Finally, a description involving the sense of sound:

Nad rynkiem w żółtym świetle południe unosi
Rżenie konia, gdy dobył muzyki z wnętrzności.
Łeb i szyja barwiona klarownym kasztanem
Jak metal instrumentu: wpierw trąbki miedziane,
Potem basy, a po nich dudni miech skórzany.
Tak zwierzę daje koncert z powietrza i krtani.

(page 6, lines 15-20)

This is a mixture of audial and visual imagery, in which the visual is used as a supplement to the audial: part of the audial image is described in terms of colours associated with musical instruments.

This descriptive technique is Sułkowski's "reism" at the height of mastery. "Reism" and "reistic description" as used here, denote the enumeration of phenomena by means of which various internal (psychological) and external realities can be alluded to and created, or recreated. Reism is metaphorical in that its purpose is to create an equivalent of reality. It is not grocery-list itemization, nor is it scientific cataloguing because its aim is not categorization, nor the exhaustion of all possibilities within a given category. It is a process of object and attribute selection to recreate poetic vision as accurately as possible. It is a more refined type of metaphorization. It is also more complex, in that the metaphorical image it creates has

many components instead of the two common to the metaphor proper. Reistic description, as applied by Sułkowski in *Tarcza,* evokes a convincingly realistic image. The descriptive narration of *Rynek* is also used in *Wesele* (Part II of *Tarcza*) where it lends concreteness to the symbolic drama, creates the impression that the reader is indeed the audience watching and listening to what is happening on stage. Both in *Rynek* and *Wesele* reistic imagery, because of its sharpness of focus on things, helps to show the close relationship between art and life. Man's and Nature's artistic products are depicted in detail side by side to show that there is no difference between these beautiful works of art. Both, from the poet's standpoint, can serve to uplift man. Here is an example of such side-by-side description:

(Nature):

Na bruku kosze z łozy o drewnie wytartym,
A owoc w rozmaite malowany farby.
U dołu jabłka czerwień dawana wypukło
Jakbyś tam wytarł pędzel po pracy nad sztuką,
I wyżej, gdzie już farby wyschniętej zabrakło,
Czerwień wchodzi smugami na zielone jabłko.

(page 6, lines 21-26)

(Man):

Obok garncarz ustawił wypalone dzbanki
Gdzie na glinie pokazał narzędziem garncarskim
Życie godne człowieka w miłości i pracy.
Jedna strona ma pole, a na nim oraczy
O wielkich dłoniach z grubo położonym brązem.

(page 7, lines 1-5)

Near the end of *Rynek* there is a movement away from the location and subject of the town square, toward the site of the main part of the poem — the stage in the park behind the town square — where a ballet-drama with orchestral and choral accompaniment is to be performed. Before this major part of the poem begins, its allegorical nature is announced by means of the symbolic statue of the Satyr standing at an arcadian well near the entrance to the park:

Satyr z lędźwiami w kudłach i o masce koźlej
Śmieje się aż wygięty, aby mocne echo
Nad parkiem i nad ludźmi niosło koźli rechot.

(page 8, lines 31-33)

This image heralds the coming battle between the mask of illusion, and reality, which is none other than the struggle of light and darkness that plays such an important role in all of Sułkowski's poetry previous to *Tarcza.*

Part II. Wesele

The title of this section of Sułkowski's epic poem alludes to Stanisław Wyspiański's play *Wesele* which, just as part II of *Tarcza,* is the story of a wedding. The idea of portraying a wedding and of employing the dance motif were no doubt suggested to Sułkowski by Wyspiański's play. The dance motif is of great importance to both works as it creates the milieu and external, physical rationale for action and plot. Sułkowski, however, reversed the order of the motif's symbolic role in comparison to Wyspiański. In the *Wesele* of the symbolist playwright the first act occurs amid the gay, inebriated joy of dancing at a peasant wedding. The play ends with a somnambulistic dance, in which everyone shuffles along in a trance-like state, having become enslaved by the tune of their own illusions, by their inability to act constructively.

In Sułkowski's *Wesele,* which is the story of a staged ballet-drama, the ballet begins on a dark note because the heroine is ensnared by her wicked pursuer. But the finale is a dance of joy and liberation from the traps of illusion.

Apart from these technical considerations and the use of the same title (in Wyspiański's play in an ironic sense, in Sułkowski's poem in a positive meaning) there is little else that Sułkowski seems to have used from Wyspiański's work.

Part II (*Wesele*) of *Tarcza* is a tearing away of the mask of delusion by means of which man tries to escape the hardships of struggling toward moral improvement.

This section of the poem is divided into three parts: Act I, an interlude consisting of two arias, and Act II. Each of the acts is divided into an introduction, five episodes and a finale. Though most of the sections within the acts bear no title, the structural delimitation of each section is apparent from the contents. For example the introduction to Act II begins with the words: "The flute began the overture . . ." and therefore the reader knows that this line is the exact beginning of the introduction. Similar signals are used for all the other sections of the two acts.

Act I

The introduction to Act I is a philosophical reflection on the harm that wrong action does to man:

A tam gdzie żądza miała panowanie
Jest żółte pole z wypaloną trawą,
Na której stoją kamienne posągi
...
A z boku człowiek, ojciec tych posągów,
Siwą czuprynę palcami rozgarnia
I cicho mówi: „Dlaczego źle żyłem?"
I cicho mówi: źle żyłem?"

(page 12, lines 29-31, p. 13, lines 9-11)

The introduction is also a reflection on the beneficial effects of right action:

Nie opowiedzieć ni wargą ni piórem
Siły nadanej działaniu człowieka:
Podniesie berło i miasto zakwita
W dolinie miodu dla szczęśliwych plemion.
...
Ogląda owoc urodzony z siły
I do owocu mówi: "Sprawiedliwie".

(page 12, lines 16-19, 27 and 28)

By contrasting the results of these two types of action, the introduction points to the need for an accessible model of right action, so that man will always know what deed will give beneficial results. For this reason the very first lines of the introduction are a prayer to that image of man which can be emulated by everyone:

Marka pilnował lew siedzący,
Mateusza anioł strzegący,
...
Bądź naszym stróżem, obrazie człowieka

(page 11, lines 1 & 2, page 12, line 1)

The word "stróż" (guard) is easily associated with the word "tarcza" (shield), thus deepening the symbolic significance of the poem's title by one more meaning: that of the Ideal Man, who is ideal not because he is a type out of reach for the ordinary human being, but because he achieved the proper results in life through a balance of the forces at his disposal. These forces are, basically, the male and female aspects of the human personality: reason and feelling. It is in deference to this concept that Sułkowski does not consider the man whole without the woman, nor woman whole without man. He is perhaps the first and thus far only modern Polish poet who, in constructing a model for a better world, is obsessed

with the importance of marriage, of togetherness, for the success of moral progress.

The contrasting of good and evil in the philosophizing introduction of act I is enlarged upon in the five episodes which follow it. The first episode is a transition between the introduction and the second episode which describes the wedding as performed by the ballet company. Episode 1 begins with the lines; "Marsz weselny zadźwięczał na trąbkach fanfarą", thus setting a bright tone. In subsequent lines of episode 1 joy—as the "shelter" of the united couple—is extolled. Joy is called:

. . . pani doskonała
Wina, sumiennej pracy i ludzkiej płodności,
Dom szczęśliwy małżonków, łoże wesołości.
(page 13, lines 21-23)

The symbol of the shield is given a fundamental connotation here: that of house and shelter for the man and woman who perform actions according to the dictates of conscience. The wedding-ballet is described (in episode 2) to show how art should uplift man. and how, when it does, it ceases being illusion and becomes a vital part of experience. Here, as in *Rynek,* the poet uses reistic description to enhance the sense of reality:

W ślubnym bukiecie róże. Z drutu jest łodyga,
Płatki z lanego wosku i róża jak żywa.
Frak u Pana Młodego w teatrze wytarty
Ma w barwie trochę wiśni i trochę tabaki.
Scena i od gorąca polewa aż złota
Blachę zmieniają w kruszec, nędzne płótno w brokat,
Bo sztuka gdy w teatrze opowiada dzieje,
Podnosi nawet marność i marność pięknieje.
(page 14, lines 3-10)

That is not to say that the author believes the performers are actually uplifted by what they do. But what the actors portray with the help of their props is uplifting to the audience. The poet comments:

Szminka harmonię barwy na rysy nakłada,
Co w twarzy psuje życie, doskonali farba,
Widz patrzy na aktora jak na ludzki wzorzec
I myśli: człowiek ziemi tak pięknym być może.
(page 14, lines 11-14)

As these lines show, *Wesele* is preoccupied with morality, which was a life-long interest of the poet. No wonder, then, that an allegorical format is used in *Tarcza.* If a poet undertakes the task of being a guide or leader, especially a moral guide (as Sułkowski seems to do) then he tries to present his ideas and precepts in a

fashion that will be readily understandable. This is especially important since to become discouraged with a moral code because it appears inaccessible, is a common occurence. That is why allegory was one of the major tools of moral didacticism in the Middle Ages, and that is why Sułkowski uses it.

In line with the effort toward accessibility, the allegorical ballet, from the technical point of view, is put together painstakingly to ensure sustained interest. There is a sympathetic heroine, a swift build-up of action, and a sudden reversal of fortune heralded by the one-stanza transitional third episode that begins with the lines:

Dyrygent podciął ręką muzykę, aż w kotłach
Zagrała nie skóra napięta lecz otchłań,

(page 15, lines 1 & 2)

and ends:

. . . Wtedy przez kotary
Wpadli nowi tancerze w maskach teatralnych.

(page 15, lines 7 & 8)

This transition from joyous, light tone to dark, ominous tone prepares for the chase of the Bride by the Mask (representing the illusive forces of passion) in the last part of Act 1, which results in the Bride's succumbing to the tantalizing, but superficial attractions of Illusion, of The Wrong Way. She ends in pain, her soul pierced by Passion's arrow.

The Bride suffers because she has let herself be distracted from self-betterment, and has fallen for the superficial attractiveness of self-satisfaction. The Mask causes her to flee and in so doing she repudiates the protection to be found in union with her Groom. She feels that she can handle the Mask herself, and in this belief she breaks one of the great canons of Sułkowski's moral code: that balance is to be achieved by union, not by antagonism of the fundamental forces of man. Such separation, Sułkowski implies, is the height of arrogance and bound to bring suffering and despair.

As in apparent from the analysis of Act 1, *Wesele* is not only a symbolic tableau idealizing the benefits of married life, but also an allegory of the conflict of emotion with passion and of reason with emotion. The Bride (emotion) has a choice to make between passion (the Mask) and reason (the Groom), the first leading to destruction, the second leading to a fusion which will bring balance in life, and joy. Passion is the abandonment of all reason for the sake of fulfillment of desire. It is self-destruction through abandonment of self-sacrifice. Reason, on the other hand, is the analytical faculty of man which helps him decide if the outcome of his actions will be to his benefit. Finally, emotion (within the context of this poem) seems to be not only feeling but also the power of desire which, if

unchecked by reason, turns into the destructive fire of blind passion. These seem to be the terms in which the poet attempts to dissect the major psychic components of man, taking them to be the fundamental factors in his fate.

The Interlude

The two arias are commentaries on Act I. Their titles indicate two slightly different attitudes and stand for the female (soprano) and male (bass) protagonists of Sułkowski's drama of human life.

Aria na Sopran i Flet is a philosophical aside by the heroine. It is a commentary on personal struggle with evil and is, appropriately, in the first person:

> Słabnę w boju najpiękniejszym,
> Kto mi z ratunkiem pośpieszy?
>
> (page 17, lines 1 and 2)

This is a battle because it is a struggle between the desire for good and the desire for what is not good, from the point of view of knowing and wishing for the good, but being too weak to resist desires which lead to bad consequences.

Aria na sopran i flet is the song of emotion caught in the throes of passion. It is a song of lament over the suffering caused by wrong action.

Appropriately enough for a commentary on the struggle of good and evil, this aria is stylized as a medieval poem — perhaps alluding to the dialogues between man and personified Death and embodied devils which were so popular in medieval times. The distych structure of the stanzas as well as the near-rhymes such as "wołało — umarło", "leci — boleści" give it that sort of flavour. Even the rhythm is stylized "naively", that is to say, as if without a feeling for accentual flow, and as if only with consciousness of the number of syllables per line, which is kept constant at eight. The stylization is masterful and shows how fine a craftsman Sułkowski had become by *Tarcza*.

In contrast to the first aria, *Aria na bas i trąbkę* has something of the Baroque flavour in it. It is as if Sęp Szarzyński's tone were encased in a medieval setting. The medieval quality of this poem rests in the technical stylization which is similar in its salient elements to that of the first aria, specifically, in rhythm and rhyme. But in contrast to it, the *Aria for Bass and Trumpet* has something of the types of contrasts such as light versus dark, defeat versus upliftment, which are particular to Szarzyński's muse and to the

tones of other, even more Baroque Polish poets. That type of contrastive imagery is shown well in the final stanza:

Podeprze doskonałość
Rozpacz pęknie, buchnie radość,
Drzewo życia wyda owoc.

(page 18, lines 19-21)

As these lines show, the baroqueness of the poem, so appropriate to the low masculine voice for which it is written, also rests in the roughness, the starkness, abruptness of the imagery:

Despair shall burst, joy shall explode

(page 18, line 20)

Aria na bas i trąbkę is a reply to the soprano's laments. It is sung by the male voice, the voice of reason and tells of the three ingredients of life that determine what man is: conflict (the attempt to do what is right), defeat, and upliftment. The results of these three elements are represented as wise love, hope and happiness. In answer to the soprano's cry: "Who will hasten to my rescue?" the bass says that self-pity and tears cannot overcome the obstacles to self-improvement:

Nie ten walczy kto boleje,
Żałość dymem co przewieje,
Z dymu nikt nie zrobi miecza.

(page 18, lines 7-9)

Instead, the inspiration for victory is composed of three elements: the light of hope, the joy of toil and the might of perseverance. In this second aria the poet champions the cause of art as an aid in the struggles of life. He says:

Padający, nieszczęśliwy,
Ręka sztuki sprawiedliwej
Napoi w godzinie trwogi.

(page 18, lines 16-18)

So, while art is not a direct participant in moral combat, it is a harbour for the weakened soul, giving it new strength through insight.

The well-balanced, measured tones of the second aria are a counterbalance to the flighty rhythm of the first aria's couplets. And the bass's answers to the soprano's laments are a soothing oil

on emotion's troubled waters. The second aria also gives an indication of what can be expected in the second act of *Wesele*: the true happy ending, the control of emotion by reason resulting in a joyful state of existence.

Act II

Just as Act I, so Act II is divided into an overture, five episodes and a finale. The tone for the entire second act is set in the overture by the lines:

> ...aż cała orkiestra
> W pieśń jak w ogród ufności i krynicę weszła.
> Potem zmieniła temat, lecz ton był weselny.
> (page 19, lines 15-17)

The tone is more festive in Act II, which moves at a faster pace than Act I. In Act I the action episodes are separated from each other by transitional episodes. In Act II, on the other hand, all the episodes are action episodes with no transitions between them to let the reader get accustomed to the change of scene and characters. This elimination of transitions is the technical device which quickens the pace of Act II.

The first episode of Act II summarizes and interprets what is happening on stage:

> Tancerze robią koło i brzegami sceny
> Biegną złączeni w dłoniach, twarzą do widowni,
> ...
> Jakby reżyser teatr w ziemską kulę zmieniał
> I pokazał jej obrót na tych dwu pierścieniach.
> Kula krąży, i wtedy na globusie widać
> Raz piękno ludzkiej twarzy, raz formę straszydła.
> (page 19, lines 18 & 19, 27-30)

With these lines the universal scope of the poem is upheld and the actors of the ballet-drama are placed in significant perspective: as allegories of the major forces which propel mankind. The new element introduced here is the identification of man with the earth: an inseparableness of the fate of man and his planet which is already evident in earlier poems.

As the air clears of the multitude of dancers, two are left on stage, and episode two begins, a duet of the Bride and the Groom. The Groom who had held aloof from the Bride for the major

part of Act I while she struggled with the Mask, now runs to her aid because he sees that she was sincere in her struggle, and they form the Couple:

I przy koncercie trąbek stoją nieruchomi,
W godnym stylu wykuci na małżeński pomnik.
Oto korona życia...

(page 20, lines 13-15)

This crowning of life is not simply limited to the harmonious get-together of Man and Woman to form the seed-bed, so to speak, for future generations. This is the getting together of emotion (feeling) and reason to create the true harmony which results in inner peace and the strength to conquer obstacles in life. The result of this union of heart and mind is depicted in the third episode. There the Bride, fortified by her new alliance with reason, confronts the Mask and, in a very stately and self-controlled fashion, breaks through all of its traps, thus demonstrating the effectiveness of her alliance:

Dała krok, idzie wolno naprzeciwko Maski
...
Tancerz w biegu do panny pochyla łeb srogi,
Tancerka obok Maski wiruje bez trwogi,
Tancerz rozciąga sidła, by w nie wpadła żywa,
Tancerka jak puklerzem te sidła rozrywa.

(page 20, lines 17, 25-28)

The fourth episode moves from victory over passion to its aftermath, the control of the desires themselves:

Orszak dłonie podnosi jak z mieczem i z tarczą,
A wesołe tancerki na sznurach prowadzą
Grupę masek podobnych i w marszu i w złocie
Do cygańskich niedźwiedzi umazanych w miodzie.
...
Co Panna Młoda każe ruchem rąk lub stopy,
To robi dla zabawy orszaku zwierz złoty
...
Tańczą jak fauny śmiesznie malowane.
Wreszcie z woli tancerki stają przed jej domem
I u bram kamienieją w chimery ozdobne
O głowach zwierząt ziemi, co u progu strzegą
Naszych krótkich żywotów i domu ludzkiego.

(page 20, lines 35 & 36, page 21, lines 1 & 2, 5 & 6, 10-14)

Through the wedding of emotion and reason the desires — represented as wild fauns —— become tamed and serve man, rather than hurting him.

The fifth episode is another duet of the Wedded Couple, a final celebration of the union of those forces which make man the complete being, according to the poet.

The Finale

The last part of the poem is called *Chór* (*The Choir*). It is an apostrophe to joy, the "earthly shield for patient people." It is a shield because it gives man hope which helps him to overcome the obstacles to his progress. Joy can help make life noble and worthy because it inspires man toward virtue:

> Radości, mądra kobieto,
> Połóż na nas dłoń życzliwą,
> W instrumentach obudź pienia
> A w człowieku godny żywot.
>
> (page 23, lines 22-25)

From the image of the wedding the finale moves to a picture of the family at home, after the day's work is done. By means of this image the reader is reminded that the promises of marriage at its inception are not destroyed by the grind of day to day living. Instead, the poet wants to show that all the elements of togetherness: children, work, troubles, can contribute to the happiness of the individual; indeed, that only through such mutual understanding and support amidst the hardships of life can the family of man survive and progress.

Just as the Bride and the Groom and the Mask were allegories for the basic factors which in various mixtures give human lives their direction, so the family sitting on its porch steps after a day's work is a symbol of mankind, the family of man. As Sułkowski notes, given the proper attitude toward one's life, work becomes creativity. Moreover, recalling the bent of Sułkowski's entire poetry prior to this epic poem, one can conclude that in *Tarcza* creativity connotes beauty and beauty connotes goodness. Thus the finale's lines imply that the ultimate goal of human labour is the evolution toward Goodness. But that evolution is impossible — one is urged to conclude from the poem — unless there is a proper balance of Male and Female, of emotion and reason, the concrete, exterior symptom of which is the natural tendency of men and women to get together and combine their complementing forces to their

mutual benefit. No wonder, then, that the climax of the finale is the exclamation:

Chwała ludzkiej parze!

(page 24, line 12)

Tarcza: *Concluding remarks*

Tarcza is a poem about joy which, for Sułkowski, is the shield of man against despair in his daily struggles. It is a shield because of the hope it inspires, which in turn inspires man with the will to struggle. One could say that Sułkowski's idea of joy is the quintessence of his notions of inner harmony, peace, balance, good and beauty, which were concepts developed throughout his entire poetry previous to *Tarcza*. All of them lead to joy and all, simultaneously, exist when joy becomes fact. Furthermore, with *Tarcza* the evolvement of poetic technique reached its climax, especially in the creation of imagery. The poet had begun, early in his career, with the simplest form of metaphor and progressed to a type of image construction which in some sense surpasses the metaphor's effectiveness. In no other poem is reistic description more masterfully applied. Thus, *Tarcza* can be viewed as the climax of this reflective poet's entire literary career.

Tarcza, despite its universal appeal and epic sweep, is a very earth-bound, existential poem. Man in it is a being supremely responsible for himself. He has consciousness of his fate, awareness of the burden of his mistakes, and no recourse to a higher power either for judgment, or for compassion and help. Man is his own judge and jury and his own executioner. He is the Creator and he is also the Destroyer. Within the confines of this vision it is logical to assume that the only sane road man can follow, despite any and all odds, is the path of rightness and conscience. Whatever suffering that path may bestow, Sułkowski tells us, its final result can only be good.

Tarcza raises some questions and offers solutions to problems which definitely plague Western civilization. It presents both the problem and the solution in terms which though not new in the history of Western literature, bear repetition in our day.

INSPIRATIONS AND PARALLELS

Keeping in mind Sułkowski's poetic profile, we now move away from it to a distance that permits a view of his poetry against the background of the work of other writers. A full treatment of this matter is not warranted within the physical limits of an article. For

this reason the following discussion highlights certain topic treatments by Sułkowski which seem to be modelled on similar treatments in the poetries of Szarzyński nad Norwid. Also touched upon are parallel ways in which Miłosz and Sułkowski solve certain problems of imagery, as well as instances in which Sułkowski seems to have learned and adopted the methods and views of his contemporary.

There are other writers who influenced Sułkowski (Conrad, Dąbrowska, Proust, and others), or who developed along poetic lines analogous to his own and could therefore cast interesting light on his creativity (J. M. Rymkiewicz, M. Jastrun, etc.) but they have not been included here because they do not fit the selected criteria as precisely as the three poets chosen. The choice of the three writers was dictated first by the relative obviousness of similarity, second because these poets all represent important steps in the development of Polish reflective lyric poetry, and third because they are major representatives of their periods.

Sęp Szarzyński

The first generation of Polish Baroque poets was concerned among other things with metaphysical matters. The second generation was less abstract-minded and turned increasingly to concrete interests that were both immediate and at home. Sajkowski notes:

> . . . Into the circle of baroqueicizing poets stepped a group of writers promoting in their works a topic which opposed the "metaphysical" one (of the first generation of Baroque poets). Chronologically more recent than the former. . . they proposed as the main problem the matter of human affairs enclosed by the borders of the earthly motherland. . .[6]

Sułkowski begins his career something like a metaphysician: the opposing forces of good and evil in the two pre-1939 volumes of poetry, *List do dnia* and *Żal niedoskonały,* are presented (in the form of light versus darkness and enlightenment versus ignorance and sin) within the three planes of hell, earth and heaven. Later the poet rejected this large scope for a smaller one consisting of the human individual and his earth-bound problems. Consequently, though certain Baroque overtones can be distinguished in Sułkowski's émigré (post-World War II) poetry, the most extensive links with the Baroque—specifically with Szarzyński—are to be found in Sułkowski's pre-war poems.

Various studies have been done of Sęp Szarzyński and at this

[6] Alojzy Sajkowski, *Barok* (Warsaw: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1972), p. 106.

point in time it seems that the chief bone of contention among historians of literature is whether Sęp was a Renaissance or a Baroque poet. While in the post-World War II period Sułkowski will prefer to see the classicist side of things and the classicizing strands in Sęp, it can be said that in the pre-1939 period, when he was still a fledgling poet, Sułkowski particularly noticed Sęp's Baroque characteristics. This is epitomized by the programmatic poem *Sęp Szarzyński* (published in 1933 in *List do dnia*) in which Sułkowski synthesizes Sęp's ideological and poetic aims and implies that they are his (Sułkowski's) as well.

Sułkowski seems to have been influenced by the way Sęp formulated certain concepts. This is apparent, for instance, in Sułkowski's identification of the opposition "sin—salvation" with the opposition "decay—regeneration". Maver's statement helps pinpoint the source of Sułkowski's concept:

> . . . the essence of Sęp's poetry is delineated. . . by the contrast between the temptations of life and the desire to endure. . .[7]

This idea appears in Sułkowski's poetry as the linking of decay with the notion of mundane attractions, and also as the alliance of the concept of enduring, overcoming death with the image of growing toward the light, toward heaven, away from the earth, an image which was especially strong in *Żal niedoskonały*.

Though Sułkowski linked Sęp with the Baroque it is probable that he felt his major tie with Szarzyński to be not through characteristics of the Baroque period per se but through their common inclination for reflective poetry and their common bent for moral didacticism. As Sokołowska would have it:

> . . . in Szarzyński's case his merit lies in having discovered new terrain never before taken into account to such a degree in poetry: the utilization of philosophical-religious contemplations in the artistic word. . . Sęp created an intellectualized poetry. . . (he) . . . did not write philosophical treatises in rhymed verse, but. . . (instead) created reflective lyric poetry.[8]

Besides a common intellectual approach to subject matter, Sęp and Sułkowski also concur in their main themes. For Sęp these were sin, death and the weaknesses of man. For Sułkowski they were the struggle against ignorance and sin as well as the weaknesses of the flesh. Though each of the poets sees a different way out of the situation (Sęp by mystic union with God, Sułkowski by self-

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[7] Giovanni Maver, "Rozważania nad poczją M. Sępa Szarzyńskiego," *Pamiętnik Literacki* 48, No. 2: 334.

[8] Jadwiga Sokołowska, "Mikołaj Sęp Szarzyński — Poeta Humanistyczny," introduction to: M. Sęp Szarzyński, *Rytmy abo wiersze polskie* (Warsaw: P.I.W., 1957), p. 18.

control) both of them agree what it is that they wish to conquer. Maver says it for both of them when he avows:

> . . .The dominant theme of (Sęp's) sonnets is belief in liberation from fragile earthly life which is connected unrelentingly with sin, strife and illusions.[9]

The subject matter and the means used to express it, the reflective approach and the moralizing, didactic intention, all these are elements of poetry that directly relate Sułkowski to Szarzyński. This is particularly true in Sułkowski's pre-war poetry. After World War II, while retaining his didactic and reflective bent, Sułkowski moved toward a clearly-defined classicist posture. But even in this classicizing, anti-Baroque phase there is evidence of Sęp's influence. In *Tarcza* for example some key lines seem to be a reworking of images from Sęp's *Sonet IV*: *O wojnie naszej, którą wiedziemy z szatanem, światem i ciałem.* Therein Sęp writes:

> Cóż będę czynił w tak straszliwym boju,
> Wątły, niebaczny, rozdwojony w sobie?
> Królu powszechny, prawdziwy pokoju,
> Zbawienia mego jest nadzieja w tobie! [10]

while in the "Aria na sopran i flet" in *Tarcza* Sułkowski writes:

> Słabnę w boju najpiękniejszym,
> Kto mi z ratunkiem pośpieszy?
>
> Moja duszo, tyś monarcha!
>
> (page 17, lines 1-3)

For both poets the peace sought is the calm to be found within the soul. Thus, when in the above lines Sęp speaks of "real peace" he refers to the same notion as Sułkowski when he says: "my soul you are the monarch". It can therefore be said that though divergent from Sęp in poetic technique in the post-war period, Sułkowski felt akin to the Baroque poet in what he wanted to accomplish through poetry, and was influenced by him in the shaping of his thoughts.

In summary, let it be said that Sułkowski for reasons of personality, circumstances and life-interests had certain guiding ideas which he shared with Szarzyński. Due to the similarity of ideology Sułkowski was able to profit from Sęp's methods of formulating his beliefs and observations in poetry.

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[9] Maver, p. 324.

[10] Szarzyński, *Rytmy abo wiersze polskie*, p. 35, lines 9-12.

Norwid

The reflective, didactic Norwid was a patron saint of Sułkowski from the very beginning. Zawodziński espied echoes of Norwid in *List do dnia* and stated: "Conscious, but inorganic references to Norwid." [11] The organic relationship was to begin after 1939. In the P.O.W. camp of Murnau Sułkowski studied Norwid intensely. He read the one-volume Pini edition published in Poland in 1934 and took notes on every poem he read. As his notebooks amply show, he proceeded poem by poem, jotting down major ideas, unusual phrases and images.

There is a striking entry in the Murnau notebooks which exemplifies the complex cross-references and allusions that must have flowed through Sułkowski's mind as he studied Norwid. The entry reads, tersely, *niebo-płuca* (sky-heaven — lungs) and is written beneath the title *Bronisławowi Z.*[12] The entry relates to the following lines published by Sułkowski in 1933 in *List do dnia*:

Wątleję od tej drogi, pękają czarne usta,
Im więcej Boga w niebie, tym mniej jest nieba w płucach.
(*Sęp Szarzyński*, lines 3 & 4)

Norwid had written in his poem:

Ważyć się lubi w obłokach z opalu,
Spieczoną gardząc ziemią woła: "Abu!"
("Ojcze!") I pióro zwykł tracić bez żalu,
Bo z wysokości je tych wielkich rzuca,
Gdzie już nie wzdycha się! . . .
. . . tam, niebo-płuca? [13]

Aside from the similarities of imagery and idea, there is yet one other coincidence between *Sęp Szarzyński* and *Bronisławowi Z.* It becomes apparent upon reading the first two lines of the latter work:

Niech nie uwodzi ubóstwem powabu
Pióro ze skrzydeł Sępa Senegalu.

Norwid's poem is about the loneliness of creative heights, about inspiration. It is moreover a poem about the joys of religious, moral exaltation, about the harbour from earthly woes which closeness to God is. Perhaps it is not only a poem-explanation (it was sent to Zaleski along with a gift: a single black feather from an African vulture) but also an allusion to Sęp Szarzyński himself. If it was not

[11] Karol Wiktor Zawodziński, "Liryka" in *Rocznik Literacki za rok 1933*, Warsaw, 1934, p. 27.

[12] The full title of Norwid's poem reads: *Bronisławowi Z. z piórem.*

[13] Cyprian K. Norwid, "Bronisławowi Z. z piórem", *Pisma Wszystkie* (Warsaw: P.I.W., 1971) Vol. 2, page 241, lines 4-8.

such an allusion for Norwid it certainly became that for Sułkowski. It could be said that Norwid's poem might have been the spark that lit the inspiration for writing *Sęp Szarzyński.* The similarities or rather the almost exact quote from Norwid's poem in Sułkowski's poem, and the added evidence of the Murnau note both seem to support such an hypothesis.

Sułkowski's interest in Norwid arises from an attraction of a similar type as that which brought him to a proclivity for Sęp and the Baroque. That link is personal suffering as catharsis, looking for a means of escape or remedy for it, and the necessity of virtue.

As is evident from his poems, Norwid was a man sad and suffering: "...Wam ja, z góry/Samego siebie ruin..." [14] and in this suffering he must have seemed a kindred soul to Sułkowski who wrote, after Norwid:

> Tu w porządek obraca się to nawet, co upadło
> I w piękne gruzy rzeźbi kamień klęski.[15]

and

> ... taka forma, że w niej nawet klęska
> Nabiera kształtu spokojnego morza.[16]

Besides the items already enumerated there are quite a few in Norwid's poetry which inspired Sułkowski. One might even venture to say that much of the form in which Sułkowski cast major elements of his philosophy comes from Norwid. But of greatest significance in the Norwid – Sułkowski association is the deep influence of *Vade mecum* on *Dom złoty,* the only collection of Sułkowski's post-war poems thus far published. Norwid's objective, as stated in the introduction to *Vade mecum,* is also Sułkowski's tacit aim for *Dom złoty.* Norwid wrote:

> ... The moralists in our literature are too few because the nation's situation gives vent to more voices calling for rights than tending to obligations.[17]

The implication of these lines is clear: Norwid plans to fill the void with *Vade mecum.*

In *Vade mecum* Norwid says that he is writing the memoirs of a poet. This statement is important because it relates this cycle of Norwid's poems to his contention that the poet is responsible for what he writes, that writing ought to be a morally responsible act which is backed up by the proof of life experience. In the light of

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[14] Norwid, "Pierwszy list, co mnie doszedł z Europy," in *Pisma Wszystkie,* Vol. 1, p. 219, lines 63 and 64.

[15] Sułkowski, "Na wadze położą..." in *Dom złoty* (London: Oficyna poetów i malarzy, 1961), p. 17, lines 5 and 6.

[16] "Portret z lewkami" in *Dom złoty,* p. 33, lines 3 and 4.

[17] Norwid, "Vade mecum" in *Pisma Wszystkie,* Vol. 2, p. 10.

this key ideological slogan (which was adopted in the twentieth century by a number of Polish poets including Sułkowski) it becomes clear why Norwid considered this memoir of an artist capable of serving as a guide in moral conduct for others. *Vade mecum* is then an application of Norwid's dictum that "Ja to, co śpiewam, żyję i boleję." [18] (What I sing I live and suffer).

There is definitely more moral weight and conviction emanating from Norwid's *Vade mecum* than from Sułkowski's *Dom złoty*. The difference rests in the approach. Norwid, while trying to present, in some ways, a model of moral behaviour also attempts to reflect that model in his own life, however imperfect that reflection may be. On the other hand, Sułkowski created a model of moral behaviour and attitudes, but did not back it up with personal life experience to the degree Norwid did — though he avows that this is what ought to be done. An example of this failing on Sułkowski's part is the presentation of the concept of the family and marriage as institutions important for man's moral well-being. Yet Sułkowski was never married.

Sułkowski noted down in his personal diary in 1958 that he was incapable of living up to the standards he advocated. This failure was a source of his suffering. Norwid was humbler. He knew what the standards were and had no illusions as to where he stood in relation to them (which Sułkowski also knew) but Norwid, in addition, was content to have striven as he did and to have based himself not on what ought to be, but on what is — hence his emphasis on the memoiristic aspect of *Vade mecum*. Because he sticks to what he knows he is true to himself and therefore realistic and convincing. He says:

To zaś mniejsza, czy bywam omylon
Albo nie? . . . piszę — pamiętnik artysty,
Ogryzmolony i w siebie pochylon —
Obłędny! . . . ależ — wielce rzeczywisty! [19]

It might be said that Sułkowski was subservient to Norwid in two ways: first because he was strongly influenced by *Vade mecum* and other works, but especially by the latter as a type of poetic form and as a message, and second because he failed to produce as powerful an ideological instrument in *Dom złoty* as Norwid had achieved with *Vade mecum*.

Exploring the relationship of these two poets still further it can be noted that a major theme in Norwid is the differentiation between

[18] Norwid, "Czy podam się o amnestię?" in *Pisma Wszystkie*, Vol. 1, p. 260, line 10.

[19] Norwid, "Vade mecum," from the *Vade mecum* cycle in *Pisma Wszystkie*, Vol. 2, p. 16, lines 45-48.

truth and falsehood — a matter also central to Sułkowski and inspired directly by the nineteenth century master. Norwid more than once points out the high degree to which men pay homage to illusion — falsehood. Sułkowski, following Norwid, uses the ball and the social gathering as images symbolic of the channels through which falsehood (*zakłamanie*) flows in human relationship. Despite the similarity in imagery and thought there is a distinction between the following quotes from Norwid and Sułkowski. The Norwidian fragment (from "After the Ball") contains a fine edge of irony; Sułkowski's (from "A Ball Scene") does not. This is a fundamental difference between the two poets. It is a measure of the various depths which they achieved in self-perception. The lack of irony-as-spearhead to open the way for a better grasp of presented ideas is what slows the impact of Sułkowski's reflective, moralistic verse.

Norwid writes regarding falsehood-as-deception:

Na posadzkę zapustnej sceny,
Gdzie tańcowało — było wiele mask
. . .
Z kandelabrów jedna spadła łza — — —
. . . . . .
Ale i ta jedna z wosku była! [20]

and Sułkowski comments:

Po schodach idzie dama i staje pod palmą
Kolumną owiniętą w atłas czy gwiazdą zaranną,
Której dano do ręki wachlarz jak obłoczek nocny,
A wargom sztuczną farbę w skuwce do pomocy.
. . .
W słoju zrobionym z kości oleje złote,
I aby ten aromat był jeszcze mocniejszy,
Pachnie wosk w kandelabrach, co są u poręczy.[21]

The notion of make-belief as an instrument of conscious action for conscious ends is present in both poems.[22] Sułkowski not only sets

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[20] Norwid, "Po balu," in *Pisma Wszystkie*, Vol. 1, p. 318, lines 1 and 2, 15 and 16.

[21] Sułkowski, "Schody" from *Scena balowa* in *Dom złoty*, p. 57, lines 1-4, 12-14.

[22] Another poet who explored this theme in a similar vein was T. S. Eliot. His case is one of parallelism to Sułkowski, rather than of influence. It is doubtful that Sułkowski knew *Portrait of a Lady* from *Prufrock*, which begins like this:

Among the smoke and fog of a December afternoon
You have the scene arrange itself—as it will seem to do—
With "I have saved this afternoon for you";
And four wax candles in the darkened room,
Four rings of light upon the ceiling overhead,
An atmosphere of Juliet's tomb
Prepared for all the things to be said, or left unsaid.

his "action" in a similiar setting, he even uses one of the stage-props chosen by Norwid: the hot, melting candle-wax which in Norwid's poem drips from the chandelier and proves to be a "false" tear and in Sułkowski's poem lends potent aroma to the perfumes used by the lady to practice her "charms."

A corollary to the problem of delusion and deceit in which Sułkowski follows Norwid is the problem of life as a game, as theatre. Norwid writes:

> Cóż się już nie wracało,
> Odkąd na ten świat patrzę? —
> Rzeczywistością całą
> Jest że entre-acte w teatrze? [23]

Sułkowski uses the same image of theatricality of actions as a symbol for the meaninglessness of many human lives — lives not chiselled to perfection by patient and loving labour, but instead formed of props and masks to hide the lack of substance. He is saying the same thing as Norwid who by claiming that all is a staged play is also looking for that bit of genuineness which has somehow resisted change, has weathered the pressure of time and has added to genuine perception of the self. Sułkowski, extending himself further than Norwid, intimates that this posing is necessary because life is terrible, frightening, more frightening than the scary masks people do:

> . . . aktorzy w południe na stopniach teatru siedli,
> Gdzie u wejścia Tytania obok oślego łba z kamienia,
> I przymierzają maski antycznej tragedii,
> Żeby mieć chociaż przerażenie, gdy się nic nie ma.[24]

and also Sułkowski:

> Dalej było wnętrze teatru . . .
> . . .

[in: *Collected Poems*, 1909-1935 (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1936), p. 18, lines 1-8.]
Tantalizing is the presence of wax candles in every one of these portrayals, and especially in Eliot's and Sułkowski's where the woman is going about her business of creating an illusionist setting for her intimate ends. The candles could perhaps be interpreted to symbolize false illumination while the melting wax may be viewed as the symbol of the impermanent material of which illusions in this world are fashioned by the heat of "false illumination."

[23] Norwid, "Tymczasem," from *Vade mecum* in *Pisma Wszystkie*, Vol. 2, p. 41, lines 9-12.

[24] Sułkowski, "Napis," in *Dom złoty*, p. 29, lines 5-8.

W krzesłach przed próbą siedzi pod otwartym oknem
Siwy aktor o twarzy zrytej, lecz spokojnej
I mówi paląc: Ach, ileż mieliśmy masek
Malujących na zacność nasze życie straszne.[25]

Norwid, in discussing the same subject, speaks of the high price of playing the "game" of illusion, of running away from true responsibility for our acts:

. . .

Jak się nie nudzić na scenie tak małej,
Tak niemistrzowsko zrobionej,
Gdzie wszystkie wszystkich Ideały grały,
A teatr życiem płacony — [26]

The comparisons given thus far show Sułkowski to be a student of the older master. For Sułkowski Norwid's verse was the model par excellence of reflective, moralizing poetry. Sułkowski utilizes creatively the inspiration provided by Norwid's material. Having come to similar conclusions he recasts Norwid's imagery in a new light.

Another link between Sułkowski and Norwid is their view on the relationship of art to life. Norwid in *Bogumił* gives the rationale for considering art an instrument, an activity inspiring toward spiritual regeneration:

Bo piękno na to jest by zachwycało
Do pracy — praca by się zmartwychwstało.
I stąd największym prosty lud poetą
Co nuci z dłońmi ziemią brązowemi,

. . .

Pieśń a praktyczność — jedno . . .

. . .

A praca — toć największa praktyczność na świecie.[27]

Though Sułkowski uses different language and imagery, he says the same thing in two different ways in his poem *Pióro* (significantly, one of Norwid's famous poems is also titled *Pióro*). Sułkowski writes:

. . . Ponad sceną zorza,
A w jej ogrodzie chodzą ludzie piękni
I pokazują jak żyć trzeba.
Takie w tej łunie daje ocalenie

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[25] Sułkowski, "Przypowieść," in *Dom złoty*, p. 13, lines 17, 23-26.

[26] Norwid, "Marionetki," *Pisma Wszystkie*, Vol. 1, p. 345, lines 9-12.

[27] Norwid, "Bogumił," from *Promethidion* in *Pisma Wszystkie*, Vol. 3, page 440, lines 185-188, 196; page 438, line 148.

Pióro, mowa aktora, nuta pieśni,
Że tylko jedno nad nami skinienie
Ręki artysty, a będziemy lepsi.[28]

Several lines later he restates the theme:

. . .
O pióro, słuchaj, oto radość nasza,
Gdy życie proste, rozumne i wielkie
Pustą ozdobę zwala z kart pisarza,
By radą były tu . . .

The Romantics had agonized over the apparent difference between poetry and action in life. Norwid went to great lengths in *Bogumił* and elsewhere to prove that poetry and action are the same thing and moreover that poetry is the best kind of action possible. As the above two fragments of *Pióro* show, in this respect as well Sułkowski's perspective is influenced by Norwid.

As the entire preceding discussion suggests, Sułkowski found Norwid's view of art to be, in many parts, his own. No other Polish poet influenced Sułkowski to such an extent. The strength of this influence should not be overestimated, however. While in fundamental ways accepting Norwid's thought Sułkowski more often than not develops his own slant and his personal, though parallel imagery based on his own life experience. This is what gives Sułkowski's poetry, despite everything, its originality.

Miłosz

The third major phase of literary change in Poland in the interwar period (1918-1939) became an established fact in the early 1930's. This new phase was marked on the one hand by a movement toward so-called regionalism and on the other hand toward a reflective, classicistic poetry (Miłosz and others) and included as a kind of bridge between the one tendency and the other such poets as Józef Czechowicz.

Matuszewski and Pollak claim that

> . . . The final interwar years are a period of an ever greater mixing of styles and of an increasing disintegration of poetic groups.[29]

The changes which existed in the poetry of the 1930's were the result of gradual shifts in perspectives and of the redefinition and refining of certain poetic tools such as the metaphor.

In the article *Dwa pokolenia* Ludwik Fryde introduced the term

[28] Sułkowski, "Pióro," in *Dom złoty*, page 17, lines 3-9, 23-26.

[29] Ryszard Matuszewski and Seweryn Pollak, eds., *Poezja Polska 1914-1939/Antologia*, 2nd edition (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1966), p. 35.

"mieszczański barok" and spoke of the "new classicism." Both terms apply as unifying concepts to the period of which Matuszewski and Pollak speak. Fryde wrote:

> The young intelligentsia is in conflict with itself, unable to gain cultural self-knowledge. It is experiencing a profound crisis of subjectivism and this is most apparent in poetry. A part of the young . . . are endeavouring to save their "I" through tightness and regularity of form which shields the artist like armour . . . that is how the new classicism was born . . .[30]

Fryde's description of the generational tendencies helps to pin down the stream to which Sułkowski belonged. Fryde went even further and in *Trzy pokolenia literackie* (1938) suggested the date when this generation came on board:

> The youngest [literary] generation entered the arena of literary life about 1932. Its generational experience was the great European [economic] crisis. It impelled the young writers to a feeling of defeatism, pessimism, to a revolt against contemporariness and to an attempt at a new stance . . .[31]

Fryde goes on to say that this young group of poets was between 25 and 35 years of age (in 1938). Sułkowski fits into this chronological framework for all the reasons enumerated, and Czesław Miłosz does too.

Besides Fryde there were others who felt that about 1932 or 1933 a change came over the literary scene in Poland (both in prose and in poetry) which brought new directions in content and form. Kazimierz Wyka for instance (in his article "Porocznicowe rozważania" printed in *Marchołt* in 1937) expressed the belief that the appearance of *Noce i dnie* in book form in 1932 (Sułkowski always felt close to *Noce i dnie*) was the symptom par excellence of this new shift in literary consciousness.

Thus 1932 can be taken as the breaking-point between generations and trends. Sułkowski undoubtedly fits into that young generation of poets who were neither entirely pro-Kraków Vanguard nor completely anti-Skamandrite. He debuted with *List do dnia* in 1933. Czesław Miłosz's first volume of poetry, *Poemat o czasie zastygłym* also appeared in 1933. It is historically significant that these two contemporary poets debuted simultaneously. They were to develop along parallel lines from then on, with particular similarity of perception and poetic form after World War Two.

What differentiated them before the war was not so much funda-

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[30] Ludwik Fryde, "Dwa pokolenia" in *Wybór pism krytycznych*, Andrzej Biernacki, ed. (Warsaw: P.I.W., 1966), p. 204.

[31] Fryde, "Trzy pokolenia literackie," in *Wybór pism krytycznych*, p. 216.

mental technique and literary viewpoint as the various momentary apprenticeships — the multidirectional experimentation — which every young writer undergoes before crystallizing his own style.

What united them in the pre-war period were certain attitudes and poetic techniques that were widely accepted at that time. Thus, what Furmanik said of Sułkowski:

> . . . Sułkowski's simplicity, moderation and the transparence of his classic order.[32]

was also true of Miłosz and others in that period. The introspective, moralistic aspect common to Miłosz and Sułkowski was widely accepted and practiced then too. As the "new realist" Pomirowski explained (probably under the influence of Norwid):

> . . . Without moral triumph over oneself no triumph over external reality can become a factor in the rebuilding of the social organism.
>
> This is the sense in which contemporary literature is evolving. It is an evolution in an outstandingly introspective direction. Its aim is an ever bolder and more severe self-awareness, an opening of the eyes to the most hidden psychophysical substrata.[33]

Czachowski, assessing the poetry of the years 1935-1937 wrote:

> . . . For Miłosz, because of his present turning away from Vanguardism . . . new kinships have been sought in the great traditions of classicism . . . Kazimierz Wyka made a justifiable remark (*Pion,* Nr. 21,1937) about the influence of Norwid on the sphere of Miłosz's classicism and intellectualistic abstracting of reality . . . In Miłosz's poetry one feels the ever-present will to be personally responsible for every word, a responsibility equally moral and artistic . . .[34]

The same can be said for Sułkowski in that period of his creativity. The sameness of the sources of inspiration for Miłosz and Sułkowski in those dying years of the interwar period can best be symbolized by the following fragments (Miłosz):

> Twoja dłoń, dziwie, już lodowata,
> światło najczystsze niebieskiego stropu
> mnie przepaliło . . .[35]

The image of "burning through" comes from Norwid's poem "So-

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[32] Stanisław Furmanik, "Recenzje i sprawozdania. Poezje z r. 1933." *Polonista,* Rok IV (Warsaw: 1934), p. 66.

[33] Leon Pomirowski, *Walka o nowy realizm* (Warsaw: Gebethner and Wolff, 1933), pp. 72-73.

[34] Kazimierz Czachowski, *Najnowsza polska twórczość literacka* (Lwów: P.W.K.S., 1939), pp. 215-216.

[35] Czesław Miłosz, "Posąg małżonków," *Wiersze* (London: Oficyna poetów i malarzy, 1967), p. 31, lines 1-3.

cjalizm" which was also the source of inspiration for Sułkowski, who wrote:

Nie nazwę, nie obejmę słowem wymyślonem
Świata, co mię przepala, jak zarzewiem . . .[36]

Norwid had written:

. . .
— O! nie skończona jeszcze Dziejów praca,
Nie-prze-palony jeszcze glob, Sumieniem! [37]

Though Miłosz and Sułkowski, from the start, drew upon a common store of images, symbols and forms, and though both defined their sphere of activity within approximately the same parameters: moral didacticism, reflection (i.e. intellectual rather than emotional reaction to experience), classicizing form and attitudes, the most interesting parallels between their work occured after the war. Of course, parallels notwithstanding, there are elements which show their separateness as well. For instance, only upon reading a poem like *Campo di Fiori* by Miłosz does it become apparent that one thing separating Miłosz and Sułkowski is the latter's lack of first-hand experience in Poland during the German occupation, his lack of first-hand knowledge of such important formative influences as the Warsaw Uprising of 1944. No wonder that the poetry which grew out of Murnau fed to an extent on memory and was a poetry of severe reflection. Sułkowski, immobilized by barbed wire, had no latitude; his only recourse was to go deeper inside, to analyze what lay within. The difference in posture arising from these circumstances becomes clear upon comparing similar imagery in Miłosz and Sułkowski. There is something more intellectual and objective in Sułkowski's poem, and a greater emotional engagement, a clearer immediacy, in Miłosz's poem.

(Miłosz:)
Czasem wiatr z domów płonących
Przynosił czarne latawce,
Łapali płatki w powietrzu
Jadący na karuzeli.
Rozwiewał suknie dziewczynom
Ten wiatr od domów płonących,
Śmiały się tłumy wesołe
W czas pięknej warszawskiej niedzieli.[38]

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[36] Sułkowski, "Słowo," *List do dnia*, lines 1 and 2. (page number not given because only the manuscript copied from the volume was available to the author. The manuscript is in the possession of Kazimierz Sowiński).

[37] Norwid, "Socjalizm," from *Vade mecum* in *Pisma Wszystkie*, Vol. 2, p. 19, lines 11-12.

[38] Miłosz, "Campo di Fiori," *Wiersze*, pp. 89-90, lines 25-32.

(Sułkowski:)
W karuzeli na rynku cekiny i perska materia,
A w niej lwy przy koniach z wystruganym lokiem.
Dziewczyna rozwianą sukienkę przy kolanach zbiera,
Na źrebaku lecąc pod obłoki.[39]

Campo di Fiori was written in Warszawa in 1943 as a commentary upon live experience. *Karuzela* was published in 1949 (though probably written at least one year earlier) as a reflection on certain tendencies of man illustrated with pictures from a life that was only a memory at the time of writing: a recollection of boyhood in Skierniewice when there used to be a carnival in the town square, at which one of the great attractions was a merry-go-round.

But Miłosz is not one to shy away from the evocation of his past, especially when (like Sułkowski) he wants to make a point concerning morality or ethics. Such is the case with the 1943 poem *Świat (poema naiwne)* in which the world of young children is depicted in its narrow, charming and yet alarming scope. For comparison one has to go to *Oda, Scena balowa, Biblioteka,* and *Do burzy* in Sułkowski's *Dom złoty*. In these poems one can point to influence by Miłosz rather than parallelism to him. Both Miłosz and Sułkowski strive for a similar effect in the fragments below: they want to describe objects so precisely that they will seem concrete, real.

Łeb dzika żyje, ogromny na cieniu,
Najpierw kły tylko, potem się wydłuża
I ryjem wodzi, węsząc, po sklepieniu,
A światło w drżących rozpływa się kurzach.

While Sułkowski writes in *Oda*:

Nad piwiarnią antałek w pysku dzika o barwie piwnej
I obrobione w metalu chmielowe szyszki.
Na glinie kufla plac w kole girlandy, gdzie bawią
Przed gankami z owocem winorośli.[41]

Though the images of the boar diverge in reason for use in the respective poems, this seems to be a clear case of image-borrowing by Sułkowski.

Let us dwell for a moment still on some imagery and ideas of the two poets to emphasize how parallel their paths ran. In these parallels the influence of Norwid on both of them is once again manifest.

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[39] Sułkowski, "Karuzela," in "Scena balowa" from *Dom złoty*, p. 59, lines 1-4.

[40] Miłosz, "Schody," from "Świat (poema naiwne)" in *Wiersze*, p. 94, lines 5-8.

[41] Sułkowski, "Oda," in *Dom złoty*, p. 53, lines 11-14.

In defining his position regarding the passage of time versus reality (as concreteness) Miłosz writes:

Nauczyłem się nie tej, której czekałem, mądrości.
Cóż stulecia, cóż historia. Ja dzień każdy
Rzeźbić muszę, bo to dla mnie wiek.
Panie Boże, zrzuć mi małe piórko twej litości.[42]

Sułkowski:

Z każdego momentu złotniczy drobiazg
Mogą wykuć serce i mózg.[44]

Miłosz's poem is from 1944, Sułkowski's from 1946. The times then were such that it is virtually impossible for Sułkowski to have known Miłosz's poem. The parallel in expressed ideas of craftsman-like sculpting of poetic material point to Norwid and show how similarly the two poets think at times.

The image of the hummingbird feather, however, is one which Sułkowski definitely adopted from Miłosz, rather than developed on his own. It is eye-catching because to the Polish universe of experiences it is an exotic allusion. It appears in Miłosz's 1945 poem *W Warszawie* and in the poem *Pałac moich muz* (1948). It can be found in Sułkowski's poem *Dom złoty* (1949):

Miłosz:

Moje pióro lżejsze jest
Niż pióro kolibra. To brzemię
Nie jest na moje siły.[44]

Na wietrze niezdarnych cierpień
Kolibra dom budowałem.[45]

Sułkowski:

Usiadłem nad nią i wołałem w płaczu:
Skało bolesna, ważysz tyle, ile pióro kolibra.[46]

Wtedy wyjąłem ze skały to, co źle zrobiłem
. . .
Teraz ją uniosę na dłoni i mówię jak do dziecka:
Skało bolesna, ważysz tyle, ile pióro kolilbra.[46]

There is similar intent in the use of the hummingbird feather image — both poets speak of shouldering responsibilities which seem beyond the capacity to be carried, yet which must be borne.

Despite a profusion of similarities in ways of thinking, observ-

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[42] Miłosz, "Pieśni Adriana Zielińskiego" *Wiersze*, p. 112, lines 14-17.

[43] Sułkowski, "Nuty," *Dom złoty*, p. 21, lines 15-16.

[44] Miłosz, "W Warszawie," *Wiersze*, pp. 123-124, lines 25-27.

[45] Miłosz, "Pałac moich muz," *Wiersze*, p. 140, lines 19 and 20.

[46] Sułkowski, "Dom złoty," in *Dom złoty*, p. 83, lines 51-53, 55-56.

ing and image-forming, there is a basic difference between Miłosz and Sułkowski, a difference which is especially strongly discernible in the post-World War Two period. This difference in personal philosophies can be seen as a major criterion for viewing the two poets as clearly different poetic personalities, and for accepting Sułkowski as a poet genuinely original and independent vis à vis Miłosz. In his post-war phase Sułkowski was a poet of the inner, psychic landscape while Miłosz, in those years, begins increasingly to value the external landscape — the physical and social environment, the relationship of person to person. If one were to ask where the fork in the road begins which separates these two neoclassicists, the answer would have to be that it starts with Miłosz's acute sense of the value and meaning of history and Sułkowski's defiance of all that has to do with the passage of time — a reflex which goes back to his first poetic battles against the ravages of degeneration and change.

Closing Remarks

One might say, in conclusion, that the imposing strength of Sułkowski's talent lets his relationship to Szarzyński, Norwid and Miłosz be defined in terms of dialogue rather than imitation. Though it is clear (as has been demonstrated on the preceding pages) that Sułkowski was not averse to the use of various images and ideas from those writers, it is also definite that he did not use them because he was incapable of developing his own. Rather, their use points to his feeling of responsibility for continuing and stating afresh (Sęp, Norwid) and amplifying (Miłosz) issues which he considered to be common to his and their concerns as thinking and observing members of the human family.

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PROBLEMS OF TRANSLATION — WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ENGLISH AND POLISH LANGUAGES

A few comments on the history of translation and on the complexity of language structure may provide a helpful introduction to this study of the problems involved in translation. Present-day problems related to the diversity of languages are in some respects reminiscent of the story of the Tower of Babel. Although technical advancement, as seen in the development of telegraphy, the telephone, radio, television and satellite, has made speedier communication possible between peoples geographically far apart, misunderstanding and confusion may prevail if the language of transmittal is not understood by those at the receiving end of the communication. The world has, as it were, shrunk as a consequence of advanced technology, the interdependence of national economies, and cultural cooperation among nations, yet many gaps remain, separating the peoples of the world. The more frequent inclusion of foreign-language courses in schools has done little to reduce the linguistic gaps; this remains, to be spanned by the translator.

One need only scan the national bibliographies of countries with a high level of literacy such as the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States, to appreciate the large number of translations made in these countries — translations designed to meet the demand for knowledge and the need for esthetic enjoyment. Translations account for an even larger portion of the national book publishing output in Italy, Portugal, Spain and other countries, in such fields of learning as sociology, ethnology and psychology, as well as in the physical sciences. *Index translationum,* published annually by UNESCO, provides an even broader picture. Rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States in developing so-called machine translating, aimed mainly at works in science and technology, demonstrates the importance these countries attach to translation as a means of speeding up communication in these fields.

Historical background

Nothing is said in the story of the Tower of Babel about translation but we know that translators, as well as scribes, existed long ago. Their patrons in the distant past fell roughly into two groups: the religious, searching for the Divine Word even when revealed in a language other than their own; and the secular, seeking knowledge and esthetic enjoyment. Looking at some of the milestones attained by these two groups, let us begin with religious literature.

The *Old Testament* was translated into Greek in the 2nd century A.D. Theodotian and Symmachus, during the same century, tried their hands at rendering an improved translation. In addition to these ostensibly individual enterprises, a commissioned translation came into existence when Pope Damasus entrusted to Jerome the task of translating the *New Testament* into Latin. Jerome's translation, known as the *Vulgata,* exercised enormous and long-lasting influence upon Christian peoples until almost the end of the Middle Ages. Although translation of the entire *Bible* was not undertaken at that time, translations were made in the form of interlinear "glosses" in the Latin manuscripts, according to the needs of priests in various countries, and translations in the form of verse were known. Other religious works were also translated into the slowly evolving national languages of European peoples.[1] King Alfred the Great translated into English St. Gregory the Great's *Cura pastoralis* (Pastoral Care); biographies of the saints were translated, as were the *Credo* and the *Pater Noster.* Toward the end of the Middle Ages the need for translating the *Bible* into national languages was recognised; we know that the first translations by John Wycliffe between 1380 and 1384 were literal and crude and long remained in manuscript form as they preceded the invention of printing. William Tyndale's English translation of the *New Testament,* published in Worms in 1526, and the *Old Testament,* published in 1537, were followed by Myles Coverdale's translation of the *New Testament* in 1538. The chain of translations into English was expanded by Martin Luther's translation of the *New Testament* in 1522 and included the *Great Bible* published in 1529, the *Geneva Bible* in 1560, the *Authorised Version* commissioned by King James I in 1611, and the *Douai Bible,* a Catholic version, first published in 1582. George Campbell's *Four Gospels,* published in 1789, is of special interest here because it contains a

[1] Bruce, F. F. *The English Bible. A History of Translations from the Earliest English Version to the New English Bible.* New and rev. ed. London, Lutterworth Press, 1970. p. 7.

discussion on the principles of translating. Later, by the end of the 19th and during the 20th century, a number of translations were authorised by the Church of England, the Catholic Church in England, the Catholic Church and the Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and by other Christian denominations.

Secular literature, as shown by historical records, appeared in translation even earlier. Livius Andronicus translated the *Odyssey* from Greek into Latin about 240 B.C.; Catullus and Cicero were engaged in translating from Greek into Latin; Naevius and Ennius translated Greek plays into Latin. After centuries of upheaval in Europe during the Dark Ages, and great changes in the Middle East, a centre translating the Greek classics into Arabic was established in Baghdad and continued its activities during the 9th and 10th centuries. A little later a centre in Toledo, Spain, translated Greek works into Latin but from Arabic and Syriac translations.

With the Renaissance in Italy the translators turned to Greek originals, translating them into Latin and later, Italian. As the Renaissance spread into other countries it encouraged translation from Latin too, into French and other languages. In England, Pindar's *Odes* was translated by Abraham Cowley (London, 1656); John Dryden — to mention only his major works in this field — translated Ovid's *Epistles,* Plutarch's *Lives,* the works of Virgil and some works of Horace, Homer and Lucretius; Horace's *Ars poetica* was translated by Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roscommon (1680). The chain of translations continued to expand during the 19th and 20th centuries. Some works were translated again and again in response to new requirements of scholarship and in an attempt to render them in the contemporary language of each rising generation. This need for new translations is demonstrated by R. A. Brower's study "Seven Agamemnons" in which six translations of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* are analysed, having regard to changes in language, scholarship and the esthetic taste of the time.[2]

Gradually the range expanded to embrace other literatures such as Indian and Persian, and with the growth of science and technology and the development of national literatures, translations were made from various languages into numerous other languages,[3] directly from originals or, as one case will illustrate, from transla-

[2] Brower, Reuben A. "Seven Agamemnons", in Brower, Reuben A., ed. *On Translation.* Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1959. pp. 173-95. (Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, 23)

[3] Bates, Ernest S. *Intertraffic Studies in Translation.* London, Jonathan Cape, 1943.

tions. Thucydides wrote in Greek; his work was translated into Latin by Laurentius Vallon; the latter's text was used by Claude de Seymour when he translated into French, and the French translation was used by Nichols for his translation into English.

The idea of what constituted the essential attributes of a translated work underwent many changes, especially at the beginning of the 19th century when " translators seriously attempted to render the particular flavour of work of a different age or climate, because public interest in such things was not sufficiently strong until it had been stimulated by the romantics' sense of history and love of the exotic." [4]

The Poles, being no exception, translated both religious and secular literature.[5,6] The best known translations of the *Bible* into Polish are: *Biblia brzeska* (1563), reflecting the Calvinistic approach; *Biblia nieświeska* (1570) translated by Szymon Budny, a proponent of the Arian domination, who also translated the *New Testament* (1574), and the Catholic version rendered by Jakub Wujek in 1599. *Biblia gdańska,* a Lutheran version, appeared in 1632.[7]

These translations were paralleled by numerous translations of secular literature, at the beginning mainly Latin literature, rendered in free translation, as were some poems translated by Kochanowski included in his *Fraszki* (1584). Perhaps the best known of the translations of secular literature is that by Łukasz Górnicki, under the title *Dworzanin,* of Baltasare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano.*

The range of translations into Polish, generally free translations, widened in the 18th century and included works in Latin and in French, translated by Józef Bielawski, Ignacy Krasicki, Franciszek Bohomolec and others. Translations of belles lettres and scientific works were made from various languages into Polish during the 19th and 20th centuries. Three names of outstanding translators in the present century are Zenon Przesmycki (Miriam), Jan Kasprowicz and Tadeusz Boy-Żeleński. A scanning of *Przewodnik Bibliograficzany* for recent years reveals the variety of subjects now covered by books translated into Polish.

The range expanded steadily from the 17th century (when even

[4] Foster, Leonard. "Translation: An Introduction", in University College, London. Communication Research Centre. *Aspects of Translation.* London Secker and Warburg, 1958, p. 15.

[5] Łoś, Jan. *Początki piśmiennictwa polskiego.* Lwów, 1922.

[6] Wierczyński, Stefan. *Wybór tekstów staropolskich.* Lwów, 1930.

[7] Krzyżanowski, Julian. *Historia literatury polskiej.* Warszawa, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1953. pp. 110, 154.

a Polish cookery book was translated into Russian[8]) to the present-day. Further examples are the translations of scientific and technological works at the forefront of intellectual life in certain countries; a large number of political writings with strong ideological overtones; operas; short, frequently multi-lingual instructions on how to assemble and operate machinery and various gadgets or how to use chemical products distributed on the international market More familiar to the general public are the multi-lingual instructions or information at airports, railway stations, motorways, currency exchanges, customs offices and the like, and the dubbing of voices in foreign motion pictures, where the synchronization of gesture and speech poses special problems.[9] Yet other examples are the simultaneous translations of the proceedings of international meetings dealing with political, scientific, engineering and other matters. As an example of simultaneous translations one may cite those at the United Nations, but similar translations take place at many small meetings of specialists. Although the subject matter may be different, a high degree of idiomatic knowledge and substantial subject knowledge are invariably required of the translator.

Mention has already been made of the fact that machine translating at the present time is mainly concerned with scientific and technical works. Since the first demonstration of machine translating in New York in 1954 by P. L. Garvin and L. Dostert, by the Russians in the following year and by the Cambridge Language Research Unit in England in 1957,[10] some progress has been made in translating the English, German and Russian languages; there is a prospect of success with the Chinese language also. The challenging task lying ahead is to develop a system capable of transforming the collocation of words and syntactical structure of the source language into those of the target language.

Throughout the long history of translating, consideration has been given to what the translator should achieve, to what should be the final product of his work. Some of these considerations have been expressed by translators themselves, some by students of language, especially modern linguists, and some by ethnologists.

Much interest has been shown in defining what comprises the translating process and what qualities a completed translation should

[8] Leeming, H. "A 17th-Century Polish Cookery Book. Russian Manuscript Translation", *Slavonic and East European Review*. Cambridge, Eng., v. 52 (Oct. 1974), pp. 500-13.

[9] Nida, Eugene A. *Toward a Science of Translating. With Special Reference to Principles and Procedures involved in Bible Translating*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1964. p. 178.

[10] Savory, Theodore. *The Art of Translation*. London, Jonathan Cape, 1968. p. 170.

possess. In the early stages, translating consisted of supplying word-for-word text, often in the form of interlinear "glosses" known in the history of various languages. This primitive system of supplying "glosses" in complete disregard of the collocation of words and idioms in the target language, and adhering to the structure of the source language, prevailed for centuries but was abandoned as there developed an understanding of the need to render a full text to satisfy the requirements of the target language in all respects, including those relating to the collocation of words, grammatical categories, syntax and idioms.

Etienne Dolet, in *La manière du bien traduire* published in 1540, was the first to formulate an idea of what constituted a good translation. One of his principles, the equivalency of meaning, has survived the test of time, paving the way to many refinements as insight into the meaning of a given translated work has increased. Dolet thought that the translator should,in order to avoid word-for-word translating, first know the meaning of the entire work and understand its intention. But let us in this brief sketch of the theory of translating confine ourselves to English contributions.[11] The first English attempt to formulate the basic principles of translating was presented in the preface "Translator to the Reader" to the King James Authorised Version of the *Bible,* explaining the approach of the translators. An attempt pertinent to one type of translated work, namely poetry, came from the translator of Horace's *Ars poetica,* Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roscommon (1630-1685) in his *Essay on Translated Verse* (1684). Broader treatment was given by John Dryden, a prolific translator of classical poetry and prose, in the introduction to his translation of Ovid's *Epistles* (1690). He proposed three categories to show the basic differences between types of translation: 1) metaphrase, a word-for-word rendering; 2) paraphrase, a rendering of the meaning but with little attention paid to an equivalence of style, and 3) imitation, with little attention paid to the lexical meaning but seeking to express the meaning of the entire work. Dryden favoured translation of the paraphrase type although he considered his own translation of Ovid's *Epistles* to be an imitation.

Nearly a century later George Campbell, in the introduction to his translation of the *Four Gospels,* constituting volume I of this work (London, 1789), arrived at conclusions not only penetrating but general in their nature and similar to those formulated at the same time by Alexander Tytler (Lord Woodhouselee) in his *Essay*

[11] Amos, Flora R. *Early Theories of Translation.* New York, Columbia University, 1920. Ph.D. thesis.

on Principles of Translation (London, 1792). Tytler also presented three principles: 1) the translated work should be an equivalent work; 2) the style of the original work should be recreated in the language of translation, and 3) the translated work should read with the same ease as the original work.

Both Tytler and Campbell were deeply interested in the equivalence of translation and in style. Although naturally not all translators follow Tytler's prescription, interest in rendering an equivalent translation was gaining ground during the 18th and 19th centuries.

In this brief outline only a few of the better known contributions to the theory of translation are mentioned. Readers interested in following subsequent contributions are referred to the extensive bibliography on translating compiled by Eugene A. Nida[12] and two studies on translation by J. P. Postgate[13] and J. C. Catford[14] respectively.

It may be of interest to readers to learn about some Polish contributions to the theory of translation. Wacław Borowy wrote a study titled "Boy jako tłumacz" [Boy as a Translator]; Olgierd Wojtasiewicz wrote a book *Wstęp do teorii tłumaczenia* [Introduction to the Theory of Translation], (Wrocław, 1957), and a collection of studies edited by Michał Rusinek was published under the title *O sztuce tłumaczenia* [On the Art of Translation], (Wrocław, 1958).

The meaning

The growing concern about translation in recent decades and especially about the aspect of equivalency is the result of a growing scholarship and desire for exactness. It is stimulated by modern philosophers' and linguists' preoccupation with the concept of meaning and the structure of language in schools such as the Vienna Circle with Maurice Schlick, the Warsaw Circle of Logic with Czesław Łukasiewicz, and the Oxford group of logical positivists with Alfred S. Ayer.

The first sign of interest in meaning may be traced much farther back, to Charles Sanger Peirce's article "How to Make our Ideas Clear."[15] Roughly speaking, interest in meaning developed strongly

[12] Nida, Eugene A. *Toward a Science of Translating. With Special Reference to Principles and Procedures involved in Bible Translating.* Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1964. pp. 265-320.

[13] Postgate, John P. *Translation and Translations.* London, G. Bell and Sons, 1922.

[14] Catford, John C. *A Linguistic Theory of Translation.* London, 1965.

[15] *Popular Science Monthly*, v. 12 (1878).

in the field of philosophy in the second quarter of the present century, as the following titles of works indicate: C. K. Ogden and S. I. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning* (London, 1923); A. S. Ayer, *Language, Truth and Logic* (London, 1936); B. Russell, *Religion and Science* (New York, 1935); Charles L. Stevenson, *Ethics and Language* (New Haven, 1944); E. Cassirer, *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen* (1923-29) and *An Essay on Man* (New Haven, 1944); R. Carnap, *Philosophy and Logical Syntax* (London, 1935); C. W. Morris, *Signs, Language and Behaviour* (New York, 1946), and L. Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* (Oxford, 1960) and *Preliminary Studies for the "Investigations"*, 2nd. ed. (Oxford, 1960). Wittgenstein characterised this interest briefly, saying "that all philosophy is critique of language."[16]

In the field of general linguistics, progress accelerated during the last years of the 19th and during the 20th century, beginning with Ferdinand de Saussure's *Cours de linguistique générale*, 4th ed. (Paris, 1949) and continuing with Edward Sapir's *Language* (New York, 1921). Other studies by ethnologists, such as Bronisław Malinowski's "The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Societies"[17] and *The Coral Gardens and Their Magic*, (New York, 1935), J. R. Firth's *Speech* (London, 1930) and *The Tongues of Men*, (London, 1937), and B. L. Whorf's studies on the languages of American Indians published under the title *Language, Thought and Reality* (Cambridge, 1956), together with the studies of sociolinguists,[18,19] brought new insight into the meaning of utterances, so important in translating.

Further interest in meaning was expressed in the effort to work out more precise rules for the compilation of dictionaries.[20] It was realised that the dictionary supplied broad categories of meaning (classes) current only up to the time of compilation of the dictionary; that only occasionally did it give exact meaning in context; and finally that it could not, in a strict sense, deal with projections of future meaning. This realisation of what constitutes meaning is noti-

16 Wittgenstein, Ludwig. *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1922. p. 37.

17 Published as a supplement to Charles K. Ogden and Ivor A. Richards' *The Meaning of Meaning*. 10th ed. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul 1960. pp. 296-336.

18 Bright, William, ed. "Introduction: The Dimensions of Sociolinguistics", in *UCLA Proceedings on Sociolinguistics 1964*. Berkeley, California University Press, 1966. pp. 11-15.

19 Capell, A. *Studies in Sociolinguistics*. The Hague, Mouton, 1966, 167 p. (Janua linguarum. Series minor, no. 46).

20 Sledd, James. "The Lexicographer's Uneasy Chair", *College English*, v. 23 (1962) and in Dean, Leonard F. and Wilson, K. G., eds. *Essays on Language and Usage*. 2nd. ed. New York, Oxford University Press, 1963.

ceable in Savory's book on translation and comes to the fore in numerous works on the study of language.

S. I. Hayakawa thought that words " do not have a single 'correct' meaning: they apply to groups of similar situations"[21]; futhermore, that dictionary definitions refer to words used in the past in specific situations and that authors of dictionaries " give definitions a high level of abstraction; but it is with particular references left out for the sake of conciseness."[22] He emphasized that " no word ever has exactly the same meaning twice." [23] Much earlier C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards commented that " complete synonyms, i.e. words alike in all their functions, probably do not occur." [24]

All these comments point to the notion that meaning can be determined only within the context of a sentence, a paragraph or even an entire work; it is further believed that the context is saturated with cultural elements which may be expressed in a variety of relationships both grammatical (declarative, interrogative etc.) and cultural (emotive, optative etc.). The meaning of the word *poverty,* for example, when used by a Franciscan monk writing in the Middle Ages a tract on Christian virtues, would not be the same as when used by the leader of a labour movement writing today on the social conditions of the working class.

This dependence of word meaning upon context may be illustrated by two situations, the first from the writer's own observation. Professor Tadeusz Garbowski at the Jagiellonian University taught students to determine whether a word standing for a certain concept had the same meaning throughout a given work or was used by the author to express slightly different meanings in various contexts. He asked his students to examine the meaning in context of all important passages in a given work, even one written with great precision as, for example, in the case of Emmanuel Kant's *Die Kritik des reinen Vernunft.* In the second situation, let us analyse the meaning of the sentence " Did Mr Kowalski buy a Rolls Royce?" Reading such a question independently of context one may assume that it is a simple inquiry. But let us add that this question was asked by someone in a small group of persons, all of whom knew of Mr Kowalski's modest earning capacity and that he occasionally liked to boast; one would then assume that the question was asked in a jocular mood. Further, one who participated in the conver-

21 Hayakawa, Samuel I. *Language in Thought and Action.* London, 1952. p. 64.

22 *Ibid.* p. 58

23 *Ibid.* p. 60.

24 Ogden, Charles K. and Richards, Ivor A. *The Meaning of Meaning.* 10th ed. London, 1960. p. 127.

sation would observe the gestures and facial expressions of the persons in the group and would realise immediately that the question was not a simple, non-emotive inquiry. Even if one merely read the sentence but knew that among American ethnic groups the name Stanley Kowalski stands for a simple-minded person of modest social status, one would recognize the question as an expression of irony or fun, using the interrogative form. In other words, the meaning is determined in this case not by the form of the sentence but by the cultural background.

Various attempts have been made and various methods used to determine meaning. L. Wittgenstein went further than many students of language and suggested that it would be better to employ the empirical method, investigating the ways in which a given word has been used, rather than to make an analysis following the traditional method.

How do we learn what is the meaning of a given utterance or sentence? Modern linguists are throwing new light on that problem. J. Lyons, distinguishing between the "lexical" and "structural" meaning of words, emphasized that "the total linguistic meaning consists of: 1) the meaning of grammatical items (typically the minor parts of speech and secondary categories); 2) the meaning of such grammatical functions as "subject of", "object of", "modifier of"; 3) the meaning associated with such notions as "declarative", "interrogative", or "imperative" in the classification of different sentence-types".[25] R. H. Robins started with almost the same notion as Lyons but included in his considerations the contributions of linguists and ethnologists who studied the languages of peoples remote from Western European civilisation and came to the conclusion that although relevant elements in given situations "differ according to cultural differences between peoples" the "context situation is just as pertinent to the explanation of linguistic meaning in any language".[26] He also emphasized that the meaning of every work is expressed in its own distinctive style or idiolect.

The range of considerations pertinent to the analysis of meaning grew steadily. R. A. Waldron, writing at the same time as the two linguists already mentioned, started with the idea that the context determines the meaning but he went beyond that, in comments which are of importance to translators. He thought that one-language dictionaries (presumably comprehensive dictionaries) in-

[25] Lyons, John. *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics.* Cambridge, 1968. p. 435.

[37] Robins, Robert H. *General Linguistics. An Introductory Survey.* London, Longmans, 1967, p. 30.

clude definitions or words which contain "a great deal of contextual and cultural information". He further pointed out that in addition to the lexical and contextual meaning, "the meaning is user-dependent" and that "in any actual speech situation, that is to say, different people will be familiar in different degrees with the probabilities of particular linguistic forms and situations and thus will rely to differing extents upon the interpretation of individual words. This pragmatic complexity appears to emphasize still further the synthesis of the word with its actual context in the circumstances in which it is uttered on any occasion of use and to make even more difficult the task of assigning any isolable element of meaning to the individual word."[27]

As already mentioned, J. Lyons pointed out that grammatical categories—declarative, interrogative, optative etc.—play a role in determining the meaning of a word, but observations on various elements of meaning were carried much further by the authors of *Language, Thought & Culture.* A short citation must suffice to illustrate this complex type of analysis: "The point is that the sentence ordinarily presents a conceptual content and at the same time expresses some attitudes or state of mind with respect to this content — belief, interrogation, wonder, desire or delight — "propositional attitudes" they have sometimes been called. Thus we have various kinds of sentence recognized by grammar: indicative or declarative, interrogative, imperative, optative, vocative".[28] The authors pointed out that one must sometimes go beyond strictly grammatical categories in order to ascertain the real meaning: "It is important in any case, to note that mere grammatical form does not suffice to tell what the real character of a sentence is. A rhetorical question such as "Who cares?" is really an assertion that no-one cares".[29]

Translation

It is worthwhile to refer to two studies representing two approaches to the determination of meaning in the process of translating. Willard V. Quine, using all the steps of his "analytical hypothesis" method, demonstrated how a translator determines the meaning in the source language which is to be expressed in the receptor language.[30] Roman Ingarden, in his study "O tłumacze-

[27] Waldron, Ronald A. *Sense and Sense Development.* London, Andre Deutsch, 1967. p. 62.
[28] Henle, Paul, ed. *Language, Thought & Culture.* Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1958. p. 126.
[29] *Ibid.* p. 13.
[30] Quine, Willard V. "Meaning and Translation", in Brower, Reuben A., ed. *On Translation.* Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1959. pp. 148-172. (Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, 23).

niu" (On translation) identified various categories such as grammatical, optative, interrogative, emotive and the collocation of words, types of sentences and meanings associated with them, and tried to find a prevailing association between them and particular types of work. Such an analysis leads the translator to a better understanding of meaning in context. Taking into account all these elements the translator is better able to render an equivalent work in the receptor language.[31]

A few other general problems with which the translator is faced will be mentioned only briefly here. First, great differences in structure exist between languages belonging to different families and even between languages belonging to the same family. Ecological differences present a further problem; for example there are no terms for desert, snow or ice in the languages of peoples living in the tropical jungles of South America and no monetary or banking terms in the languages of illiterate societies.[32] On the other hand, in the languages of illiterate peoples there are words denoting ritual practices for which there are no equivalents in the languages of industrial societies. B. Malinowski, in a paper contributed to Ogden's and Richard's *The Meaning of Meaning*, explained the process of translating from a language having words for which no corresponding words exist in the target language, by saying "All words which describe the native social order, all expressions referring to native beliefs, to specific customs, ceremonies, magical rites — all such words are obviously absent from English, as from any European language. Such words can only be translated into English, not by giving their imaginary equivalent—a real one obviously can't be found — but by explaining the meaning of each of them through an exact ethnographic account of the sociology, culture and tradition of that native society".[33] But in addition to this dificulty "there is even more deeply reaching though subtler difficulty, the whole manner in which a native language is used is different from our own." [34]

According to Robins, writing later than, but in agreement with, Malinowski, " circumlocutions and often more lengthy explanations themselves in part recreating the relevant context of situation " provide the solution to these difficulties." [35]

[31] Ingarden, Roman. "O tłumaczeniu", in Rusinek, Michał, ed. *O sztuce tłumaczenia*. Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1958. pp. 127-190.

[32] Nida, Eugene A. "Linguistics and Ethnology in Translation Problems", in *Word*, v. 1 (1945), p. 197.

[33] Malinowski, Bronisław. "The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Societies", in Ogden, C. K. and I. A. Richards. *The Meaning of Meaning*. 10th ed. London, 1960. pp. 299-300.

[34] *ibid.* p. 300.

[35] Robins, Robert H. *General Linguistics*. London, 1967. p. 30.

Further, some languages, such as Chinese and Japanese which do not use alphabetical signs but pictographs to represent physical objects, present abstract ideas by a combination of pictographs. For example, in Chinese the equivalent of the expression "American imperialism" is written as: America country emperor country-ism: *Mei-kuo-to-kuo chuki;* in newspapers abridged to *Meiti* — American emperor.[36] The translator must decode such combinations of pictographs and translate in words denoting abstract ideas in the target language.

Another problem is related to the translation of idioms which are special "habitual collocations of more than one word" and "tend to be used together, with a semantic function not readily deducible from the other uses of its component words apart from each other".[37]

Let us now consider another problem, assuming that the work is in prose but written in a rather distinguished idiolect. The question arises, in what dialect or style should the translation be rendered? People speak often about "standard" language, by which is meant, in a strict sense, the language of a social group enjoying prestige; it is generally used by government officials who may develop a jargon called, in the United States, "federalese"[38] Generally speaking, individual works written in the "standard" language have a distinctive style and the general characteristics of that style should be recreated in the target language.

At the opposite end of the style range there are works marked by a boring sameness of lexical stock, clichés, collocation and gramatical uses. Some political addresses, for instance, may be recalled as having been read or heard earlier when delivered by another person. Other adresses may be saturated with such words or phrases as "meaningful", "moneywise", "new look", or "top man" who "has a hunch" about "the dollar gap" or "the situation when viewed in perspective at this moment in time". The pressure to use cliché words is strong and often encouraged by the language of the mass media. Even a group of futurologists may announce the cancellation of their meeting because of "unforeseen developments"! Such works, when not official or semi-official statements on important problems may not be worth translating.

There is a safeguard against falling a victim of platitudes, as great

[36] Wright, Arthur F. *Studies in Chinese Thought.* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953, p. 295.

[37] Robins, Robert H. *General Linguistics. An Introductory Survey,* London, Longmans, 1967, p. 70.

[38] Mateson, James R., and Wendell Brooks Phillips. *Federal Prose.* Chapel Hill, N.C., 1948.

writers have demonstrated again and again. To quote a translation of Jean Paul Sartre's view, " the very task of literature, if one is working with style, consists in asking oneself: " What is this combination of words, given the inherent way of each word, going to add up to '?" [39]

But between these two extremes there are variations in the language of lower middle and working class people of different geographical regions and different social or occupational groups, e.g., the language of coal miners, steel-workers and fishermen is typified by expressions peculiar to each. Analysing the language of social groups one may discover occasional differences in phraseology and in lexical stock.[40]

Speaking generally, the language of the country for which the translation is planned should be used in the translation, e.g. American English, not British English, for the memoirs of an ex-immigrant to the United States being translated from Polish into English. Although these two versions of the English language have come closer together since the advent of the cinema, radio, television and increased travel, numerous differences remain. Information on the American language may be found in many books on English usage and one may obtain greater insight into the nature of differences in general from Simeon Potter's *Our Language.*[41]

If one compares American works: George P. Krapp's *A Comprehensive Guide to Good English* (New York 1927); Arthur G. Kennedy's *English Usage: A Study in Policy and Procedure* (New York 1942); and Wilson Follett's *Modern American Usage* (New York 1966) with those of their British counterparts: Henry W. Fowler's *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage* (London 1926); Eric H. Partridge's *Usage and Abusage* (London 1947); and the English Research Group of the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne's *Attitudes to English Usage* (London 1970), one may see in detail the extent of grammatical differences between the two language variants.

Special problems arise in translating poetry, and even more involved problems in translating opera when a highly sensitive command and understanding of the language and of musical notation, which does not undergo change, are required of the translator.[42]

[39] Sartre, Jean Paul. *Politics and Literature.* Translated by J. A. Underwood, John Calder. London, Calder & Boyars, 1973. p. 95. (Signature Series).

[40] Robinson, Ian. *The Survival of English. Essays in Criticism of Language.* London, Cambridge University Press, 1973. p. 13.

[41] Potter, Simeon. *Our Language.* Harmondsworth, Mdx., 1950. pp. 157-69.

[42] Milnes, Rodney, ed. "The Translator at Work", in *Opera,* v. 25, no. 11 (Nov. 1974), pp. 951-62; v. 25, no. 12 (Dec. 1974), pp. 1056-64; v. 26, no. 3 (March 1975), pp. 242-50.

What standard the translator should set for himself and by what criteria the user will measure the translated work are complex but vital considerations. In reviewing some theories of translation we saw that the trend was toward high equivalency translation rendered accurately in the target language. But in practice, adherence to this principle of equivalence varies greatly. Of the many opinions expressed about this, let us cite that of Eugene A. Nida who has long-standing experience in translating and supervising the translation of the *Bible* into various languages. He discerns two basic orientations in current translating practice: "formal equivalence" which "focuses attention on the message itself, in both form and content. In such translations one is concerned with such correspondences as poetry to poetry, sentence to sentence, and concept to concept. Viewed from this formal orientation, one is concerned that the message in the receptor language should match as closely as possible the different elements in the source language. This means, for example, that the message in the receptor culture is constantly compared with the message in the source culture to determine standards of accuracy and correctness."[43] And he adds that this type of translation might be called "gloss translation"[44] The second orientation "aims at complete naturalness of expression, and tries to relate the receptor to modes of behaviour relevant within the context of his own culture; it does not insist that he understands the cultural patterns of the source-language context in order to comprehend the message. Of course, there are varying degrees of such dynamic-equivalence translations".[45] In the dynamic-equivalence type of translation there is a shift toward greater concern for the receptor's response. Such translation, to give the impression of being natural, "must fit 1) the receptor language and culture as a whole; 2) the context of the particular message, and 3) the receptor language audience".[46] Here the adaptations are dictated by the requirements of the target language. These two types are at opposite ends of the spectrum of translations actually achieved as a result of solutions found by translators in the three areas: "1) formal and functional equivalents; 2) optional and obligatory equivalents, and 3) rate of decodability".[47]

[43] Nida, Eugene A. *Toward a Science of Translating. With Special Reference to Principles and Procedures involved in Bible Translating.* Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1964. p. 159.

[44] *ibid.* p. 159.

[45] *ibid.* p. 159.

[46] *ibid.* p. 167.

[47] *ibid.* p. 171.

Selected Examples of Differences between English and Polish Languages

Having outlined the general problems involved in translation, we may now, for a glimpse of the kind of work in which the translator is involved, turn to a few selected problems pertinent to translating from English into Polish and vice versa. These two Indo-European languages belong to two different sub-families, each having its own cultural history. One therefore expects to encounter particular differences, in addition to the obvious ones resulting from the lexical stock, the types and functions of various grammatical forms playing a part in the sentence structures, and the cultural background. This paper, for reasons of space, will list only a few of the grammatical categories, pointing out their differences and similarities, in order to demonstrate but not to exhaust the type of problems.

Words are symbols for human concepts, which in turn form a system of signs for cultural concepts, physical objects and natural phenomena. The search for the meaning of a word is at the same time an inquiry into the kind of natural phenomenon or object, cultural trait or situation it denotes.

Let us begin with the lexical stock and point out a few cases where the Polish language lacks precise equivalents because of cultural differences. The term "shadow minister" in English denotes a member of Her Majesty's Opposition who has been appointed spokesman by the Opposition Party for a specific area of government; he may be said to be the counterpart of a member of the Cabinet formed by the Prime Minister. Shadow Ministers form the Shadow Cabinet. These terms reflect the U.K. parliamentary system which has no corresponding institution in Poland, and the Polish terms for them are "minister gabinetu cieniów" and "gabinet cieniów" in word-for-word translation.

In the American electoral system "dark horse" is the appellation given to a person who is unexpectedly nominated as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. "Primaries" or primary elections, which are part of the U.S. Presidential electoral system (jokingly called by Americans "popularity contests") do not have a counterpart in the Polish electoral system but there is a lexical equivalent for this term in Polish, *prawybory,* although the phrase *wybory wstępne* would be equally acceptable.

Barbecue, denoting food cooked out-of-doors on an open fire, for which there is no equivalent word in Polish, is another commonly used word in the U.S. Words as signs of cultural content are sometimes created by a given society and sometimes introduced through contact with other societies, as in the case of England

whose lexical stock was enriched by world-wide contacts for nearly four centuries.

But let us, for the moment, stay within the range of European contacts. The difference in the lexical stock is often a reflection of different perceptions of social reality. The differentiation of family relationships may be more detained in one culture than in another. For example, in Polish there are two words for uncle: *stryj,* denoting one's father's brother; and *wuj,* denoting one's mother's brother.

When asking an English lady what she will do "tonight", one is not guilty of an impropriety; but it would be impolite to ask the same question in Poland, because the concept "night", although a natural phenomenon, is conceived differently in the two cultures. In England it generally denotes the opposite of day and may include evening, whereas in Polish there is a clear division between evening, *wieczór* and night, *noc*; one may say that in cultural terms night begins earlier in England.[48]

Looking now at parts of speech, let us identify some differences which the translator must take into account. We begin with the noun and its gender, more complex in Polish than in English. In English the masculine gender is used for nouns denoting human males and sometimes male animals; the feminine gender is used for nouns denoting human females and occasionally female animals (usually when they are domestic pets); and the neuter gender is used for all other nouns, with a few exceptions for objects or concepts as ships (always feminine), Mother Church, Father Time, etc. In Polish, however, many nouns denoting man-made things may be of any gender, depending upon whether the noun has a masculine, feminine, or neuter ending, e.g. *talerz* (plate) is masculine; *łyżka* (spoon) is feminine; *pudełko* (box) is neuter. A similar rule governs also collective nouns in Polish: *cukier* (sugar) is masculine; *margaryna* (margarine) is feminine; *mleko* (milk) is neuter. Fortunately for the student of English, there is no differentiation of gender in the plural form in that language.

The simple declension of nouns in English does not present a major problem for the translator, as prepositions take the place of the Polish declension endings. For example, *Dałem to* (mojemu) *bratu* becomes *I gave this to my brother,* even if the Polish sentence did not contain the word *mojemu* (my).

There is a tendency to use collective nouns more frequently in English than in Polish. In English, some abstract nouns are considered to be collective. The phrase *Studium nad rybami w dolnej*

[48] Malmberg, Bertil. *Linguistic Barriers to Communication in the Modern World.* Ibadan, Ibadan University Press, 1960. p. 10.

Wiśle, if referring to the total population of fish, would be translated into English as *A study of fish in the Lower Vistula River*. A Pole "łowi ryby" (catches fishes) but an Englishman "catches fish".

Use of the article, which is not a word of full meaning but a structure word or a functor, requires considerable practice on the part of a Pole learning English. Generally an article is used with a noun in English but this is not an absolute rule. Collective nouns e.g. sand, sugar, snow etc., do not require articles, nor do the names of countries: France, Italy, Poland, although there are exceptions such as the Netherlands, the Congo and the United States. Heaven, paradise, limbo and hell are other nouns which do not require an article. Nouns used in adjuncts also may not require an article, e.g. "They fought like cat and dog". There is now a tendency to omit the article before titles of publications, for example *Radio Times* not: the *Radio Times*.[49] But the collective noun *sand* is used in the plural when a synonym for the beach: "I will meet you on the sands".

The pronouns present more difficulties, of which only a few are selected for presentation here. When emphasis is to be placed on specificity of relationship between the subject and predicate, the personal pronoun may be supplemented by another pronoun—myself, herself, himself, themselves: "I wrote it"; "I wrote it myself" or "I myself wrote it". "Ja to napisałem"; "Ja sam napisałem".

The possessive pronouns *my, your* etc. exist also in the so-called independent forms: *mine, yours, hers* etc., usually placed at the end of a sentence. "That bicycle is mine"; "It was a habit of theirs" correspond to the Polish: "To jest mój rower"; "To było ich przyzwyczajeniem".

Use of the possessive pronoun in English differs only slightly from that in Polish. The Polish "Posiadam dom" corresponds to the English "I have a house" or, emphasizing ownership, "Posiadam własny dom", "I have my own house" or "I have a house of my own".

There are parallel, if not identical, Polish and English interrogative pronouns: *kto, co*/who, what; *który, która, które*/which; *jaki, jaka, jakie*/what kind of. Using the first category we inquire who was the person or what was the thing, e.g. "Who is knocking at the door?" "The postman." "What is that noise in our garden?" "It's a squeaking gate." But when the pronouns *który, która, które* and the plural *którzy, które* are used, the aim is to identify a particular person or thing in a given category, e.g. "Z którą dziewczynką zatańczę?" "With which girl should I dance?" Another way of asking a question would be to substitute for "Z którą. . . .?" "Kto

[49] Potter, Simeon. *Changing English*. 2nd. ed. London, 1975. p. 144.

z was. . . .?" ("Which of you. . .?") or "Kto z nich. . .?" ("Which of them. . . . ?") The meaning of these questions is clearly selective. The use of *who* for persons is not rigidly observed in everyday conversation; "Which of you. . . . ?" is understood to mean "Who among you. . . ?".

In the third category of pronouns: *jaki, jaka, jakie* and the plural *jacy, jakie* (What kind of . . .) one asks for a description; "Jaki to jest dziennik?" "What kind of newspaper is this?"

When used in some phrases the interrogative and relative pronoun *co* may require an English equivalent not easily found in the dictionary. "Co drugi dzień" may, without difficulty, be translated as "Every second day" but the equivalent for "Co tchu" is not readily recognised as being "In all haste".

But perhaps the greatest difference between English and Polish is found in the verb. The English verb is characterized by a simple system of conjugation. The system of grammatical categories is similar to that in Polish; it adopts the same formation of participles with the single exception that in English the past infinitive is formed by combining the infinitive "to have" with the past participle: "to have taken", "to have done". There is no past infinitive in Polish.

On the other hand, there is a notable difference in meaning between the Polish and the English verb. An English verb is indefinite, that is, it indicates an action or a state but does not contain within itself, as does the Polish verb with its aspects, an indication as to whether the action is completed or not completed, occurs once or repeatedly. These elements of meaning are achieved in English by additional words, as will be demonstrated later.

Another difference occurs in certain tenses. The English verb includes the past perfect or past continuous, denoting an action starting in the past and continuing to the present time; there is no counterpart for this tense in Polish. Other tenses in English correspond to the tenses in Polish but their usage may be different, as in the case of the pluperfect of which an example will be given later.

The phenomenon of aspect deserves a few additional comments. The Polish verb, even in its infinitive form, contains elements of meaning such as, for example, an indication of the completion of action, *napisać* as against the continuous action, *pisać*, or the repeated action, *pisywać* (to write). Furthermore, the verb may include not one but two aspects, as in *przepisywać*, to complete repeatedly the action of writing. In translating into English, these elements of meaning cannot be rendered solely by using near-equivalent words but must be supplemented by phrases or words to express the meaning fully.

A few examples will demonstrate the nature of this difference

and how the meaning may be rendered adequately in English. The sentence "Jerzy napisał list do swego brata" expressing the completed action, may be translated using either the past perfect or the preterite tense by adding the word *just* to read "George has just written a letter to his brother", or by adding a phrase such as "some time ago" to read: "George wrote a letter to his brother some time ago." In the case of repeated action, as in the sentence "Chodziłem (or uczęszczałem) na koncert co najmniej raz na miesiąc" the repetitive element of meaning may be rendered in English by the infinitive preceded by the past tense of the verb *to use*: "I used to read every day"; "I used to attend a concert once a month". The durative action in the sentence "Łodzie płynęły mimo przepowiedni złej pogody" may be translated "The boats were sailing, despite the bad weather forecast". In this example the following change should be noted: the past tense in active voice in Polish has been rendered in English in the passive voice, formed by the present participle of the word *sail* and the past tense of the verb *to be*.

Reference has been made to the fact that in Polish the past tense is substituted for the pluperfect which is now rarely used. A similar tendency is noticed in English but to a smaller degree. The translator from Polish into English, in view of this tendency, has a choice when translating a compound sentence; he may either use the past perfect in both clauses, or follow the traditional way and use the pluperfect for the action which was prior in time and the past tense for another action which also took place in the past. Three sentences are here cited to illustrate this usage: "Teraz wreszcie zobaczyłem Paryż, który od dawnego czasu pragnąłem zobaczyć", "Now at last I have seen Paris, which I have long wished to see"; "Ja widziałem Londyn wcześniej aniżeli miałem dziesięć lat", "I had seen London before I was ten years old"; [50] and, similar to the previous sentence in structure but using the compound conditional, even though the word "if" is not expressly used: "Jeśliby on wiedział, że jego brat jest w Londynie, pojechałby do Londynu natychmiast pierwszym pociągiem", "Had he known that his brother was in London, he would have caught the first train to London".

Two more of the many categories of differences between Polish and English verbs will be discussed here, in the manner of their presentation by Zandvoort. One is the accusative with past participle, used with transitive verbs such as *to want, to like, to wish, to order, to see, to feel, to hear, to make, to find, to get, to keep.* "Był

[50] Onions, Charles T. *An Advanced English Syntax.* 6th ed. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969. p. 112.

[51] Zandvoort, Reinard W. *A Handbook of English Grammar.* 7th ed. London, Longmans, 1975. pp. 50-51.

bardzo zdziwiony, gdy się dowiedział, że wybrano go prezydentem" would be translated "He was greatly surprised to find himself elected President". In English this is a simple declarative sentence; in Polish it is a compound sentence consisting of the main sentence and two clauses, of which one subordinate clause, *gdy się dowiedział,* may be omitted without loss of meaning. The other category involves the use of the passive voice. The sentence "He has had his licence suspended for reckless driving" may be translated into Polish as "Zawieszono jego prawo jazdy z powodu nieostrożnej jazdy". Minor changes might be introduced into the Polish sentence but the basic structure, which is impersonal, would not undergo any change. In both English and Polish transitive verbs are used.[52] Another example of using the passive voice in English, "Has any decision been reached?" would read in Polish "Czy osiągnięto jakąś decyzję?" In this type of structure either transitive or intransitive verbs may be used in English.[53]

Passing reference to the collocation of words was made earlier in this article. Generally, the order of words in English is less rigid than in Latin, French or German, but possibly more rigid than in Polish. In English, adjectives precede nouns, with some exceptions such as The Princess Royal, notary public, and body politic. When two adjectives pertain to the same noun, the adjective denoting size usually takes precedence and the adjective indicating colour or state comes next, e.g. "This little yellow bird". In another case, "Wise and old people (a homogeneous group) were against conspiracies" would be rendered in Polish "Starzy i mądrzy ludzie. . .", that is to say, the reverse sequence of the two adjectives is more common in Polish.

The word *only* enjoys great freedom in English and may be placed anywhere in the sentence to supply emphasis; its location, however, has been the subject of much discussion in both the United Kingdom and the United States and the reader is referred to the historical review *Attitudes to English Usage.*[54]

The fact that the collocation of words in Polish is less restricted may be illustrated by a note about the July 1976 issue of *Kontrasty,* a socio-cultural journal published in Białystok: *"Kontrasty* (an object) zamyka (a predicate in active voice) artykuł Włodzimierza Pawluczuka — 'Czy życie ma sens czy go nie ma?' (a subject nucleus)".[55] Let us render the sentence first in word-for-word trans-

[52] *ibid.* p. 54.

[53] *ibid.* p. 54.

[54] University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. English Research Group. *Attitudes to English Usage.* London, Oxford University Press, 1970. pp. 58-62.

[55] *Kultura i Społeczeństwo,* v. 20 (1976), no. 2, p. 212.

lation: *"Contrasts* closes the article by Włodzimierz Pawluczuk titled—'Does life have any sense or does it not have?' ". This translation reads like glosses in an early Latin manuscript or an early translation by the computer. What strikes the reader is the placing of the object *Kontrasty* at the beginning of the sentence. The translation might be improved to read "The article by Włodzimierz Pawluczuk titled 'Does life make sense or not?' concludes [this issue of] *Kontrasty".*

Generally speaking, the emphasis in English as in Polish is placed at the beginning of the sentence. Emphasis placed on the predicate leads to the inversion of the subject and predicate in a declarative sentence. For example, in a sentence without an object: "Są takie dziwne rzeczy na świecie", "There are such strange things in the world". Inversion may occur also in a sentence with an object: "Many times we crossed this stream", "Wiele razy przebrnęliśmy ten strumyk".

Certain Polish words, for example *zadowalająco* and *dostatecznie,* may be translated into English in either of two ways. If the word *satisfactorily* is used, one may say "My son satisfactorily accomplished all tasks"; if the adverb *enough* is used, it would follow another adverb or a predicative adjective, "My son accomplished all tasks well enough".

Personal nouns used in connection with a family name are expressed differently in the two languages. In Polish such a noun precedes the family name and the family name is used in the genitive case, *dzieci Zielińskiego;* in English both nouns are used in the nominative case, the *Zieliński children.*

The examples so far cited have been pertinent to parts of speech, grammatical categories and collocation. Let us now turn to the functions and changes of function of a given part of speech.

Any translator is aware of a number of changes of function in the form of conversions. Let us take a noun denoting the place of origin or activity, e.g. *a Dover fisherman* or (rarely, and chiefly in poetry) *a fisherman of Dover, Dowerski rybak* or *rybak z Dowru;* or a noun denoting material, e.g. *timber merchant, handlarz drzewem* where the noun is retained but used in the instrumental case, *drzewem.* Another form of conversion is to use a present participle or an adjective ending with *-ing* as having the function of a noun: *mothering, matkowanie* (when used in Polish, to be understood to mean more than chaperonage).

The conversion need not be, as in the two cited examples, a partial one retaining all the characteristics of the original part of speech but assuming the function of another part of speech; it may acquire all the characteristics of the part of speech whose functions

it has assumed. This conversion may take place not only between noun and adjective, but between verb and adjective, or between adverb and noun. For example, the past participle *accused* is often used as a noun in legal terminology: "The judge sentenced the accused to one month's hard labour". The adverbs *up* and *down* and also numerals may become nouns by the addition of 's', so we speak of the "ups and downs" of a patient whose condition fluctuates, and of things being "at sixes and sevens" when they are in a state of disorder.

The idiom has already been mentioned as an utterance where the order of the words is immutable—a particular case of the collocation of words. The meaning of an idiom is fixed and remains unchanged by its context. For example, "She went for him hammer and tongs" means "She attacked him relentlessly"; "I'll buy that" means "I believe that" or "I accept what you say"; "They cut him" or "They sent him to Coventry" means "They refused to acknowledge (speak to) him".

A student of the English language encounters a large number of meanings which particles (prepositions and adverbs followed by other words) may assume in various combinations. This may be noticed when looking up individual words in the *Oxford English Dictionary* but one gains insight into an extraordinary richness of expression by consulting the study by L. A. Hill.[56] The translator who has knowledge of the meaning of these phrases increases the likelihood of his achieving an excellent translation in a smooth-flowing style. With such knowledge, whether translating into English or Polish, he is better equipped to translate a wide variety of works. In order to illustrate the variety of uses of particles, an example using the preposition *with* is taken from Hill's book. Hill arranged the phrases containing *with* into three groups: (1) elementary, as used in basic English; (2) intermediate, as used in the 2,000-word vocabulary language, and (3) advanced, as used at or above the 2,075-word level. There are 11 examples containing *with* in the elementary group, such as "She always has her own way with her husband"; 19 cases in the intermediate group, e.g. "We set out with fair weather", "I am quite familiar with how this machine works"; and 43 cases in the advanced group spanning a wide variety of meanings, e.g., "The prisoner was charged with stealing a watch but was credited with repentance after the priest had talked with him".

The list of categories presenting problems may be greatly ex-

[56] Hill, Leslie A. *Prepositions and Adverbial Patterns. An Interim Classification Semantic, Structural and Graded.* London University Press, 1968. 403 p.

panded, as one may infer from the numerous books and articles on the subject, but we will consider just one further example. The *will/shall* and *would/should* controversy which generated protracted discussion beginning in the 18th century has continued until the present day in both England and the United States. For a discussion of these words the reader is referred to a summary in *Attitudes to English Usage.*[57]

Examples of differences in the use of particles are numerous, as are the ways in which translators may cope with them. It is hoped that these examples will show the reader, even if not involved in translating, that it is not simply a matter of using a dictionary to find equivalent words. Extensive idiomatic knowledge of the two language involved, knowledge of the content of the work being translated, and knowledge of the cultural traits of the two societies, are all part of the science of translating.

Isolated sentences or the titles of books and articles, especially when not clearly descriptive, hold unexpected pitfalls for the translator, especially if the content concerns general life. Here, knowledge of the given cultures is essential. If the author may be permitted to cite a particular example of gross misunderstanding: A non-Catholic was translating into English the titles of articles from one of the Slavic languages. One title corresponded to the Polish „Ostatnie namaszczenie [świętymi] olejami" and was translated not as "The rite of extreme unction" or "the Last Sacrament", but as "the last lubrication". This translations had it remained uncorrected, would have misled everyone who consulted the periodical titles index.

Limitations in Rendering the Meaning in the Target Language

Before closing these comments one should probably attempt to answer the presumed question, May the message in the source language always be expressed exactly in the target language? The answer is not simple, as R. Ingarden pointed out in his analysis of the various difficulties. It may be said that in mathematics, the physical sciences and engineering, the meaning may generally be rendered exactly,[58] provided the translator has the appropriate background; but in some fields of the humanities and belles lettres the translator attempting to render the exact meaning may be less con-

[57] University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. English Research Group. *Attitudes to English Usage.* London, Oxford University Press, 1970. pp. 97-102.

[58] Poggioli, Renato, "The Added Artificer", in Brower, Reuben A., ed. *On Translation.* Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1959. pp. 140-44. (Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, 23).

fident. The exact meaning becomes even more difficult to achieve in the case of translating operatic works; the words are translatable but the musical notation remains the same, and the text in the target language is subservient to that notation. In reference to this, Nell and John Moody stated that "Singers fight a losing battle if translators lack adequate knowledge of singers' technical difficulties —e.g., managing top and bottom registers, breathing, phrasing, the necessity for words ending on open vowels, good consonants for strong attack".[59]

On the other hand the translator should understand that: "If a translation is to meet the four basic requirements, (1) making sense, (2) conveying the spirit and manner of the original, (3) having natural and easy form of expression, and (4) producing a similar response, it is obvious that at certain points the conflict between the content and form (or meaning and manner) will be acute, and that one or the other must give way".[60] R. Jacobson went even further, stating that "there is ordinarily no full equivalence".[61] P. Friedrich, in analysing translations from Russian into English, pointed out that the emotive element contained in the pronouns *ty* (2nd person singular) and *wy* (2nd person plural) when addressing one and the same person, as in Maxim Gorki's *Mother* and in Tolstoy's *Resurrection,* has not been rendered in modern English, which has one form for both singular and plural.[62]

In the past, certain small publishers employed assistant editors to review the translation and polish up the language. But in the case of scholarly works, if the assistant editor lacked the necessary background knowledge, distortion of meaning could result; a supposedly "improved" translation could involve additional effort on the part of the translator seeking to achieve equivalency of meaning and good style. Currently a number of publishing houses in the United States employ highly qualified reviewers who may be of great help to the translator.[63]

[59] Milnes, Rodney, ed. "The Translator at Work — Part 2", in *Opera,* v. 25, no. 12 (Dec. 1974), pp. 1057-58.

[60] Nida, Eugene A. *Toward a Science of Translating. With Special Reference to Principles and Procedures Involved in Bible Translating.* Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1964. p. 164.

[61] Jacobson, Roman, "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation", in Brower, Reuben A., ed. *On Translation.* Cambridge University Press, 1959. p. 233. (Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, 23).

[62] Friedrich, Paul. "Structural Implications of Russian Pronominal Usage", in Bright, William, ed. *UCLA Proceedings on Sociolinguistics Conference, 1964.* The Hague, Mouton, 1966. pp. 214-59.

[63] *Publishers' Weekly,* v. 195, no. 6, (Feb. 10, 1969), p. 45.

What is the role of the translator? He is not primarily a creator but rather a craftsman in the traditional sense. Generally he feels an affinity with the message of the original work and sees the desirability of making that message, be it scientific or belles lettres, more widely available. He provides liaison between the author of an original work and readers who, but for his interest and skill, would be prevented by the language barrier from sharing in a knowledge of man's scientific, technical and cultural achievements.

My thanks are hereby expressed to Dr. Eugene A. Nida, author of *Toward a Science of Translating*, and University of Michigan Press, publisher of *Language, Thought and Culture*, edited by Paul Henle, for their permission to quote passages from their publications.

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