

**INSTITUTUM
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**XXIV
A N T E M U R A L E**



NON EXTINGUETUR

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- Vol. II — "*Liber Disparata Antiqua Continens*" Praes. E. WINKLER, pp. XVIII+190, 281 doc. (ante a. 1424) 19 facs. Ind. nom. propr. 1960. (Archivum Capituli Trident.).
- Vol. III — *Repertorium Rerum Polonicarum ex Archivo Orsini in Archivo Capitolino*, I pars. Coll. W. WYHOWSKA - DE ANDREIS, XVIII+162, 1144 doc. (A.D. 1565-1787) 29 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1961.
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XXIV
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1980**

SUMPTIBUS
FUNDATIONIS
LANSKOROŃSKI
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EDIDIT:
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19 VIA VIRGINIO ORSINI 00192 ROMA

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CAROLINA LANCKOROŃSKA

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FONTES

MARIA EWELINA ŻÓŁTOWSKA
(Cambridge, Mass.)

*STANISLAS KOSTKA POTOCKI, DAVID, DENON ET LE
SALON DE 1787
OU
LA PREMIÈRE CRITIQUE D'ART ÉCRITE PAR UN POLONAIS*

C'est au Salon de 1781 qu'on admira pour la première fois les toiles de David, un nouvel agrée de l'Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts, qui était rentré un an plus tôt d'Italie. Un de ces tableaux était un "superbe"¹⁾ portrait équestre du comte Potocki. Le peintre et son modèle s'étaient connus à Rome en 1780²⁾. Bien qu'il avait commandé à la même époque un portrait de sa femme à Batoni, Potocki confia l'exécution du sien à David³⁾ et lui voua une admiration sans bornes comme le prouve sa *Lettre d'un étranger sur le Salon de 1787*, qui fut publiée à Paris sans nom de lieu ni d'auteur. Il nous a paru intéressant de la rééditer et d'en rappeler brièvement l'histoire, car il s'agit en outre de la première critique d'art écrite par un Polonais.

Stanislas Kostka Potocki (1755-1821) a joué un rôle considérable dans l'histoire de son pays et de son temps. Homme d'état éminent, il a occupé un grand nombre de postes importants dans le gouvernement de sa patrie, tel que la présidence du Conseil d'Etat du Grand-Duché de Varsovie, mais il est encore plus connu comme le réformateur de l'instruction publique, un des fondateurs de l'Université de Varsovie et l'initiateur de la critique d'art en Pologne, qu'il a pour ainsi dire inaugurée en prononçant, en 1803, son célèbre discours sur "L'art chez les Anciens", qui peut être considéré comme la somme de ses idées sur l'histoire de l'art, et devint plus tard l'introduction de sa traduction polonaise commentée de l' *Histoire de l'art pendant l'Antiquité* de Winckelmann⁴⁾. On a tellement écrit sur lui ainsi que sur son époque, qu'il ne nous paraît pas nécessaire d'insister davantage sur ce point⁵⁾.

367.
EXPLICATION
DES
PEINTURES,
SCULPTURES
ET GRAVURES,
DE MESSIEURS
DE L'ACADÉMIE ROYALE,

Dont l'Exposition a été ordonnée, suivant l'intention de SA MAJESTÉ, par M. le Comte DE LA BILLARDRIE D'ANGVILLER, Conseiller du Roi en ses Conseils, Mestre-de-Camp de Cavalerie, Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal & Militaire de S. Louis, Commandeur de l'Ordre de S. Lazare, Gouverneur de Rambouillet, Intendant du Jardin du Roi, Directeur & Ordonnateur-Général des Bâtimens de Sa Majesté, Jardins, Arts, Académies & Manufactures Royales; de l'Académie Royale des Sciences.

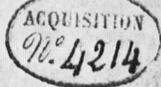


A PARIS,

De l'Imprimerie des Bâtimens du ROI,
& de l'Académie Royale de Peinture.

M. DCC. LXXXVII.

AVEC PRIVILEGE DU ROI.





Anton Graff: Stanislas Kostka Potocki (Collection de Wilanów, Pologne, Inv. No. 1747).

Le 10 mars 1787 Potocki quitta Varsovie en compagnie de son ami, l'écrivain Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, qui parle dans ses mémoires de leur séjour en France et en Angleterre⁶⁾. Potocki avait beaucoup voyagé avant 1787, surtout en Italie, où il avait étudié la peinture italienne et l'art antique dans l'optique des théories de Winckelmann, et l'architecture dans celles de Palladio⁷⁾. Il était donc non seulement un amateur éclairé, mais aussi un connaisseur chevronné de l'histoire de l'art et des théories esthétiques alors en vogue en Italie et en France.

Cette fois-ci cependant, il n'allait pas à Paris pour visiter le Salon du Louvre et fréquenter les ateliers des artistes, mais pour mener à bien une mission qui lui avait été confiée par le Grand Orient Polonais, dont le grand-maître était alors son cousin Stanislas-Félix Potocki⁸⁾. Il en profita également pour rendre visite à sa belle-mère, la princesse-maréchale Isabelle Lubomirska, qui s'était fixée en France en 1786, et louait un appartement somptueux au Palais-Royal. Le séjour de Potocki à Paris s'est prolongé jusqu'au 5 janvier 1788⁹⁾.

Le salon de sa belle-mère était fréquenté par un grand nombre de personnalités intéressantes de la cour et de la ville. Parmi ses habitués, Niemcewicz cite entre autres, le comte d'Angeviller, qui était alors Directeur général des bâtiments et des jardins du roi, dont dépendait aussi l'Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts, l'antiquaire d'Houberville, et des artistes de la taille de David, Hubert Robert, Greuze, Mme Vigée-Lebrun et Vivant Denon. Sauf ce dernier, ils jouissaient tous d'une grande réputation, mais la palme revenait évidemment à David, car depuis la présentation du *Serment des Horaces* au Salon de 1785, il était devenu le chef incontesté de la nouvelle école néo-classique dont le succès semble avoir divisé en deux camps le monde artistique du tout Paris et les membres de l'Académie.

Parmi les artistes qui fréquentaient le salon de la maréchale, Mme Vigée-Lebrun semble avoir été la plus liée avec elle et, en général, avec les principaux collectionneurs polonais de son temps¹⁰⁾. Dans une des lettres que Potocki écrivit alors à sa femme, il lui apprenait entre autres, que sa belle-mère lui avait fait cadeau de plusieurs tableaux de Vernet, de Greuze et d'Hubert Robert¹¹⁾. Aucune toile de ces maîtres ne faisait partie cependant de la collection de Potocki, plus connue aujourd'hui comme la Galerie de Wilanów, du nom du château qu'il reçut avec sa femme, de la princesse Lubomirska à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, et qu'il ouvrit au public en 1805¹²⁾.

Nous voyons donc que Potocki a pu étudier les tableaux exposés

au Salon de 1787 non seulement comme un connaisseur parfaitement initié à la vie artistique en France, mais aussi comme un admirateur de l'art antique, un partisan zélé des théories esthétiques de Winckelmann et, sans doute, un ami personnel de David.

Le Salon fut inauguré comme de coutume le jour de la Saint-Louis, fête du roi, soit le 25 août, et il resta ouvert jusqu'à la fin du mois de septembre. Même s'il ne faut pas prendre Potocki à la lettre lorsqu'il dit qu'il a examiné au moins dix fois le tableau de David¹³⁾, il est revenu sûrement plusieurs fois au Louvre. C'est à la suite de ces visites qu'il a résumé ses impressions dans sa *Lettre d'un étranger sur le Salon de 1787*¹⁴⁾.

La lettre qu'il a écrite à sa femme le 26 novembre 1787, prouve non seulement d'une manière indubitable qu'il était l'auteur de cet opuscule, mais nous éclaire davantage sur la manière dont Potocki a rédigé son Salon. Il y disait en effet :

“ . . . J'avais fait une petite lettre sur le Salon, pour toi, ma bonne amie. Je la montrai à un de mes amis; il l'imprima à mon insu; on la lut, on la goûta beaucoup, et bien que je la renie partout, l'on s'est prévalu de cette misère pour me supposer beaucoup plus d'esprit et de connaissances que je n'en ai. Ta mère y fut prise la première, et me donna cette lettre à lire comme un très joli ouvrage. On ne lui dit que le lendemain qu'elle était de moi. Voilà, ma bonne amie, comme l'esprit vient aux gens en dormant. Je te garde finalement cette lettre, ainsi que le récit de mille petites choses qui me sont arrivées et qui te divertiront quelquefois le matin ou le soir, à mesure que je les tirerai de mon petit magasin. . . . ”¹⁵⁾

Nous voyons ainsi qu'à la fin du mois de novembre la *Lettre* avait non seulement été imprimée, mais elle circulait déjà depuis quelque temps dans le monde. Par ailleurs, grâce à son contenu, nous pouvons affirmer également que Potocki a commencé à l'écrire au plus tôt vers la fin de l'exposition, car plusieurs des tableaux analysés par lui ne se trouvaient pas encore au Louvre au commencement du Salon: ainsi, par exemple, David y a envoyé son *Socrate* avec quelque retard, et celui de Doyen n'arriva au Louvre que peu de temps avant sa clôture. Les remarques critiques à son égard n'ont donc pas été écrites avant la fin du mois de septembre, et ce n'est qu'alors ou au mois d'octobre, que le tout a pu être imprimé. Nous en avons d'ailleurs une autre preuve fort convaincante: en effet, Potocki a écrit entre autres, qu'au premier moment il a pris le tableau d'un amateur peu connu, Turpin, pour un paysage de Hubert Robert¹⁶⁾. Or le critique de la *Correspondance littéraire* a relevé cette erreur d'un des salonniers dans son compte rendu de la vie

artistique de Paris au mois d'octobre¹⁷⁾. Il avait donc eu entre les mains le texte de Potocki avant la fin de ce mois.

La lettre de Potocki à sa femme nous éclaire en outre sur la manière dont son opuscule a été imprimé, ce qui nous est confirmé d'ailleurs dans l'introduction :

“Ce petit Ecrit n'étoit pas destiné à devenir public. Son Auteur, qui me l'avoit confié, ne m'auroit pas pardonné de le faire paroître sur les rangs en même temps que d'autres Ecrivains, dont les Réflexions sur les Tableaux de cette année ont partagé l'attention de la Capitale. Je donne aujourd'hui les siennes . . .”¹⁸⁾

L'ami cité ci-dessus était Dominique Vivant Denon (1747-1825) qui, en répondant à Potocki, traitait son *écrit* comme un ouvrage qui lui *était destiné*. En était-il réellement ainsi? Au XVIIIe siècle on donnait le nom de *lettre* à toutes sortes de brochures sur les sujets les plus divers, et c'est dans ce sens que Potocki s'est servi sans doute du style épistolaire en rédigeant son compte rendu du Salon de 1787. Il s'y adresse à *son ami*, en soulignant qu'il n'écrit que pour lui: “. . . mon ami, ce n'est que pour toi que j'écris.”¹⁹⁾ Et il ajoute encore un peu plus loin: “Suis-moi donc, mon ami, dans ce vaste Sallon . . .”²⁰⁾ Enfin, avant de conclure, il reprend encort une fois cette même formule: “Voilà, mon ami, où en sont les arte chez les François.”²¹⁾ Sauf ces quelques mentions, sa *Lettre* n'avais en réalité rien de personnel et pouvait être lue par tout le monde.

On n'a pas besoin non plus de prendre à la lettre ce qui a été écrit par Potocki et confirmé par Denon, au sujet de la publication de la brochure, notamment qu'elle a été imprimée à *l'insu de son auteur*. Grâce à la lettre citée ci-dessus à sa femme, nous savons que Potocki était très fier de son petit succès, bien qu'il faisait semblant de ne pas y attacher beaucoup d'importance. Il s'est tout au plus mis d'accord avec Denon pour faire paraître son écrit sans nom d'auteur.

Cependant, bien que sa *Lettre* n'avait pas été signée, l'identité de son auteur ne devait pas être un secret. Nous en avons une preuve indubitable puisque, un an plus tard, en publiant une version amendée et écourtée du Salon de Potocki, Restif de la Bretonne savait qui l'avait écrite: il a mentionné son nom dans sa préface en en retranchant tout juste le prénom²²⁾, qu'il cite d'ailleurs en toutes lettres quelques années plus tard dans ses mémoires, c'est-à-dire dans *Monsieur Nicolas, ou Le Coeur humain dévoilé*²³⁾.

Aucun autre Salon du XVIIIe siècle n'a fait couler tant d'encre et n'a provoqué autant de controverses que celui de Potocki. Dès sa parution, il a déclenché une réponse dont l'auteur essayait de polémiquer avec lui. Un an plus tard, il fut réédité dans un recueil de récits érotiques. Plus tard, il fut attribué à un autre auteur.

Tous ces évènements sont d'autant plus intéressants qu'ils jettent un jour nouveau sur le contenu même de la *Lettre* et les idées esthétiques de son auteur.

Potocki était un étranger et, comme on dirait en anglais, un "outsider", ainsi qu'un amateur, qui avait pris parti comme tel en critiquant sévèrement la peinture française contemporaine. En outre, il s'était moqué de la manière dont on évaluait en France le Siècle de Louis XIV, en faisant du règne du Roi-Soleil une des grandes époques de l'histoire de l'art²⁴. Sa brochure avait donc un caractère nettement polémique, et elle s'opposait aux idées et aux traditions établies. C'est pourquoi on ne peut pas s'étonner de ce qu'elle ait provoqué une réponse dans laquelle on essayait de lui démontrer d'une manière aussi convaincante que possible à quel point il avait tort. Par contre, ce qui a dû paraître surprenant, c'est que l'auteur de cette *réponse* était ce même *ami* auquel la *Lettre* avait été adressée et qui, par dessus le marché, s'en était dit lui-même l'éditeur²⁵.

La clef de cette volte-face se trouve dans les deux notes qui ont été placées à la fin de son texte. La seconde n'avait en soi rien d'insolite à l'époque à laquelle elle avait été écrite, puisqu'elle contenait la permission d'imprimer de la censure, signée par le lieutenant-général de la police, de Crosne, dont dépendait alors ce genre d'autorisations. Mais ce qui est bien plus piquant, c'est que le texte de Denon avait été approuvé — "lu et approuvé" — d'abord — "avec applaudissement", par Cochin²⁶.

Afin de comprendre le sens exact de cette approbation et de l'étrange aplomb avec lequel elle avait été formulée, il ne faut pas oublier qu'avant la Révolution les artistes qui avaient été élus à l'Académie, étaient soumis à une bureaucratie et une hiérarchisation rigides. Et s'ils n'en faisaient pas parti, ou s'ils n'avaient même pas été agréés, ils n'avaient pas le droit d'exposer aux Salons du Louvre. Par ailleurs, on y accédait par degrés²⁷, et ce qui plus est, par genre. Chacun de ces genres avait à son tour une hiérarchie qui lui était propre. La peinture historique se trouvait au sommet de l'échelle, tandis que celle de genre était considérée comme la moins importante. Seuls les artistes qui faisaient parti de la section historique pouvaient aspirer aux plus hautes fonctions académiques. Le responsable du maintien de cette hiérarchie était le secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie. En 1787 cette charge se trouvait entre les mains du graveur Cochin, qui prenait très au sérieux ses responsabilités.

Les salonniers qui ne tenaient pas compte dans leurs écrits des règles établies par l'Académie, et se permettaient, par exemple, de critiquer les oeuvres de ses *officiers*, exacerbèrent à tel point Cochin, qu'il essayait par tous les moyens à sa disposition de les

réduire au silence ou, tout du moins, de neutraliser leur influence, d'où son recours à la censure préventive dans le cas de Denon.

En 1787 Cochin s'était lancé d'abord lui-même dans la mêlée pour défendre les traditions de l'école française de peinture représentées par les *officiers* de l'Académie. Ainsi, quand le *Journal de Paris*²⁸⁾ publia un compte rendu critique du Salon sans nom d'auteur, croyant qu'il avait été écrit ou tout de moins inspiré par Antoine Renou, il obligea ce malheureux, qui dépendait de lui comme secrétaire-adjoint, à prononcer un discours dans lequel il tenta de se justifier des soupçons qui avaient été portés contre lui²⁹⁾. En outre, Cochin s'engagea lui-même dans la discussion en publiant à son tour son compte rendu de l'exposition, qu'il signa du criptonyme M. C.***³⁰⁾, car, à cause de son rang, il ne pouvait pas participer ouvertement à ce genre de débats. Comme nous ne connaissons pas la date exacte de sa publication, nous ignorons s'il y polémiquait aussi avec la *Lettre* de Potocki, mais à plus d'une reprise il a adopté une position radicalement opposée à celle de l'amateur polonais. Ainsi, par exemple, il défendait Peyron et il s'insurgeait contre ceux qui juxtaposaient les deux *Morts de Socrate* de David et de Peyron, car il trouvait qu'il aurait été préférable d'analyser chacune d'elle séparément. De même, il défendait Vien qui avait été malmené par Potocki.

Il ne nous paraît pas nécessaire d'expliquer en détail pourquoi la *Lettre* de Potocki a tellement irrité Cochin. Tout d'abord, comme nous l'avons déjà dit plus haut, son auteur n'avait pas tenu compte des règles du jeu en attaquant les traditions mêmes de l'école française de peinture. Par dessus le marché, il était un intrus, puisqu'il n'était ni Français, ni un artiste. — Cochin ne se rendait peut être pas compte du point auquel l'aristocratie polonaise, tout comme celle de l'Europe entière, avait été francisée: ses membres parlaient et écrivaient mieux en français qu'en polonais. On le voit bien dans toute la famille Potocki et, en particulier, dans les lettres de Stanislas Kostka à sa femme. Ce n'est que plus tard qu'il opta définitivement dans ses écrits pour sa langue maternelle, mais il ne s'y exprimait pas avec autant de simplicité et d'aisance qu'en français.

Son Salon posait encore un autre problème: Vivant Denon, auquel comme on l'a vu plus haut, la *Lettre* avait été adressée, avait remarqué dans son introduction, qu'elle n'était pas destinée aux "juges françois", mais "aux lecteurs étrangers", pour les aider à se "faire une idée précise du Sallon de cette année, et de l'état actuel de la Peinture en France; et leur servir comme d'un point de vue, d'où ils pourront suivre et mesurer les progrès de l'art."³¹⁾ Or, les étrangers qui lisaient alors Potocki, étaient de riches amateurs



Mme Labille-Guyard: Madame Adélaïde, fille de Louis XV et de Marie Leszczyńska (Musée National de Versailles).

tels que sa belle-mère, qui achetaient souvent des tableaux en France. Par conséquent, si jamais ils le prenaient au sérieux, ils cesseraient de protéger les artistes qu'il avait critiqués. Un seul exemple suffit: la princesse Lubomirska, qui avait acheté jadis des tableaux de Watteau, Boucher, Greuze, Lagrénée l'aîné et Fragonard, passa alors des commandes à plusieurs des peintres qui avaient été loués par son beau-fils, dont un *Paris et Hélène*, daté en 1789, de David³²⁾.

Vivant Denon dépendait de Cochin. Pour nous, aujourd'hui, il est l'auteur d'un charmant conte libertin — *Point de lendemain*³³⁾ — et le directeur des Beaux-arts de Napoléon, comme nous le rappel- lent au Louvre la Porte et le Pavillon Denon³⁴⁾. En 1787 rien ne présageait encore une carrière aussi brillante. Arrivé à la quarantaine, il avait occupé tout juste quelques postes de moyenne importance dans le service diplomatique français en Russie et en Italie, où il avait rencontré probablement Potocki. En 1787 il venait de s'engager dans une voie nouvelle: depuis des années il collectionnait *con amore* des oeuvres d'art et, après un long apprentissage, il était devenu en outre un bon graveur. Ce talent lui avait valu son élection à l'Académie juste avant l'ouverture du Salon dans lequel il avait exposé plusieurs eaux-fortes. Or, au XVIIIe siècle, les critiques ne s'intéressaient que très rarement aux estampes. La *Lettre* de Potocki était une de ces exceptions à la règle, car elle contenait une défense louangeuse des oeuvres de Denon, qui avaient été fort malmenées par le *Journal de Paris*³⁵⁾. Il avait donc été intéressé à titre personnel à la publication de la *Lettre*. A présent il était obligé de payer bien cher cette faiblesse en prenant publiquement la défense de l'école française et des traditions dont elle était pour ainsi dire le symbole. En outre, il dut soumettre à Cochin le texte de sa *réponse*. C'est cette humiliation qui fut mise en évidence à la fin de sa brochure.

Tout en essayant d'être aussi aimable que possible à l'égard de Potocki, Denon dut se charger de la défense des artistes qui avaient été attaqués par son ami. Son plaidoyer n'est en réalité, qu'un écho des arguments exposés plus tôt dans la brochure attribuée à Cochin. C'est ce qui explique aussi le ton de son approbation: Cochin s'applaudissait lui-même . . . Il ne nous paraît pas nécessaire d'ajouter que la *Lettre* de Potocki est infiniment mieux écrite, plus originale et, en général, plus intéressante que celle de Denon, tant pour le fond que pour la forme.

Comme nous l'avons déjà dit plus haut, un an plus tard, une version écourtée de la *Lettre* de Potocki parut à Londres dans un recueil de récits macabres et érotiques intitulé *Les Nuits de Paris* de Restif de la Bretonne³⁶⁾.

Dans la notice qui précède le texte de Potocki, Restif nous apprend que "le petit Ecrit qui forme cette Note, est d'un Etranger de la

première distinction . . .” qui “n’en a fait imprimer que peu d’exemplaires, pour ses Amis. C’est une des plus distinguées, Mad. la Comtesse de B***, qui m’a prêté celui dont je fais usage . . .”³⁷⁾ Cette amie de Potocki ou plutôt de Restif, s’appelait Fanny de Beauharnais. Surnommée “la Sapho de l’illuminisme”, elle était l’auteur de *Stéphanie* et de quelques autres romans plutôt médiocres³⁸⁾. Grâce à Restif, nous savons qu’elle recevait dans son salon quelques écrivains, tels que Cazotte et Mercier, et des étrangers de passage parmi lesquels il cite entre autres, “le jeune prince *Czartoriski*, aussi beau qu’instruit et modeste” — soit, bien entendu, Adam-Georges Czartoryski, qui passa quelques mois à Paris en 1787, chez sa tante, la princesse-maréchalle Lubomirska; un autre “comte-prince polonais” *Malakeuski*, peut-être Malachowski (?), ainsi que l’auteur de notre *Lettre*, Stanislas Potocki³⁹⁾, “frère du Grand-Maréchal de la Couronne de Pologne⁴⁰⁾, homme plein d’esprit, d’aménité, écrivant en François aussi purement que nos meilleurs auteurs. J’ai imprimé de lui, nous dit encore Restif, dans la XIVe partie des *Nuits*, un *Essai* plein de goût et de connaissances, sur les Tableaux du Salon de MDCCLXXXVII.”⁴¹⁾

En 1788 il l’avait présenté bien plus élogieusement encore dans *Les Nuits* comme “. . . un seigneur polonais, plein d’esprit, amateur éclairé, parce qu’il était réellement Connaisseur⁵⁾! . . . il s’exprimait dans notre langue avec autant de grâce que de lucidité . . .”⁴²⁾ Ailleurs il avait écrit également que Potocki était “. . . un amateur éclairé, qui a parcouru toute l’Europe, et vu tous les chefs-d’oeuvres des grands maîtres: ce jeune seigneur est absolument désintéressé et ses jugements sont bien motivés!”⁴³⁾

Les mémoires de Niemcewicz jettent aussi quelques lumières sur la présence des deux Polonais chez Mme de Beauharnais, qui ne recevait pas chez elle des Français du même rang qu’eux. L’écrivain polonais nous dit qu’il lui fut présenté lors d’un séjour qu’il fit à Paris en 1785, et que, dès lors, il devint un habitué de son salon, qu’il a fréquenté régulièrement au cours de tous les voyages successifs qu’il fit plus tard en France⁴⁴⁾. Il est donc fort probable, sinon certain, qu’il a emmené Potocki et le jeune Czartoryski chez Mme de Beauharnais en 1787.

La présence du *Salon* de Potocki dans *Les Nuits de Paris* s’explique difficilement parce qu’il n’y a aucun rapport entre une exposition de tableaux et la vie nocturne d’une grande ville. On y trouve à vrai dire toutes sortes d’informations comme, par exemple, des réflexions sur le théâtre, qui pouvait faire parti d’une soirée parisienne. Mais on allait au Louvre au milieu de la journée. Il s’agit donc bel et bien d’un remplissage, dont Potocki n’a sans doute jamais été informé.

Restif a introduit un certain nombre de changements dans le

texte de Potocki. Tout d'abord il a supprimé l'introduction de Denon et toutes les références au style épistolaire pour en faire un texte impersonnel écrit à la troisième personne. Il en a retranché également toute la première partie dans laquelle Potocki avait remis en question, comme nous l'avons déjà dit plus haut, l'existence même de l'école française de peinture. De cette manière il l'a rendu beaucoup moins agressif, mais en même temps il s'est montré aussi susceptible et chatouilleux sur le chapitre de la grandeur incontestée et incontestable de l'art français que Cochin. Enfin Restif a introduit également un certain nombre de changements d'ordre stylistique.

En 1862 cette version de Restif fut rééditée à son tour dans la *Revue Universelle des Arts* par Paul Lacroix, qui l'attribua cependant à Jean Potocki⁴⁵). Lacroix, plus connu comme le Bibliophile Jacob, était devenu quelques années plus tôt le dernier mari de Caroline Rzewuska, une des soeurs de Mme de Balzac, qui avait été entre autres, la maîtresse de Mickiewicz et de Pouchkine. Elle a peut-être suggéré à son mari le nom de Jean Potocki, mais il en avait sûrement entendu parler lui-même dès 1842, lors du fameux procès de Courchamp, qui avait essayé de plagier le *Manuscrit trouvé à Saragosse* en l'attribuant à Cagliostro⁴⁶). En publiant treize ans plus tard sa bibliographie des oeuvres de Restif, Lacroix n'a plus commis la même erreur. Le Salon inséré dans *Les Nuits de Paris* y est attribué au comte Potocki tout court⁴⁷). On s'explique facilement cette modification: en lisant l'autobiographie de Restif, Lacroix a appris que l'auteur du Salon n'était point Jean mais Stanislas Potocki. En donnant le nom complet de l'auteur, il aurait été obligé d'admettre son erreur. Il a donc préféré se borner à une identification plus vague qui mettait à l'abri sa réputation de chercheur. Par ailleurs, des amis polonais lui ont peut-être fait remarquer que Jean Potocki n'a probablement jamais visité le Salon de 1787⁴⁸).

En 1880 le petit-fils de David publia à son tour un recueil de souvenirs et de documents inédits ou peu connus sous le titre de *Le Peintre Louis David, 1748-1825*⁴⁹). En tête de la documentation consacrée à *La Mort de Socrate*, il cite tout le passage de Potocki sur le tableau de son aïeul⁵⁰), et ce d'après l'édition originale⁵¹). La réédition de ce texte par un descendant de l'artiste est fort importante à plus d'un égard. Tout d'abord c'est le seul écho du Salon de Potocki, après la réédition de Lacroix, dans la littérature spécialisée en France au XIXe siècle. En outre, cette réédition nous prouve qu'on avait gardé la brochure de Potocki dans les archives du peintre, et que dans sa famille elle était considérée comme la meilleure critique de son tableau. Le petit-fils de David la cite même avant un extrait de celle que Reynolds aurait aussi publiée

en 1787 dans *Le Courrier Anglais*⁵²). Il ne savait pas, par contre, que cette page avait été écrite par Stanislas Potocki, bien qu'il était au courant des liens qui l'unissaient avec son grand-père, puisqu'il en parle à propos de son portrait.

Par la suite la *Lettre* a été nommée en 1915 par Albert Dresdner dans un ouvrage sur les origines de la critique d'art⁵³). Bien que cette mention sommaire figure seulement dans une note infrapaginale, elle nous intéresse tout particulièrement, parce qu'elle situe la *Lettre* dans l'ensemble de la critique européenne de son temps. Dresdner l'avait lue dans la version rééditée par Lacroix, dont Restif avait retranché, comme nous l'avons vu plus haut, l'attaque de l'école française. Il a remarqué cependant l'originalité du point de vue du salonnier polonais et son attitude critique à l'égard de l'art en France. Enfin, en ne citant pas le prénom de l'auteur, il n'a pas commis la même faute que Lacroix. Il n'en a pas été de même avec Louis Réau, qui cite lui aussi la version de Restif et l'attribue à Jean Potocki⁵⁴).

La *Lettre* a été analysée pour la première fois en détails en 1929 par Tadeusz Mańkowski dans un livre sur les opinions sur l'art pendant le règne de Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski⁵⁵). Mańkowski l'a résumée d'après la version de Restif dans l'édition de Lacroix; il l'a attribuée également à Jean Potocki. Nous ne pouvons pas nous empêcher de relire avec un brin d'ironie la conclusion de son étude:

“L'internationalisme de [Jean] Potocki, fondé sur une connaissance universelle de la culture française, lui a permis de participer à la critique du Salon de Paris de 1787. Il était alors peut-être le seul Polonais qui pouvait se permettre d'adopter la position qu'il a prise dans son ouvrage. Stanislas Potocki n'en aurait pas été capable, bien qu'il a exercé une influence bien plus considérable sur la littérature polonaise et la vie intellectuelle de son pays, mais il n'avait ni ses aptitudes, ni son niveau intellectuel.”⁵⁶).

Grâce à Mańkowski nous savons aussi que Zygmunt Batowski avait retrouvé un exemplaire de la *Lettre* dans une des bibliothèques de Varsovie⁵⁷). Cette bibliothèque était probablement celle de Wilanów, qui a appartenu aux descendants de Stanislas Potocki. La *Lettre* ne s'y trouve pas aujourd'hui ni dans aucune bibliothèque de Varsovie.

Comme nous l'avons déjà écrit en 1974, le seul exemplaire qui nous soit connu à présent se trouve à la Bibliothèque Czartoryski de Cracovie. Il a sans doute appartenu à Adam-Georges Czartoryski lors de son retour en Pologne en 1787⁵⁸).

Nous ne possédons pas encore une histoire complète de la critique des Salons du Louvre avant la Révolution. Celle des Salons avant Diderot a été faite par Helena Zmijewska⁵⁹), et les *Salons* de Diderot

ont été édités d'une façon magistrale par Jean Seznec et Jean Adhémar. Par contre nous n'avons pas encore d'histoire de la critique d'art en France pendant les années qui ont précédé la Révolution. Mme Zmijewska a écrit une étude inédite "sur la critique des salons du temps de Diderot, 1759-1789", dont elle a donné un échantillon en 1977, dans l'article cité ci-dessus, sur le Salon de Potocki. Nous avons été obligée de relever quelques unes des erreurs de son article. D'autres ont été rectifiées implicitement dans notre texte. Nous voudrions encore faire le point au sujet de deux malentendus qui se dégagent des thèses avancées par Mme Zmijewska. Tout d'abord, elle croit qu'avant Potocki aucun étranger n'avait écrit de critique des Salons du Louvre⁶⁰). Or nous avons déjà parlé plus haut de l'article de Reynolds, cité par le petit-fils de David, et commenté par Sterling et Wind. On ne peut pas passer non plus sous silence la collaboration de Grimm avec Diderot. En outre, il écrivait parfois lui-même des comptes rendus des Salons dans la *Correspondance Littéraire*.

Enfin, et toujours selon Mme Zmijewska, la *Lettre d'un étranger sur le Salon de 1787* "n'est . . . pas la première oeuvre polonaise à traiter de l'art français du dix-huitième siècle. Cette brochure a été précédée d'un livre édité à Varsovie sous l'anonymat, en 1787, intitulé *Un Polonais à Paris, ou la quinzaine passée en cette ville* par le Comte . . . "Encore une fois, malheureusement, Mme Zmijewska fait erreur, car cet ouvrage publié en effet à Varsovie en 1787, n'était qu'une mauvaise traduction polonaise de *La Quinzaine anglaise à Paris, ou l'Art de s'y ruiner en peu de temps, ouvrage posthume du docteur Stearne, traduit de l'anglais par un observateur* de James John Rutledge⁶²). L'origine du *Polak w Paryżu* a été établie depuis longtemps par Tadeusz Mikulski, dont les recherches ont été confirmées et développées par Sante Graciotti et résumées dans la *Bibliographie des romans polonais (1601-1800)* de Jadwiga Rudnicka⁶³).

Comme nous ne connaissons pas l'ensemble des Salons parus avant la Révolution, il nous est difficile de nous faire une idée précise du degré d'importance de celui de Potocki. Cependant, après avoir lu ceux de 1787, nous sommes en mesure d'affirmer qu'il devait se distinguer des autres et qu'il occupait même une place de choix dans l'ensemble des publications de ce genre avant la Révolution. Il représentait le point de vue d'un étranger qui avait étudié à fond l'art antique, la peinture italienne des XVe, XVIe et XVIIe siècles, et l'école classique en France, ainsi que les théories de Winckelmann. Il voyait donc l'art en France avec des yeux nouveaux et ses idées se rapprochaient beaucoup de celles de David et des autres représent-

tants de la nouvelle école néo-classique. En même temps, comme il avait été formé cependant par la culture française, dans son ouvrage sur l' *Art chez les anciens* il s'est insurgé contre "les élans mystiques" de Winckelmann, qu'il avait lu d'ailleurs en français, et il essayait comme nous l'a expliqué Mańkowski, de les adapter aux modèles acceptés par les traditions françaises dont l'absence semblait le choquer chez Winckelmann⁶⁴). Nous voyons donc que tout en s'insurgeant contre l'art et la culture artistique en France, il leur était au fond profondément attaché. Cette attitude est très caractéristique chez un membre de l'élite intellectuelle de l'Europe des Lumières.

Disons enfin que la *Lettre* occupe une place privilégiée en Pologne, puisque'elle y a inauguré la critique d'art, comme l'a déjà souligné Stefan Kozakiewicz, pour qui elle a précédé de plus de trente ans les comptes rendus des expositions polonaises écrites en polonais⁶⁵).

La présente édition est basée sur le texte des éditions originales des brochures de Potocki et de Denon. Nous n'avons pas modernisé l'orthographe ni la ponctuation des deux *Lettres* ni celles du livret du Salon de 1787. Dans les notes nous avons essayé de suivre l'exemple désormais classique de l'édition des *Salons* de Diderot de J. Seznec et J. Adhémar. Nous n'avons pas donné cependant tout le texte du livret de l'exposition, mais seulement les descriptions des ouvrages mentionnés par Potocki ou par Denon. De la même manière nous avons omis les dimensions des oeuvres exposées, car il nous a été possible de vérifier seulement celles de plusieurs d'entre elles.*)

Le Comité de rédaction regrète l'absence de signes diacritiques polonais dans les notes. Pour des raisons techniques les notes furent composées dans une imprimerie où ces caractères n'étaient pas disponibles dans la taille voulue.

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NOTES

¹ Diderot, *Salons*, texte établi et présenté par Jean Seznec et Jean Adhémar, Oxford, 1957-1967: T. IV, p. 378. Le portrait de Potocki par David faisait parti de la Coll. de Wilanów (Irena Voisé et Teresa Glowacka-Pocheć, *Galeria malarstwa Stanisława Kostki Potockiego w Wilanowie*, Varsovie, 1974, p. 23, ill. 18), et se trouve à présent au Musée National de Varsovie. Il a été exposé à maintes reprises en Europe et en Amérique du Nord (*French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution*, Detroit, 1975, s.v. David, p. 358-360, 363-364, ill. No. 29, planche p. 62).

² Andrzej Ryszkiewicz, "Portrait équestre de Stanislas Kostka Potocki par Jacques-Louis David", *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie*, Vol. IV (1963, No. 3), p. 77-95; "Jacques-Louis David i Polacy", *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, T. IV (1964), p. 87-112; *Francusko-polskie związki artystyczne w kregu J. L. Davida*, Varsovie, 1967, p. 34-38.

³ Le portrait de Potocki a été peint à Paris d'après un croquis fait d'après nature en Italie et rapporté en France en 1780 (*Catalogue de la Coll. de Wilanow*, No. 1, 1834, cité par A. Ryszkiewicz).

⁴ St. K. Potocki, *O sztuce u dawnych, czyli Winkelman polski*, Varsovie, T. I-II (1815), T. III (1816).

⁵ Pour plus de détails sur la vie et l'oeuvre de St. K. Potocki, on peut consulter notre article sur "La Première Critique d'art écrite par un Polonais: 'Lettre d'un étranger sur le Salon de 1787' de Stanislas Kostka Potocki, *Dix-huitième siècle*, No. 6, 1974, p. 325-341.

⁶ Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasow moich*, Varsovie, 1957, T. I., p. 242.

⁷ Potocki est allé en Italie en 1772-1775, 1777, 1779-1780, 1785-1786 et en 1796-1797 (Cf. la nouvelle édition de la Bibliographie de la littérature polonaise: *Bibliografia Literaturny Polskiej—Nowy Korbut*, E. Aleksandrowska éd., Varsovie, 1970, T. 6*, s.v. St. K. Potocki, p. 75-86. N.B.: Sa *Lettre* n'y a même pas été mentionnée). Au cours des dernières vingt années on a beaucoup écrit sur les voyages ainsi que les recherches et les travaux de Potocki dans le domaine de l'histoire, de l'architecture, etc. (Cf. les articles de Juliusz Starzynski, Stanislaw Lorentz, Kazimierz Michalowski et M. L. Bernhard in *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, T. I. 1956; celui de Bożenna Majewska-Maszkowska et Tadeusz S. Jaroszewski dans *Sarmatica Artistica—Księga pamiatkowa ku czci profesora Władysława Tomkiewicza* (Varsovie, 1958, p. 211-234) et dans le *Buletyn Historii Sztuki*, Année 34 (1972, No. 2), p. 211-217).

⁸ Jan Czarnomski, "Z dziejów wolnomularskich XVIII w.—Kilka dokumentów dotyczących misji Stanisława Potockiego w Paryżu w 1787 r.", *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, Année 53 (1939-1945), p. 267-273.

⁹ Lettre de Potocki à sa femme Alexandrine, du 4 janvier 1788, *Archiwum Głowne Akt Dawnych* (AGAD) à Varsovie, Archives Publiques des Potocki (APP), 262, T. I, f. 761-764.

¹⁰ Mme Vigée-Lebrun a peint une quarantaine de portraits *polonais* qui ont été étudiés par Jerzy Mycielski et Stanislaw Wasylewski dans *Portrety polskie Elzbiety. Vigée-Lebrun (1755-1842)* Cracovie, 1927). Mais la princesse possédait aussi beaucoup de tableaux d'autres artistes, en particulier de ceux qui s'étaient distingués au moment du plus grand essor de l'art rococo.

¹¹ Lettre du 3 décembre 1787 (AGAD, APP 262, I, f. 722-723).

¹² Il y a là seulement une copie par J. Ph. Ledoux, d'un tableau de Vernet (Irena Voisé et Teresa Glowacka-Pocheć, op. cit., No. 16, p. 92, ill. 4). Il ne faut pas oublier cependant que Potocki a échangé plus d'une fois des oeuvres d'art qu'il faisait acheter à la princesse.

¹³ Cf. ci-dessous, p. 189-190.

¹⁴ *Lettre d'un étranger sur le Sallon de 1787*, s.n., s.l., s.d., 32 p. Cette brochure est composée de deux feuillets de 21 x 13, 5 cm. (Bibliothèque Czartoryski à Cracovie, 70095 I).

¹⁵ AGAD, APP 262, I, f. 717-718. Nous avons corrigé et modernisé l'orthographe et la ponctuation des lettres de Potocki.

¹⁶ Cf. ci-dessous, p. 184.

¹⁷ "... il faut bien y reconnaître une sorte de mérite puisque des yeux même assez exercés ont été tentés de la croire de M. Robert." (*Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique*, par Grimm, Diderot, Raynal, Meister, etc., Maurice Tourneux éd., T. XV, Paris, 1881, p. 148).

¹⁸ Cf. ci-dessous, p. 181.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

²² Nicolas Edmé Restif de la Bretonne, *Les Nuits de Paris ou Le Spectateur nocturne*, Londres, 1788, T. V, XIVe partie, p. 3152.

²³ Nicolas Edmé Restif de la Bretonne, *Monsieur Nicolas ou Le Coeur humain dévoilé*, Paris, 1959, Pauvert, t. IV, p. 229 (N.B.: Trois éditions différentes de *Monsieur Nicolas* ont paru à Paris en 1959).

²⁴ Or, il est piquant de rappeler ici qu'en parlant de la belle-mère de Potocki dont son ami faisait beaucoup de cas et pour causes, car elle tenait la bourse, Niemcewicz note dans ses mémoires, que la princesse-maréchale "avait la tête pleine . . . de la grandeur du Siècle de Louis XIV." (Op. cit., T. I, p. 242).

²⁵ *Lettre de M. de Non, En réponse à une lettre d'un étranger sur le Salon de 1787*, Paris, s.d., Didot l'Aîné, 15 p. (B. N., Coll. Deloynes, t. XV. No. 403, p. 992-1002).

²⁶ Cf. ci-dessous, p. 214. La brochure de Potocki n'a pas été soumise à la censure ni approuvée par elle, car la censure des comptes rendus des Salons n'était pas obligatoire. Seuls les officiers de l'Académie et, en particulier, Cochin, essayaient par tous les moyens à leur disposition, d'obtenir la création d'une telle censure préventive pour contrôler les critiques, mais on ne l'observait guère régulièrement. En réalité, les personnes qui dépendaient de l'Académie, étaient seulement obligées de se soumettre à cette pratique (Jules Marie Joseph Guiffrey, *Table générale des artistes ayant exposé aux Salons du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1873, p. XLVIII-XLIX).

²⁷ Le recteur et le chancelier se trouvaient au sommet de la hiérarchie académique. En 1787 Vien cumulait ces deux charges, tandis que Lagrènee l'aîné était en même temps recteur et directeur de l'Académie de France à Rome. Les autres officiers étaient le secrétaire perpétuel, les conseillers, le secrétaire, le secrétaire-adjoint, les professeurs et les adjoints à professeurs, le professeur de perspective et les académiciens. Les agrégés formaient une catégorie à part. Ils avaient obtenus parfois le "prix de Rome" après quelques années d'études, et ils étaient autorisés à exposer aux Salons. Beaucoup d'entre eux n'ont jamais été élus cependant à l'Académie. Enfin, dans chaque catégorie—peinture, sculpture et gravure, il y avait aussi des amateurs qui pouvaient exposer également aux Salons du Louvre.

²⁸ "Observations du 'Journal de Paris' sur l'exposition des Tableaux du Louvre en 1787", *Collection Deloynes*, T. XV, No. 394, p. 748-802 (manuscrites). La "Collection Deloynes" est composée par les catalogues et les comptes rendus des Salons et se trouve au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale.

²⁹ "Discours ou Mémoire justificatif de M. Renou, secrétaire-adjoint", Paris, 1787, 16 p. Renou lut son *mémoire* à l'Académie le 29 septembre 1787 (*Ibid.*, T. L, No. 1356). Il en résulte, que le *Journal de Paris* avait publié son article avant cette date.

³⁰ "Examen des Critiques qui ont été publiées sur l'Exposition des Tableaux au Salon du Louvre en 1787", par M. C***, à Londres et se trouve à Paris, chez Prault, Imprimeur du Roi, 1787, 24 p. (*Ibid.*, T. XV, No. 400). Guiffrey a prouvé que Cochin était l'auteur de cette brochure (Op. cit., p. LIII-LIV). Il a signalé également une lettre du mois d'octobre 1787, dans laquelle Cochin se plaignait des critiques adverses au Salon (*Ibid.*, p. XLVIII-XLIX).

³¹ Cf. ci-dessous, p. 181.

³² Pour le *Paris et Hélène*, de David, plus connu aujourd'hui comme *Les Amours de Paris et d'Hélène*, pour le distinguer sans doute de l'original, qui se trouvait jadis en Pologne, on peut consulter Bozenna Majewska-Maszkowska: *Mecenat artystyczny Izabelli z Czartoryskich Lubomirskiej (1736-1816)* (Wrocław, 1976), p. 303, 316, ill. 239. En 1864, il fut vendu par le prince H. Lubomirski, et se trouve aujourd'hui au Musée des Arts Décoratifs de Paris (No. 38.663) comme "une réplique peinte par David lui-même", tandis que pour Mme Maszkowska ce n'est qu'une copie d'atelier (Voir aussi: *The Age of Neo-classicism*, The Fourteenth Exhibition of The Council of Europe, The Royal Academy and The Victoria and Albert Museum, Londres, 9.IX-19.XI.1972, No. 64, p. 42-43, planche 4). L'original, exposé au Salon de 1789, avait été commandé par le comte d'Artois et se trouve à présent au Louvre (*The French Painting 1774-1830*, p. 359).

³³ *Romanciers du XVIIIe siècle*, Etiemble éd., Paris, 1965, Coll. de la Pléiade, T. II, p. 383-402.

³⁴ Pierre Lelièvre, *Vivant Denon, Directeur des Beaux-Arts de Napoléon, Essai sur la politique artistique du Premier Empire*, Angers, 1942, 1942; Judith Nowinski, *Baron Dominique Vivant Denon (1747-1285): Hedonist and scholar in a period of transition*, Rutherford—Madison—Teaneck, 1970; Jean Chatelain, *Dominique Vivant Denon et le Louvre de Napoléon*, Paris, 1973.

³⁵ "Observations du 'Journal de Paris' . . .", p. 793.

³⁶ *Les Nuits de Paris*, T.V, XIVe partie, p. 3327-3348.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3326-3327. Restif avait décrit d'abord fort brièvement une visite au Salon—

“Le Salon. Mad. Lebrun: M. Davide (sic)” — dans la CLXIX Nuit (p. 3150-3152), au cours de laquelle il aurait rencontré Potocki devant le *Socrate mourant* de David. Il avait reproduit ensuite la version écourtée de la *Lettre* de Potocki à la fin de cette partie des *Nuits*, dans la *Note* (p. 3326-3348).

³⁸ Marc Chadourne, *Restif de la Bretonne ou Le Siècle prophétique*, Paris, 1958, p. 275.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 276. Marc Chadourne a signalé le premier la rencontre de Restif et de Potocki chez Fanny de Beauharnais. Mme Jacqueline Marc-Chadourne nous a conseillée, en 1970, de chercher la source de cette information dans *Monsieur Nicolas*. C’est ainsi que nous avons retrouvé le passage cité ci-dessus dans l’autobiographie de l’auteur des *Nuits*. Cette découverte a fait l’objet d’une communication au congrès du “Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America”, qui s’est tenu à l’Université de Columbia à New York en avril 1971 (“A Polish Review of the ‘Salon’ of 1787: which Potocki?”). J’en parle également dans l’article, cité ci-dessus, publié en 1974 dans la revue *Dix-huitième siècle*. Cependant, dans un article publié trois ans plus tard, Helena Zmijewska semble s’attribuer cette petite trouvaille: “Personne n’avait pensé rechercher, nous dit-elle, dans une autre oeuvre de Restif de la Bretonne *Monsieur Nicolas ou le coeur humain dévoilé* le nom de l’auteur de cette critique du Salon de 1787. L’écrivain y nomme les personnes qu’il a connues chez Madame de Beauharnais et parmi elles: “. . . Stanislas Potocki . . .” (Helena Zmijewska, “Stanislaw Kostka Potocki, critique du Salon du Louvre”, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 1977, No. 4, p. 344-353; p. 345-346). Si Mme Zmijewska n’avait pas lu notre article de 1974, nous aurions peut-être trouvé très naturel qu’elle soit arrivée aux mêmes conclusions, mais nous le lui avons communiqué, et elle le cite même à tort pour nous attribuer la découverte de l’unique exemplaire de la *Lettre* de Potocki à la Bibliothèque Czartoryski de Cracovie. Or, dans notre article, nous en avions remercié le Dr. Stanislaw Chankowski et M. Jan Poradzisz (op. cit., p. 341 *). Ces messieurs, à qui nous avons communiqué toutes les informations réunies jusqu’en 1971, trouvèrent une mention de la *Lettre* dans le Catalogue des Anonymes qui se trouvent dans les archives et les bibliothèques polonaises. C’est ainsi qu’ils purent nous envoyer ensuite une photocopie de la brochure de Potocki, qui a été utilisée dans la présente édition. Les autres informations factuelles, citées par Mme Zmijewska, se trouvaient aussi dans notre article et/ou dans l’étude de Tadeusz Mankowski citée ci-dessous.

⁴⁰ Ignace Potocki, le frère aîné de Stanislas, était depuis 1783 Maréchal de la Cour de Lithuanie. En 1791 il devint Grand-maréchal de Lithuanie. De même il y avait un Maréchal de la Cour de Pologne et un Grand-maréchal de Pologne, mais aucun des frères Potocki n’a occupé un de ces postes.

⁴¹ *Monsieur Nicolas ou Le Coeur humain dévoilé*, T. IV, p. 229.

⁴² *Les Nuits de Paris*, T. V, XIVe partie, p. 3151-3152.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 3348.

⁴⁴ Niemcewicz, op. cit., T. I, p. 217-218. Par contre, il ne parle jamais ni de la *Lettre* de Potocki, ni de discussions qu’il y aurait eu sur les idées esthétiques contenues dans cette *Lettre*, chez Mme de Beauharnais.

⁴⁵ “L’Amateur polonais au Salon de 1787”, *Revue Universelle des Arts*, Paris—Bruxelles, 1862, T. XVI, p. 370-380.

⁴⁶ J. M. Quérard, *Les Supercheries littéraires dévoilées*, Paris, 1847, T. I, s.v. Cagliostro, p. 177-193; s.v. Courchamps, p. 286-287; s.v. Créquy, p. 290-291.

⁴⁷ P.-L. Jacob, Bibliophile, *Bibliographie et iconographie de tous les ouvrages de Restif de la Bretonne*, Paris, 1875, p. 269.

⁴⁸ Jean Potocki a publié en 1789 la description du voyage qu’il avait fait en Hollande en automne 1787. Cet ouvrage est composé par une série de lettres qui s’échelonnent entre le 10 septembre et le 11 octobre (*Voyage en Turquie et en Egypte fait en 1784*, suivi du *Voyage en Hollande, fait pendant la révolution de 1787*, Varsovie, 1889/i.e. 1789). Une traduction polonaise de J. U. Niemcewicz parut également à Varsovie en 1789. Elle fut rééditée à Cracovie en 1849). Jean Potocki se rendit ensuite en Angleterre, et il y était encore au début du mois de décembre, comme le prouvent les lettres de son beau-frère et cousin Stanislas K. Potocki à sa femme (Lettres des 6, 19 et 26 novembre et des 3 et 7 décembre 1787—AGAD, APP 262, I).

⁴⁹ *Le Peintre Louis David 1748-1825. Souvenirs et documents inédits* par J. L. Jules David, son petit-fils, Paris, 1880.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, T. I, p. 46-47.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 668.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 48. Selon Charles Sterling, l’article de Reynolds a été publié dans le *Courier de l’Europe*. Il le confond avec la *Lettre* de Potocki (Charles Sterling, *A Cata-*

logue of French Paintings, XVth-XVIIIth Centuries, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1955, p. 192-196: p. 194). Enfin, selon E. Wind, l'article de Reynolds n'a pas été incluí dans l'édition de ses oeuvres littéraires de 1797, parce que son éditeur, Edmund Malone, et Reynolds lui-même, ne sympathisaient point avec la Révolution, dont David était devenu alors un des représentants les plus en vue (E. Wind, "A lost article on David by Reynolds", *Journal of The Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. VI, 1943, The Warburg Institute, Londres, Kraus Reprint, Neudeln/Lichtenstein, 1968, p.223-224).

⁵³ Albert Dresdner, *Die Entstehung der Kunstkritik im Zusammenhang der Geschichte des europäischen Kunstlebens*, München, 1915, p. 339⁹⁸.

⁵⁴ Louis Réau, *Histoire de l'expansion de l'art français moderne—Le Monde slave et l'Orient*, Paris, 1924, p. 38.

⁵⁵ Tadeusz Mankowski, *O pogladach na sztuke w czasach Stanislaw Augusty*, réédité in: *Mecenat artystyczny Stanislaw Augusty*, Zuzanna Prószyńska éd., Introd. de Wladyslaw Tatarkiewicz, Varsovie, 1976, p. 131-135.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 134-135. C'est nous qui traduisons.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 138. Mankowski se trompe également en disant que la *Lettre* de Potocki avait 62 p., car elle n'en a que 32, et qu'elle a été mentionnée par J. M. Quérard dans *La France littéraire* (T. VI, Paris, 1834, p. 155-156).

⁵⁸ L'exemplaire conservé à la Bibliothèque Czartoryski n'a d'ailleurs jamais été lu, car ses pages n'avaient pas été coupées avant 1971.

⁵⁹ Hélène Zmijewska, "La Critique des Salons en France avant Diderot", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, juillet-août 1970, 144 p.

⁶⁰ Helena Zmijewska "Stanislas Kostka Potocki, critique du Salon du Louvre", p. 344 et 348.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 348.

⁶² Londres, 1776.

⁶³ Tadeusz Mikulski, "Polak w Paryżu (1787) przekladem", *W kregu oswieconych*, Varsovie, 1960, p. 508-510. T. Mikulski avait présenté pour la première fois le résultat de ses recherches en 1943. Sante Graciotti, "Attorno al 'Polak w Paryżu,'" *Studi in Onore di Ettore Lo Gatto e Giovanni Maver*, Rome, 1962, p. 299-312. Jadwiga Rudnicka, *Bibliografia powiesci polskiej (1601-1800)*, Wroclaw, 1964, p. 259-260.

⁶⁴ T. Mankowski, op. cit., p. 144.

⁶⁵ Pour Kozakiewicz, la *Lettre* est encore un ouvrage de Jean Potocki. Selon lui, Potocki écrivait en 1787 de la même manière dont on composait des Salons en France depuis 1750, c'est-à-dire qu'il ne s'éloigne pas des idées esthétiques en cours en Pologne pendant le règne de Stanislas-Auguste." (Stefan Kozakiewicz, "Początki krytyki artystycznej w Warszawie (1819-1845)", *Materiały do Studiów i dyskusji z zakresu teorii sztuki, krytyki artystycznej oraz metodologii badań nad sztuką*, No. 6, Varsovie, 1951, p. 72.

ANNEXE I

LETTRE D'UN ÉTRANGER SUR

LE SALLON DE 1787.*

[PAR STANISLAS KOSTKA POTOCKI]

Ce petit Écrit n'étoit pas destiné à devenir public. Son Auteur, qui me l'avoit confié, ne m'auroit pas pardonné de le faire paroître sur les rangs en même-temps que d'autres Ecrivains, dont les Réflexions sur les Tableaux de cette année ont partagé l'attention de la Capitale. Je donne aujourd'hui les siennes, non dans le dessein d'attirer sur elles les regards des juges françois; mais seulement dans l'espoir qu'elles pourront aider quelques lecteurs étrangers à se faire une idée précise, et du Sallon de cette année, et de l'état actuel de la Peinture en France; et leur servir comme d'un point de vue, d'où ils pourront suivre et mesurer les progrès de l'art.

DANS une ville où les nouveautés se succèdent avec rapidité, où le moment qui fuit emporte tout avec lui, où la raison voltige sur les ailes d'une imagination légère, où l'esprit juge la raison; étranger, peu fait aux manières du pays, oserai-je m'essayer sur un point sur lequel la plume de cent auteurs brillans a glissé avec tant de grace?

Non, mon ami, ce n'est que pour toi que j'écris; je respecte trop mes hôtes aimables, je les connois trop, pour oser les contredire. Je me tais donc pour le public, et ce n'est que pour l'amitié que je parle.

Il y a long-temps que les François se piquent d'avoir une école de peinture, et jamais ils n'ont mis en doute qu'elle ne fût la première du monde (1)*. C'est un juste milieu, disent-ils, entre la triste sévérité de l'école italienne et la brillante incorrection des élèves de Rubens. A mon avis, les François eurent quelques grands maîtres, mais jamais d'école. Le Poussin¹⁾, le Sueur²⁾, le Brun³⁾, brillèrent tour-à-tour; mais leur génie disparut avec eux, et ne laissa pas ces traces profondes, ce grand caractère, que Raphaël et les Carraches⁴⁾ imprimèrent aux beaux siècles de la peinture.

* Bibl. Czartoryski, Cracovie, Côte 70095 T.

* () Signifie notes de l'auteur.

(1) Si j'en crois les amateurs éclairés, dit M. d'Alembert dans son Discours préliminaire de l'Encyclopédie, notre école de peinture est la première de l'Europe, et plusieurs ouvrages de nos sculpteurs n'auroient pas été désavoués par les anciens.⁵⁾ M. de Voltaire renchérit sur lui, lorsqu'il met Pigal⁶⁾ à l'égal de Phidias et de Praxitèle. N'a-t-il pas répété cette petite licence poétique comme historien? (Voyez son Siècle de Louis XIV, page 235.) Je sais que Pigal étoit sculpteur; mais lisez ce qui suit, et vous verrez que M. de Voltaire a traité la peinture et la sculpture en sœurs.⁷⁾ Il ne me seroit pas difficile de citer cent autres exemples de ce genre; mais je me borne aux plus fameux. Notez que tout ceci n'a pas été écrit du temps du Poussin et de le Sueur, mais de Boucher et des ses semblables⁸⁾; et puis, en fait d'arts, fiez-vous aux jugemens des plus grands écrivains.

N'importe, de grands écrivains mirent de petits peintres à leur place (2), et ces maîtres, dont les François rougissent aujourd'hui⁹, ils les adoroient il y a 30 ans. Leurs voisins, accoutumés à recevoir aveuglément leurs livres, leurs modes et leurs oracles, les en crurent sur leur parole : c'étoit le seul moment caractéristique de l'école françoise ; et tout ce qui ressemble aux productions bizarres qu'enfanta le mauvais goût de ce temps, ne le regardent-ils pas eux-mêmes avec un sourire plein de pitié, en disant : *C'est bien françois!*

Consentiront-ils à adopter ce caractère, pour le vrai caractère de l'école françoise, ou préféreront-ils d'avouer qu'il n'en exista jamais ? Ils sont maîtres du choix ; mais je me garderois bien de le leur proposer. Blesser la vanité d'un peuple dont l'esprit séducteur tyrannise si impérieusement l'opinion des autres, c'est s'exposer à dire la vérité aux grands, peu accoutumés à l'entendre, auprès de qui c'est souvent un grand tort que d'avoir raison.

S'il est permis de croire que l'école françoise n'a jamais existé, ou que, si elle exista, ce ne fût que dans un temps où l'art, entièrement perdu, dégénéra en une manière folle et barbare, dans laquelle, si l'on veut, la France l'emporta sur le reste de l'Europe ; l'on ne sauroit douter qu'elle n'ait aujourd'hui d'habiles artistes, qui, abjurant la barbarie de leurs pères, cherchent à ramener dans leur patrie ce bon goût qui sembloit l'avoir abandonnée à jamais, et dont ils doivent à l'Italie les premiers et les plus beaux modèles.

Oui, les François ont d'habiles maîtres, et sont peut-être près d'une révolution heureuse, qui leur donnera une école capable de faire renaître au milieu d'eux ce beau feu que l'Italie vit naître, briller et périr dans son sein. Mais cette révolution est encore à faire : je crains qu'un fruit précoce, cueilli avant sa maturité, qu'une végétation forcée n'épuise l'arbre et les rameaux. Oui, Messieurs, vous pouvez devenir habiles, si vous ne croyez déjà l'être, si vous vous sentez assez grands pour suivre et égaler vos modèles.

Plein de ces idées, je revins au Sallon, sans préoccupation, sans envie, sans haine et sans passion, dégagé de cette foule de petits intérêts qui filtrent à travers les jugemens des nationaux.

J'allois juger l'art, et non les hommes ; ses progrès seuls m'intéressoient : je n'ai point de peintre favori, je n'allois pas à la découverte de ses prétendus chefs-d'œuvre ; mais je devenois l'ami de celui dont le tableau m'avoit frappé ; j'apprenois son nom, et son ouvrage devenoit pour moi la mesure de la considération que j'allois lui accorder. Qu'on ne soit donc pas étonné si dans cette foule de

(2) Tels que Boucher et ses pareils. (*Voyez* la note précédente.)

tableaux qui tapissent le Sallon, un petit nombre sera l'objet de mes remarques. Critiquer ce qui est médiocre ou mauvais, c'est être méchant en pure perte; louer ce qui ne vaut pas la peine d'être critiqué, c'est s'abaisser soi-même sans élever les autres. Je laisse donc aux journalistes le soin de fixer au juste le mérite de chaque tableau. Que ne puis-je, dans ma manière de voir, les nommer et les louer tous!

Suis-moi donc, mon ami, dans ce vaste Sallon, où cent rivaux de gloire se disputent le nom de peintre¹⁰⁾, où leur génie parle à tes yeux, et juge-les dans le silence des préjugés. Puissé-je te faire partager mes sensations, et agir sur toi avec la même force avec laquelle une conviction désintéressée conduit ma plume et mes jugemens!

Je parlerai d'abord des paysages et des tableaux de genre; je passerai ensuite aux portraits, pour m'élever au genre sublime du sentiment et de l'histoire¹¹⁾.

Le premier tableau qui me frappa, en fait de paysages, fut une marine dont le doux calme attira et fixa mes regards: un ciel pur et serein, une mer tranquille, dont la vaste étendue fuit et disparaît; un lointain dont la nature seule, dans ses beaux momens, offre le grand modèle; quelques bâtimens épars, quelques rochers contre lesquels les vagues se brisent doucement; des figures heureusement jetées; un vaisseau qui sillonne la surface tranquille des eaux, et entraîne l'œil en fuyant: telle est la composition, tel est le simple mouvement qui donnent de la vie à ce paysage. Son exécution facile produit de l'effet sans effort: rien de cette stérile abondance qu'enfante un travail pénible, rien de cet odieux fini, partage de la médiocrité, qui rétrécit et appauvrit les plus grands sujets. Un coloris doux et harmonieux rend les objets dans toute leur vérité, sans chercher à les embellir d'un faux éclat qui les dépare. Ne reconnoît-on point à cette foible exquise le peintre aimable de la nature, que j'ai due tracer d'après elle, Vernet¹²⁾, puisqu'il faut le nommer, lui le modèle de son genre, lui dont le pinceau enfanta des chefs-d'œuvre, quand la France, soumise au joug des Bouchers, n'avoit vraiment de peintre que lui (3).

Voyez comme son pinceau fertile brille dans toute l'étendue du genre qu'il a embrassé. Là un soleil levant dore, à travers un brouillard épais, la surface des ondes tranquilles¹³⁾; ici une affreuse tempête présente un spectacle de désolation et d'horreur.¹⁴⁾ Que ce coucher du soleil est doux! qu'il inspire à l'ame le calme qui l'accompagne! Son pendant est un affreux orage¹⁵⁾, contraste et tableau bien philosophique de la vie de l'homme; là un combat naval¹⁶⁾, rendu dans toute sa vérité, présente l'homme, renchérissant

(3) Vanloo¹⁷⁾ avoit bien du talent, mais il n'étoit pas sans manière. De fait donc, il n'y avoit que Vernet de parfait dans son genre.

sur la fureur des ondes, qui détruit son semblable échappé à mille morts; ici une escadre fatiguée cherche un asyle tranquille¹⁸⁾. A travers cette grotte, considérez le vaste spectacle qui s'offre à vos yeux; remarquez le contraste frappant d'une vue étendue qu'agrandit la grotte resserrée, à travers laquelle l'œil semble la dérober.¹⁹⁾ Ce clair de lune²⁰⁾ a un charme qui m'attire; sa lumière argentée frappe doucement une eau tremblante qui la reproduit mille fois; le silence de la nuit, son doux calme, sont empreints sur ce tableau; il semble que l'eau retentit sous la rame légère qui fend son sein. Avouons-le, Vernet est unique dans son genre. Un petit cadre renferme toujours chez lui un grand sujet; l'on diroit que ses marines, ainsi que la nature, ne connoissent point de bornes²¹⁾.

On lui reproche de l'uniformité dans ses compositions²²⁾; mais ce défaut tient peut-être plus au genre qu'au peintre: ses tempêtes, dit-on encore, ont quelque chose de dur. J'en conviens; mais passons, puisqu'il le faut, un défaut à tant de beautés.

Je quittois à regret mon Vernet, et mes yeux revenoient malgré moi à ses tableaux: une cascade, prise au clair de lune, les trompa un moment: je la fixai, et l'erreur se dissipa bientôt; j'y reconnus les traits d'un imitateur (4), et je sentis qu'il n'appartenoit qu'à la nature de former des Vernets.

Je jetai enfin les yeux d'un autre côté: je n'eus pas besoin de mon livre²³⁾ pour apprendre que ces ruines magiques, où respire la grandeur et la magnificence romaine, étoient de Robert²⁴⁾. Les grands monumens de la France, ces traces précieuses que les maîtres du monde laissèrent dans son sein, y sont rendus avec une vérité surprenante. Je ne crois pas qu'on puisse joindre à une exécution plus facile, un effet plus étonnant: l'œil se promène à travers les vastes portiques du pont du Gard²⁵⁾; il saisit tout l'ensemble de la maison carrée de Nîmes, qu'un charme puissant semble avoir détachée de la toile; l'Arène s'arrondit autour de lui²⁶⁾; il parcourt l'intérieur du temple de Diane²⁷⁾. L'illusion le suit partout; transporté dans d'autres temps, il croit voir le triomphateur heureux à qui Orange dédia son arc²⁸⁾. La même magie règne dans les autres tableaux de ce maître habile²⁹⁾; il repousse les objets et les avance à son gré, d'une manière que je crus inimitable. J'y fus pourtant trompé. Je me promenois, pour ainsi dire, sous les portiques d'une rue de Tivoli, dont la perspective, fuyant dans le lointain, égaroit mon œil et mon imagination trompés. Je crus ce tableau de Robert; j'appris qu'il étoit d'un amateur, du marquis de Turpin³⁰⁾. et je lui dois compte de ma méprise.

Il y avoit long-temps que des paysages qui, au premier coup d'œil,

(4) M. Hue³¹⁾.

me sembloient tenir quelque chose du feu de Tempeste³²), m'attiroient vers eux : je fus étonné d'y trouver une composition bien plus savante que celle de ce maître. Mon œil suivoit à travers les belles ruines de l'ancienne Agrigente, un paysage dont le lointain varié me faisoit parcourir des lieues entières d'un pays vraiment pittoresque; j'y reconnus les beaux plans de Gaspres (5), la richesse de ses compositions, rendues d'une manière si neuve, qu'en imitant même, M. de Valenciennes³³) s'est tracé une route nouvelle. S'il y a quelque défaut à lui reprocher, c'est d'avoir, dans certaines masses d'arbres, jeté trop de jour sur un vert tendre, ce qui tranche trop avec le reste, et donne à ces masses un éclat faux et choquant. Bien que l'ancienne Agrigente soit le tableau capital de M. de Valenciennes³⁴), l'on ne sauroit refuser des beautés à son tombeau d'Archimède³⁵), ainsi qu'à un autre paysage de l'ancienne Grèce³⁶); tout y respire l'heureuse antiquité: le choix de son architecture est toujours noble et grand; la richesse de ses sites n'a rien de confus; tout s'y trouve à sa place, et cette quantité d'objets différens, n'ôte rien au feu d'un pinceau varié, vigoureux et aisé. Enfin, quoique la critique en ait pu dire, il me paroît que ceux qui aiment les beaux plans du Poussin et le feu de Salvator³⁷), verront avec plaisir M. de Valenciennes marcher sur leurs traces.

Nommerai-je, après le grand genre des paysages, M. de Marne³⁸), l'imitateur habile du petit genre hollandois, l'élève de ces maîtres aimables, dont les ouvrages précieux font aujourd'hui l'ornement de nos petits cabinets? Parlerai-je de l'émule de Van-Huysum, du laborieux Van-Spaendonck³⁹)? Ses fleurs sont un chef-d'œuvre. Ce genre, poussé à cette perfection, a son mérite; il rend la nature dans toute sa vérité (6), Mais lorsqu'on songe qu'une goutte d'eau répandue sur cette feuille de rose lui a coûté des journées entières de peine et de travail, l'on admire le talent de cet artiste laborieux, sans conseiller à personne de l'imiter. Si madame Coster⁴⁰) n'a pas atteint sa perfection, ses fleurs peintes avec une grace pleine d'aisance, bannissant l'idée d'un travail pénible, semblent mettre l'artiste et l'amateur plus à leur aise.

Avant que de passer à l'histoire, arrêtons-nous à un genre qui nous servira d'échelon pour y parvenir: je veux dire des portraits, genre si commun et si difficile en même temps. Le Titien et Van-Dyck le portèrent à son plus haut point; ils eurent pendant quelque temps d'heureux imitateurs, mais jamais de rivaux (7). Cet art déchet bientôt; la vérité, la grace, l'aisance, la simplicité disparaurent; un

(5) Gaspres Poussin⁴¹).

(6) Le seul défaut de M. Van-Spaendonck, est peut-être de l'avoir embellie.

(7) Il n'y a pas de grand peintre qui n'ait fait quelque beau portrait dans sa vie; mais Titien et Van-Dyck s'occupèrent de ce genre par préférence.

guindage bien roide, bien maniéré, en prit la place. Les portraits cessèrent d'être tableaux; et au lieu de ces figures animées, pleines de vie et de mouvement, qui ornent encore nos galeries, un travail pénible enfanta des portraits morts, dévoués à l'oubli de nos galetas. Si quelques-uns échappent à ce triste sort, ils le doivent aux souvenirs qu'ils nous rappellent. Il paroît qu'on s'est enfin lassé d'être ainsi transmis à la postérité. L'on commence à rechercher dans les portraits le naturel et la simplicité que suivent les graces. Convenons-en, ce genre est le vrai apanage du beau sexe; aussi est-ce aux femmes que nous devons de l'avoir rappelé parmi nous. Une Kauffman⁴²⁾ en Italie, une Cosway⁴³⁾ en Angleterre, et madame le Brun⁴⁴⁾ en France, nous en offrent l'agréable modèle. Les artistes ont beau regarder leurs ouvrages avec une complaisance pleine de supériorité; ils ne me persuaderont jamais que madame le Brun mérite leur indulgence pour les avoir surpassés. De tous les ouvrages de ce charmant artiste, son propre portrait est celui auquel je trouve le plus de grace; il tient beaucoup, pour la composition, de la fameuse Madonne de la *Sedia* (8). La tendresse maternelle y est exprimée avec une sensibilité touchante, que ne départent point les traits de la mère ni de la fille, si propres à embellir tous les sujets⁴⁵⁾. Un autre portrait de la petite fille, répété dans un miroir, est vraiment peint avec amour⁴⁶⁾; l'on y reconnoît la main d'une mère. Une petite fille couchée sur un livre, est d'une aimable naïveté⁴⁷⁾. Le portrait du petit d'Espagnac a beaucoup de vigueur et de vérité⁴⁸⁾. Ceux de Mesdames de Rouget et de Pezé, avec leurs enfans, sont parfaitement groupés⁴⁹⁾. C'est en même temps un beau tableau, et un tableau bien touchant. Caillot est vivant⁵⁰⁾. Nina, l'aimable Nina, rendue dans tout son égarement, retrace cette scène attendrissante où Madame du Gazon fait verser tant de larmes⁵¹⁾. Madame le Brun s'est essayée dans tous les genres de portrait, et par-tout le même goût, la même grace, la même facilité, ont caractérisé son pinceau. Bien des gens désireroient que ses portraits ne montrassent pas les dents; je crois qu'il n'ont pas tort: peut être madame le Brun n'a-t-elle hasardé cette nouveauté, que pour laisser quelque prise à la critique, qui s'est particulièrement attachée à son grand tableau de la famille royale⁵²⁾. Quant à moi, je trouve que, bien que l'on ne puisse lui refuser de grandes beautés, que tout y soit parfaitement peint, cette grace, cette vie, cette vérité, concentrées dans les tableaux de chevalet⁵³⁾ de madame le Brun, s'affoiblissent en s'étendant sur un si grand sujet.

Le portrait de madame Elisabeth, placé à côté, me frappa; j'appris qu'il étoit de madame Guyard⁵⁴⁾, à qui l'on peut donner la première place après madame le Brun. Celui de madame Adélaïde⁵⁵⁾, du même peintre, quoique moins gracieux, est d'une belle exécution.

(8) De Raphaël.

J'examinai les autres portraits du Sallon, et je convins, tout homme que je suis, que c'est aux femmes qu'appartenoit la pomme. L'on verra pourtant avec plaisir quelques ouvrages en ce genre, de M. Roslin (9)⁵⁶⁾: un tableau de famille, de M. Vestier (10)⁵⁷⁾; un autre, de M. Mosnier (11)⁵⁸⁾, qui ont chacun des beautés que l'œil du connoisseur démêlera aisément, mais qu'il seroit trop long et inutile même de détailler au vulgaire des spectateurs.

Enfin me voilà parvenu au grand genre de la peinture⁵⁹⁾. Cet article seroit bientôt épuisé, si je tenois strictement ma parole, si je voulois juger mes contemporains comme la postérité les jugera un jour: mais il faut prendre les choses telles qu'elles sont, sans quoi ne faudroit-il pas dire: Socrate⁶⁰⁾, Socrate, et encore Socrate?

Ils sont jolis! m'écriai-je, ces trois tableaux que je trouvai à ma gauche; la couleur en est aimable, la composition agréable, l'idée heureuse. Si ce jeune homme gagne un peu plus de fermeté dans sa touche et de correction dans le dessin, il ira loin. Mais non, me dit-on, ce n'est pas un jeune homme; c'est M. Vien, ancien directeur de l'académie de Rome, qui en est l'auteur⁶¹⁾. Eh bien, répondis-je, rendons grace à M. Vien d'être le seul qui au milieu de l'ancienne barbarie de l'école françoise, a su conserver un goût de composition sage et antique, d'avoir mis les autres sur les voies, et de faire à soixante-dix ans des tableaux aussi aimables que les siens. Et ce grand tableau⁶²⁾, qu'en pensez-vous? il est harmonieux; d'ailleurs, que ne pardonneroit-on pas au maître de David?

Ah! voilà qui est encore bien aimable! la jolie idée! C'est l'Amitié qui console la Vieillesse de la perte de la Beauté, et du départ des Plaisirs. C'est, si je puis me servir de ce terme, de l'ancienne méthode françoise remodernisée⁶³⁾. Les deux vieillards ont des visages de bois, j'en conviens; mais les petites femmes sont bien groupées, et d'un contour coulant. C'est M. de Lagrenée, directeur présent de l'académie de Rome, qui en est l'auteur⁶⁴⁾. Voyons ses grands ouvrages⁶⁵⁾. J'allois passer outre, lorsqu'un petit Jésus priant au désert, me frappa singulièrement. Il a tout l'air d'un tableau sorti de l'école des Carraches. Vous y trouverez de l'Albane⁶⁶⁾, du Dominiquin⁶⁷⁾ même. C'est un grand mérite que de s'annoncer si avantageusement, quand même l'on ne se soutiendrait pas à un examen sévère; aussi ne manquai-je pas d'inscrire ce tableau entre les meilleurs du Sallon. Mais, pour ne pas confondre les Lagrenée, disons qu'il est du jeune⁶⁸⁾.

Un Christ parfaitement dessiné, et bien peint, mais malheureusement pour l'auteur, tableau d'autel; un Saint-François de la même

(9) No. 40. (10) No. 146. (11) No. 222.

main et de la même force, me parurent mériter plus d'attention que l'on n'y en prêtoit. La tristesse de ces sujets sembloit repousser tout le mondaë, mis l'art ne peut pas toujours flatter nos yeux, et tel sujet qu'il embrasse, son but est de le rendre dans sa plus grande perfection. L'on ne sauroit refuser à M. Giroust⁶⁹⁾ d'en avoir approché, ni s'empêcher de dire que le public a été injuste à son égard (12).

J'avois beaucoup entendu parler de la clémence d'Auguste, de M. Vincent⁷⁰⁾; je l'attendois avec impatience: malgré tout ce que l'on m'en avoit dit, je doutois que l'auteur d'Armide⁷¹⁾ et d'Henri IV⁷²⁾ dût l'emporter, comme on le prétendoit, sur l'émule du Poussin et de le Sueur (13). Je trouvois bien à M. Vincent la main d'un peintre habile, mais il me sembloit qu'il n'en avoit pas l'œil. Ses deux premiers tableaux sont un mélange de couleurs si tranchantes, que dans la confusion qui en naît, les beautés et les défauts disparaissent également; car l'œil ne sait où se reposer. Cinna parut enfin⁷³⁾: je l'examinois avec soin: et quoique j'y trouvasse en détail des choses bien dessinées et parfaitement peintes, je ne pus m'empêcher de penser que l'ensemble de ce tableau, soit pour la composition, soit pour le coloris, ne fût manqué. Je ne sais si l'on me pardonnera de juger ainsi le favori d'une grande partie du public; mais pourrois-je me pardonner moi-même de flatter une erreur qu'un instant élève, qu'un autre pourra détruire, dans une cause dont les pièces resteront toujours sous les yeux du public?

Tout en rêvant, j'avois fixé les yeux sur un grand tableau, dont l'ensemble fait beaucoup de fracas. C'est Priam, c'est un roi, c'est un père, qui, fléchissant devant l'assassin de son fils, redemande à l'impétueux Achille le corps d'Hector, son fils chéri. La scène se passe dans la tente d'Achille. La manière dont elle est éclairée, est hardie et frappante. Les rayons de la lune se mêlent et contrastent en même temps avec l'éclat que jette une lampe près de s'éteindre; opposition traitée avec beaucoup d'art, et qui répand sur ce tableau un grand effet. Au reste, il faut le considérer comme tout ce qui tient à ce genre, c'est-à-dire, dans son ensemble. C'est sous ce point de vue que j'envisageois le tableau de M. Doyen, et laissant à côté tout ce qu'il y auroit à désirer, soit pour le dessin, soit pour l'expression des figures principales, je m'en tins au feu de son pinceau, à l'effet général de son tableau, et je convins qu'il mérite d'être mis au nombre des belles machines d'effet, et compté parmi les meilleures productions du Sallon⁷⁴⁾. L'on me fit une remarque assez singulière à son sujet. C'est que M. Doyen, fidèlement attaché depuis bien des années à la manière française, en est sorti pour la première fois. Cet essai d'un

(12) Je suis sûr qu'en Italie, où l'on envisage l'art en lui-même, ces deux tableaux eussent été prisés comme ils le méritent.

(13) M. David, Auteur de Socrate.

repentir, bien que tardif, est si heureux, qu'il faut croire qu'il sera sincère et constant dans sa conversion.

A peine eus-je quitté sa brillante machine, que je m'arrêtai devant un tableau, dont la composition sage et antique m'attira, bien que je le trouvasse tristement colorié, et d'un dessin un peu lourd. C'est Antoine, que son fol amour rappelle à la vie, qui fait panser sa plaie dans l'espérance de vivre pour sa Cléopâtre; tableau qui peut être mis, pour le style, entre les meilleurs du Sallon⁷⁵). On voit que M. Perrin s'est nourri de l'antique; qu'il ne perd pas de vue les beaux modèles de l'Italie, et c'est un grand mérite. J'entrevis du même une académie⁷⁶), dont la couleur vigoureuse tient beaucoup du Caravage.⁷⁷) Le dessin m'en parut un peu chargé; mais l'ensemble est d'un grand effet.

L'on me fit observer une Iphigénie, de M. Renaud, grand tableau, auquel je ne m'étois pas assez arrêté. Je l'examinaⁱ attentivement, et je convins, que j'aurais eu tort de le passer sous silence⁷⁸).

Il me tarde de venir au plus beau de tous: mais comme c'est par là que je veux finir, il faut me passer encore quelques petits détails sur des tableaux, dont plusieurs, quoique d'un genre inférieur à l'histoire, ont attiré l'attention du public, et d'autres qui m'ont paru la mériter⁷⁹). Je mettrois au nombre des premiers la Mort du prince de Brunswick, de M. Wille (14), et l'Ecole villageoise, de M. Bilcoq. Le tableau de M. Wille tient de ce fini dont l'éclat relevé par un coloris brillant, et par une couche épaisse d'un vernis luisant, qui lui donne tout l'air d'un grand tableau d'émail, plaît au commun des spectateurs⁸⁰). L'autre est un petit Greuze manqué⁸¹), c'est-à-dire, dépouillé de sa naïve facilité et de sa grace, à laquelle l'on a substitué un achevé assez précieux dans quelques parties, sec dans d'autres⁸²). Je n'aurais pas parlé de ces deux tableaux, si l'exemple du public ne m'avoit entraîné. Ceux qui m'ont paru réellement mériter quelque attention, bien que d'un plus petit genre encore, sont les Camayeux de M. Sauvage⁸³), les Emaux de M. Veyler⁸⁴), et un Crucifix en grisaille, de M. Rolland de la Porte⁸⁵), ouvrage parfait dans son genre. Nommerai-je les Eaux-fortes d'un amateur, de M. le Chevalier de Non⁸⁶)? Ce ne sont que des estampes⁸⁷), il est vrai, mais ces estampes font tableau; rien n'est plus facile, ni plus spirituel que sa manière, qui tient beaucoup de celle de Rembrandt. Cependant un de nos habiles critiques a trouvé ces Eaux-fortes foiblement burinées⁸⁸). Pour un connoisseur, pour un juge qui s'érige en oracle, la méprise est en vérité plaisante.

Enfin venons à la mort de Socrate⁸⁹), à ce sujet sublime, traité d'une manière qui ne le dépare pas. C'étoit au moins pour la dixième

(14) Le fils, No. 181.

fois que je l'examinais, et ce tableau produisoit sur moi l'effet inmanquable de ce qui est vraiment beau; j'y découvrois toujours de nouvelles beautés, et je m'en allois plus satisfait que la veille.

Socrate au milieu d'une prison, dont on n'a pas cherché d'augmenter l'horreur pour produire un effet qui doit se trouver dans le sujet même; Socrate, dis-je, au milieu de ses amis, est prêt à avaler la coupe mortelle qui doit le séparer à jamais d'eux. La tristesse, l'accablement, la désolation est peinte sur leurs visages; le bourreau même, attendri jusqu'aux larmes, lui présente la coupe en détournant les yeux. Socrate la prend d'un air indifférent: lui seul calme et tranquille, occupé d'une plus grande idée, les yeux et la main levés vers le ciel, il semble, par un discours sublime sur l'immortalité de l'ame, consoler ses amis, et leur reprocher doucement leur foiblesse; son ame paroît déjà avoir quitté sa dépouille terrestre; c'est cependant dans sa figure, dans son maintien, dans tous ses traits, qu'elle se peint d'une manière vraiment sublime⁹⁰. Socrate, dont l'air patibulaire contrastoit avec son génie vraiment divin, bien que rendu dans toute sa ressemblance, paroît un Dieu⁹¹, un génie bienfaisant, que la vertu élève au dessus des autres hommes, et qu'elle embellit de tous ses charmes. Voyez ce groupe d'amis, de disciples désolés, placés au chevet de son lit. Ce que la nature, ce que le choix de l'antique nous offre de plus beau, est réuni sur leurs figures; leur expression est vraie, variée et touchante. Par quel contraste puissant, par quel charme, Socrate, le difforme Socrate, écrase tant de beauté, de grace et de sentiment réunis? C'est le triomphe de la vertu, qu'un courage héroïque, qu'une ame divine élève au dessus de tout. Mais ce sentiment qui nous paroît naturel dans sa sublime simplicité, n'est pas aisé à concevoir et à rendre. Mille peintres l'essayeront, mais il faut un grand homme pour y réussir. Remarquez, admirez, la douleur simple et profonde de ce philosophe assis aux pieds du lit de Socrate; la vive inquiétude de l'ami placé à ses côtés; le désespoir du jeune homme qu'on voit dans le lointain⁹²; enfin la démarche douloureuse et pénible de ce groupe qui sort de la prison⁹³.

Si l'ensemble de ce tableau frappe si avantageusement, il ne perd rien de sa beauté au détail; chacune de ses parties souffre l'examen le plus sévère. Si nous le prenons du côté du dessin et du coloris, premier mérite d'un peintre, nous le trouverons d'une pureté de dessin, d'une correction, d'une sévérité même et d'une grandeur qui tient aux plus beaux temps de la peinture; son coloris est mâle et vigoureux, sa touche ferme et hardie, sa manière large, son pinceau facile, bien que d'une exécution qui ne laisse rien à désirer. L'on a beau dire, il n'est donné qu'aux grands artistes de finir sans sécheresse, et le comble de l'art est de rendre le travail aisé⁹⁴. Nous arrêterons-nous au goût, partie si essentielle de l'art? Tout nous l'indique dans

ce tableau, car tout y est calqué d'après les plus beaux modèles qu'offrent la nature et l'art. Le choix des draperies est parfait; elles n'ôtent rien à la beauté des contours, et indiquent le nu avec cette simplicité pleine d'art, qui répand de la vérité et de l'aisance sur les objets les moins vrais (15) et les plus difficiles.

Enfin, si nous en venons à l'expression, partie sublime de l'art, qui tient nécessairement au goût, mais qui résulte du concours de toutes les autres, nous la trouverons ici dans son plus grand caractère, c'est-à-dire, vraie, simple, noble et touchante. Car le sentiment ne tient pas à la charge, qui trompe le vulgaire des spectateurs, et qu'on lui substitue si souvent; mais puisé dans la nature, il saisit ses plus belles expressions qui rendent les passions, mais que les passions ne défigurent pas. C'est le beau idéal de l'ame rendu sensible dans tous ses mouvemens; enfin c'est ce sentiment profond et fin que l'étude peut perfectionner, mais que la nature seule donne à ses peintres favoris.

Après avoir parcouru les beautés de ce tableau, relevons quelques légers défauts qu'on lui reproche.

D'abord, dit-on, l'ami assis à côté de Socrate, a l'air de lui gratter la jambe⁹⁵); expression de sentiment commune, pour ne pas dire fausse, sur laquelle, à ce que je crois, le peintre s'est mépris lui-même, au reste, qui frapperoit moins, si elle ne contrastoit avec la sublimité des autres. L'on trouve l'épaule du bourreau un peu chargée, et dans quelques parties, telles que le bras de l'ami, je ne sais quoi de trop recherché qui sent l'écorché⁹⁶). Enfin bien des gens ont pensé que la figure du philosophe assis au pied du lit étoit colossale⁹⁷), et la prison trop éclairée⁹⁸). Ces deux dernières remarques ne m'ont pas paru de la justesse des premières: je les cite pourtant, pour faire voir combien la critique la plus sévère a peu de prise sur le seul tableau du Sallon, en fait d'histoire, qu'on peut donner pour modèle aux jeunes gens, et que la postérité mettra au nombre des chefs-d'œuvre des grands maîtres françois.

Je ne sais si M. Peyron, en se décidant enfin à donner au public sa Mort de Socrate⁹⁹), a cru l'égaliser ou le surpasser; mais ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est qu'il a fait valoir le tableau de M. David, en prouvant au public combien, avec du talent même, l'on pouvoit être au dessous de lui.

J'allois finir, mon ami; car je croyois avoir tout vu et tout dit, lorsqu'une impression désagréable me retraça les ouvrages de sculpture, que j'entrevis en sortant du Sallon¹⁰⁰). Je plains le sort de

(15) Les draperies, par exemple, traitées dans le goût antique, ne sont pas toujours bien vraies; car il faudroit les supposer mouillées pour qu'elles pussent indiquer le nu comme elles le font: mais cette invraisemblance disparoit, rendue avec art; car présentant à l'œil un beau idéal, elle semble ne lui offrir qu'un beau choix de nature. C'est au goût épuré et fin des anciens, que nous devons ces beaux modèles.

Molière¹⁰¹⁾ et de Racine¹⁰²⁾, de n'être pas tombés entre les mains d'un Puget, ou d'un Girardon, qui vivoient à-peu-près de leur temps¹⁰³⁾. Les Héros ne sont pas mieux traités que les Gens de Lettres. Bayard¹⁰⁴⁾, le brave Bayard, ce chevalier Sans-peur et Sans-reproche, en auroit pour la première fois, et perdrait ce beau titre, s'il pouvoit se voir si piteusement estropié. Le grand Condé¹⁰⁵⁾ est un peu mieux traité; il s'en faut pourtant que ce soit là le héros des lignes de Fribourg¹⁰⁶⁾ et de cent autres journées. Que dirai-je de nos Saints?¹⁰⁷⁾ ils n'ont rien de céleste, j'en répons. Mais passons de nos héros modernes aux anciens. Ajax enlevant Cassandre aux pieds des autels, est un beau groupe; c'est assurément ce qui a paru de mieux en sculpture cette année¹⁰⁸⁾. Le bas-relief du Belier enlevant Phrixus¹⁰⁹⁾ est du même maître (16); l'on y reconnoît un style sage et antique, premier mérite d'un bon sculpteur. Enfin une jolie petite Vestale, de M. Houdon, imitée de l'antique, mais un peu courte, et sans caractère, est le dernier ouvrage de sculpture qui m'a paru digne d'être nommé.¹¹⁰⁾

Voilà, mon ami, où en sont les arts chez les François. Voilà, je te l'assure, la juste mesure de ce qu'ils nous disent à cet égard: je ne l'ai ni abaissée, ni trop relevée; mais quand on pense que la France est aujourd'hui le pays où les arts fleurissent le plus, et que pas une ville au monde n'est de nos jours en état de fournir un Sallon comme celui de Paris, confus et attristé, l'on songe avec peine qu'il nous faudra peut-être passer par des siècles entiers d'une triste et languissante médiocrité, avant que de voir renaître les temps heureux où Périclès, Auguste et Léon (17), virent briller les arts dans toute leur vigueur. Je plains, mais j'envie presque la folie de ceux qui croient y toucher.

(16) M. de Joux.

(17) L'on me reprochera peut-être d'avoir omis le siècle de Louis XIV. De grands écrivains l'illustrèrent, j'en conviens: la France eut quelques artistes, mais ce ne fut pas le siècle des arts. Voyez *Versailles*¹¹¹⁾.

FIN.

NOTES

¹ Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665), un des plus grands peintres classiques français, appelé "le Racine de la peinture". Potocki écrit "le Poussin" comme Voltaire dans *Le Siècle de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1966, T. II, p. 296).

² Eustache Le Sueur (1617-1655), un des plus grands peintres classiques français.

³ Charles Le Brun ou Lebrun (1619-1690), était un des peintres préférés de Louis XIV.

⁴ Les peintres italiens Ludovico Carracci (1555-1619), ainsi que ses deux cousins Agostino (1557-1602) et Annibale (1560-1609), fondèrent une école à Bologne en 1585.

⁵ Jean le Rond d'Alembert, "Discourse préliminaire des éditeurs", *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, Paris, 1751, T. I, p. XXXII, ou bien dans une des éditions plus récentes : D'Alembert, *Discours préliminaire de l'Encyclopédie*, Paris, 1965, p. 115.

⁶ Jean-Baptiste Pigalle (1714-1785), tout comme Falconet, un des meilleurs sculpteurs⁸ du temps de Louis XV. L'orthographe de son nom n'était pas encore fixée, c'est pourquoi Potocki a pu écrire *Pigal*.

⁷ Voltaire ne parle jamais de Pigalle dans *Le Siècle de Louis XIV*, et il ne nomme qu'une fois Phidias et Praxitèle dans l'introduction (*Oeuvres complètes*, T.XXII (1785), p. 271). Dans le XXXIIe chapitre, intitulé "Des beaux-arts", il revient encore une fois à ce qu'il avait déjà dit dans l'introduction, en affirmant que "le siècle de Louis XIV a donc eu tout(e) la destinée des siècles de Léon X, d'Auguste, d'Alexandre" (*Ibid.*, T.XXIV (1785), p. 234). Dans l'édition utilisée par Potocki, qu'il ne nous a pas été possible d'identifier, cette affirmation devait se trouver à la page suivante, soit à la p. 235. Voltaire a parlé dans le même esprit de la peinture et de la sculpture du temps de Louis XIV dans le XXXIIIe chapitre de ce même ouvrage, intitulé "Suite des arts" (*Ibid.*, p. 241, 243-244), en les traitant "ex aequo", ce qui a irrité Potocki.

En 1770, dans l'Épître CVII *A Monsieur Pigal*, Voltaire l'appelle "le second Phidias". C'était sans doute cette "petite licence poétique" que Potocki reproche à Voltaire. Mais il ne nomme pas Praxitèle dans son épître.

Rousseau a comparé par contre Pigalle à Praxitèle et à Phidias dans son *Discours de 1750*: "Et toi, rival des Praxitèles et des Phidias, toi, dont les anciens auroient employé le ciseau à leur faire des dieux capables d'excuser à nos yeux leur idolâtrie; inimitable Pigalle, . . ." (*Si le rétablissement des sciences et des arts a contribué à épurer les mœurs*, dans le volume intitulé *Du Contrat social*, Paris, 1962, Ed. Garnier Frères, p. 16). Potocki connaissait sûrement les écrits politiques de Rousseau. Il a peut-être attribué cette opinion de Rousseau à Voltaire.

⁸ François Boucher (1703-1770), un des plus grands maîtres du rococo. Il a été directeur et recteur de l'Académie. En 1765 il devint également premier peintre du roi. Voltaire a fini *Le Siècle de Louis XIV* en 1751. La belle-mère de Potocki avait acheté cinq tableaux de Boucher qui se trouvaient jusqu'en 1944 dans la Coll. Potocki de Lancut (B. Majewska-Maszkowska, *Mecenat artystyczny* . . . p. 316, 394, ill. 235).

⁹ Potocki se réfère ici à l'époque à laquelle le rococo était le plus en vogue. Boucher était alors le plus coté de tous les peintres français. C'est pourquoi, bien qu'il n'exposa par exemple, qu'un seul tableau en 1759, Diderot se réfère sans cesse à lui dans son *Salon* de cette même année. Il continue à le louer dans ses *Salons* de 1761 et de 1763. Dans les années soixante-dix Boucher et le rococo cessèrent d'être à la mode et furent éclipsés par la peinture historique.

¹⁰ Potocki s'intéressait surtout à la peinture. Il a nommé seulement sept des cinquante-quatre sculptures présentées en 1787, ainsi que les gravures de Vivant Denon, un des douze graveurs qui ont exposé au Salon de 1787.

¹¹ Suivant l'ordre établi par la critique d'art en France, Potocki a parlé d'abord des paysages et des tableaux de genre, soit des petits paysages et des natures mortes, avant de passer aux portraits et aux "petits genres", dans lesquels il a rangé entre autres, les camaïeux, les émaux et les gravures. Enfin il a accordé le plus de place aux tableaux historiques ou, comme il le dit lui-même, "au genre sublime du sentiment et de l'histoire". En analysant le Salon de 1787, plusieurs autres critiques se sont occupés d'abord de la peinture historique, en partant de la base qu'il fallait accorder la primauté à ce qui était le plus important. D'autres, comme par exemple le critique de la *Correspondance littéraire*, ont étudié les œuvres d'art dans l'ordre dans lequel elles ont été nommées dans le catalogue de l'exposition, c'est-à-dire selon la hiérarchie académique de chaque artiste.

¹² Joseph Vernet (1714-1789), un des meilleurs paysagistes français du XVIII^e s., membre (1753) et conseiller de l'Académie (1766). Il se rendit célèbre en créant sa série des "Ports français". Il a laissé un très grand nombre de marines. En 1787 il exposa beaucoup de tableaux (*Explication des peintures, sculptures et gravures de Messieurs de l'Académie Royale*, Paris, 1787, 59 p. : Nos. 28-39, p. 11-12). L'oeuvre de Vernet a été étudiée d'une manière exhaustive par Florence Ingersoll Smouse dans *Joseph Vernet* (T. I-II, Florence, 1926). Le premier des tableaux cités par Potocki correspond au No. 38 de l'*Explication* intitulé "Un Calme au coucher du Soleil" (Ingersoll Smouse, No. 1161, T. II, p. 41). Il a figuré pour la dernière fois dans le catalogue de la vente Dubois (No. 70), le 18.XII.1788.

¹³ "Un Lever du Soleil dans le brouillard" (*Explication*, No. 28; Ingersoll Smouse, No. 1154, p. 40).

¹⁴ "Une Tempête avec le Naufrage d'un Vaisseau" (*Explication*, No. 29; Ingersoll Smouse No. 1155 p. 40). Potocki ne parle pas du "naufrage du vaisseau", mais nous pouvons l'identifier, car il nomme ce tableau après son "pendant", le "Lever du Soleil" cité ci-dessus. Tous deux furent peints pour le notaire Duclos-Dufresnoy et figuraient dans le catalogue de la vente de ses tableaux le 18.III.1795 (Nos. 4 et 5).

¹⁵ "Un Calme au coucher du Soleil" (*Explication*, No. 30; Ingersoll Smouse, No. 1165, p. 41-42) et "Une Tempête" (*Explication*, No. 31; Ingersoll Smouse, No. 1164, p. 41-42). Bien qu'il y ait dans le catalogue plus d'une *tempête* et d'un *coucher de soleil*, les mêmes dimensions des deux tableaux et le mot *pendant* utilisé par Potocki, nous permettent de les identifier. Ils figuraient pour la dernière fois dans la vente Calonne le 21.IV.1788 (No. 167).

¹⁶ "Un Combat naval" (*Explication*, No. 32; Ingersoll Smouse, No. 1148, p. 39). Signé et daté en 1786; il s'agit du douzième d'une série de tableaux peints pour Girardot de Marigny. En 1898 il appartenait à Vincent Skakini et figurait à l'exposition des Trois Vernet (No. 21).

¹⁷ Carle Van Loo ou Vanloo (1705-1765), recteur de l'Académie (1752), il jouissait d'une grande renommée en France et à l'étranger.

¹⁸ "Une Escadre qui rentre au Port" (*Explication*, No. 33; Ingersoll Smouse, No. 1149, p. 39-40). Le treizième des tableaux peints pour Girardot de Marigny.

¹⁹ Vraisemblablement "L'ouverture d'une Grotte, par laquelle on voit des Guinguettes au pied d'une suite de Rochers, et un Port dans le fond" (*Explication*, No. 34; Ingersoll Smouse, No. 1150, p. 39-40). Le quatorzième des tableaux peints pour Girardot de Marigny.

²⁰ "Une Marine au clair de Lune" (*Explication*, No. 35; Ingersoll Smouse, No. 1156, p. 40). Peint en 1787, pour M. Pope ou Paupe. En mai 1830 il figurait dans le catalogue de la vente du duc de Caraman (No. 104). Le 27 juin 1969 il fut vendu à son tour à Londres chez Christie's (No. 26) pour £3.990 (Cf. : "The Witt Library").

²¹ Potocki n'a pas nommé tous les tableaux exposés par Vernet en 1787.

²² Les autres critiques du Salon louèrent en général Vernet, mais dans "Lanlaire au Salon de l'Académie de Peinture", nous lisons par exemple, que tous les tableaux de Vernet—sauf les Nos. 28 et 29—"sont une monotone répétition de tout ce que ce grand homme a fait" (*Collection Deloynes*, T. XV, No. 375, p. 18).

²³ Le catalogue du Salon, c'est-à-dire l'*Explication*. . . .

²⁴ Hubert Robert, appelé le "Robert des ruines" (1733-1808), membre de l'Académie (1767). Depuis ses débuts, il a eu toujours beaucoup de succès. On finit cependant par lui reprocher qu'il peignait trop et que ses toiles n'étaient pas assez bien achevées. Les tableaux énumérés ci-dessous avaient été commandés par le roi en 1786. Ils devaient représenter les monuments antiques conservés au Languedoc, c'est donc la série des "Monuments de Provence". Robert reçut pour chacun d'eux 3.000 livres.

²⁵ "Le Pont du Gare (sic), qui servoit autrefois d'aqueduc pour porter les eaux à Nîmes." (*Explication*, No. 49, p. 13). D'abord à Fontainebleau; depuis 1794 il se trouve au Louvre (INV. R. F. 7649).

²⁶ "La Maison carrée, les Arènes, et la Tour-Magne de Nîmes." (*Ibid.*, No. 47, p. 13). En 1794 l'artiste racheta ce tableau à la vente du mobilier de Fontainebleau. En 1822, il fut légué par la veuve de Robert à Louis XVIII. Depuis lors, il se trouve au Louvre (INV. R.F. 7648).

²⁷ "L'intérieur du Temple de Diane à Nîmes." (*Ibid.*, No. 46, p. 12). D'abord à Fontainebleau et depuis 1794 au Louvre (INV. R.F. 7650). Il fut exposé à Munich (*The Age of Rococo—Art and Culture of the Eighteenth Century*, 15.VI—15.IX.1958. No. 178, p. 92-93) et en 1972 à Londres (*The Age of Neo-classicism*, No. 222, p. 143).

²⁸ "L'arc de Triomphe et l'Amphithéâtre de la Ville d'Orange; on voit, sur le second

Plan, le monument et le petit Arc de Saint-Remy." (*Explication*, No. 48, p. 13). Racheté par Robert en 1794 et légué par sa veuve au roi; au Louvre depuis 1822 (INV. R.F. 7647).

²⁹ En 1787 H. Robert exposa également quatre desseins et deux autres tableaux (*Ibid.*, Nos. 50-55, p. 13-14), Nous avons retrouvé "L'intérieur de l'Église des SS. Innocents, dans le commencement de sa destruction" (*Ibid.*, No. 51). Il se trouve au Bowes Museum à Barnard Castle à Durham en Angleterre. La belle-mère de Potocki acheta plusieurs tableaux de Hubert Robert, dont quatre se trouvaient jusqu'en 1944 dans la Coll. Potocki de Lancut.

³⁰ "Les Portiques d'une rue de Tivoli" de Roland-Henri Lancelot, chevalier de Turpin (1754- avant 1800), qualifié plus tard de marquis de Crissé, peut-être à cause du titre de son père, le général-marquis Lancelot Turpin de Crissé de Sausay (*Ibid.*, No. 9, p. 5). Capitaine de dragons au Régiment Royal, il devint peintre de paysages et d'architecture et fut élu à l'Académie en 1785 comme "Amateur-honoraire-associé-libre" (T. L'Huilier, *Une famille d'amateurs d'art, Les Turpin de Crissé*, Paris, 1895, 20 p.). Il faut distinguer notre Turpin de son fils, Lancelot-Théodore Turpin de Crissé (1781-1859), qui était aussi peintre. Un certain nombre de leurs tableaux se trouvent au Musée Turpin de Crissé à Angers.

³¹ Jean-François Hue (1751-1821), élève de Vernet, membre de l'Académie (1782). En 1787 il exposa six tableaux (*Explication*, Nos. 86-91, p. 18-19). Potocki se réfère ici sans doute à la "Vue d'une Cascade prise dans les Alpes au clair de la Lune" (No. 87).

³² Antoine Tempesta (1555-1630), peintre et graveur italien.

³³ Pierre Henri de Valenciennes (1750-1818), reçu à l'Académie en 1787, il exposa pour la première fois cette même année quatre tableaux. Ses contemporains trouvaient qu'il peignait à la manière de Poussin. Ensuite il fut acclamé à son tour comme un précurseur de Corot. Aujourd'hui il est considéré comme un des plus grands paysagistes néo-classiques. En peignant ses toiles, il s'est inspiré le plus souvent de l'histoire ancienne, qu'il étudia en Italie et au Proche-Orient. Potocki l'a peut-être rencontré à Rome en 1780.

³⁴ "L'ancienne Ville d'Agrigente.

Aucun peuple n'a jamais exercé l'hospitalité comme les Agrigentins. Leur usage étoit de faire tenir devant la porte de leur maison et de la ville, des esclaves, afin d'engager les étrangers à entrer chez leurs maîtres, pour y loger. Gellias, qui étoit un particulier très riche, envoyoit même les siens sur les grands-chemins pour le même objet. Et c'est ce moment que l'Auteur a pris pour composer le devant de son Tableau."

(*Explication*, No. 172, p. 33-34). Ce tableau fut peint pour le marquis de Crillon et se trouvait à Paris à l'Hôtel de Crillon, jusqu'en 1861. L'Office des Biens privés l'a transmis au Louvre en 1950 (M.N.R. 48). "L'ancienne Agrigente" fut exposé à Toulouse au Musée Paul Dupuy en 1956-1957, comme un "Paysage composé" (Robert Mesuret, *Pierre Henri de Valenciennes*, No. 105, p. 30, 63). Quelques années plus tard Germain Bazin a prouvé qu'il s'agissait bien de "L'ancienne ville d'Agrigente" ("Pierre Henri de Valenciennes", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, mai 1962, p. 358). En 1972 il fut exposé à Londres (*The Age of Neo-classicism*, No. 257, p. 162-163).

³⁵ "Cicéron découvrant à Syracuse le tombeau d'Archimède.

Archimède ayant été tué au sac de Syracuse, qu'il avoit défendue pendant trois ans, par le seul effort de son génie, contre les Romains, commandés par Marcellus, fut tellement oublié de ses concitoyens, que lorsque Cicéron fut élu Questeur en Sicile, 137 ans après la ruine de Syracuse, personne ne put lui indiquer le tombeau de ce grand homme; ils nioient même qu'il fut chez eux; mais Cicéron ayant des notions sûres, et sachant qu'il avoit demandé, avant de mourir, qu'il n'y eût sur son tombeau, pour tout ornement, que sa belle figure de géométrie, la sphère circonscrite au Cilindre, il découvrit à cette marque son tombeau, qui étoit enseveli dans des broussailles; il fit élaguer tout ce qui le couvrait, et le montra aux Syracusains." (*Explication*, No. 171, p. 33). En 1787 il appartenait au marquis de Crillon.

³⁶ "Un Paysage de l'ancienne Grèce: il est orné de plusieurs figures dans différentes attitudes, sur un pont qui traverse une digue, laquelle retient une partie de rivière formant un lac au pied de grands rochers, sur lesquels est bâtie une ville: au-dessous, et dans une grotte creusée par la nature, on aperçoit un Tombeau taillé dans le roc, et orné de deux colonnes doriques sans base." (*Explication*, No. 173, p. 34). En 1787 il appartenait au marquis de Crillon.

³⁷ Salvator Rosa (1615-1673). Stanislas K. Potocki admirait tellement ce peintre, qu'il fit imprimer à ses frais une belle édition in folio de ses gravures à l'eau-forte d'Antonioni, qui a écrit dans la préface de ce volume, que Potocki était un des plus grands mécènes de son temps (Cité d'après J. Mycielski et St. Wasylewski, op. cit., p. 25-26). S. Rosa a beaucoup influencé Vernet.

³⁸ Jean-Louis Demarne ou de Marne (1752(?) -1829). Il était agréé à l'Académie en 1787. Comme l'a remarqué Potocki, il a été influencé par les paysagistes hollandais et

flamands. Il a peint près de mille tableaux, qui se ressemblent tellement par les sujets traités et la manière dont ils ont été exécutés, qu'il est impossible de les identifier. En 1787 il exposa neuf tableaux (*Explication*, Nos. 191-199, p. 36-37). On peut consulter *Le Peintre J.-L. de Marne* de Jacques Watelin (Paris-Lausanne, 1862).

³⁹ Gérard van Spaendonck (1746-1822), peintre du cabinet du roi (1774), membre (1781) et conseiller de l'Académie. Il jouissait d'une grande renommée et a eu beaucoup de disciples, qui se sont distingués au même titre que lui. Il est difficile de distinguer ses tableaux, car ils se ressemblent trop thématiquement. Les autres critiques l'ont comparé aussi au peintre hollandais Van Huyssum, qu'il a pris, selon eux, comme modèle. Il se distinguait cependant de lui, comme l'a remarqué Jacques Foucart, par une certaine manière antique. En 1787 il exposa deux tableaux (*Explication*, Nos. 84-85, p. 17-18). Le premier était "Un Tableau représentant un piédestal de marbre, enrichi de bas-relief, et sur lequel est posée une corbeille remplie de différentes fleurs. A côté se trouve un vase rempli de roses". Il fut exposé d'abord au Salon de 1785 avec un titre un peu différent (*Explication*, 1785, *Collection Deloynes*, T. XIV, No. 324, No. 64, p. 25). L'auteur des "Grandes Prophéties du grand Nostradamus" (*Ibid.*, T. XV, No. 374, p. 30) fut le premier à remarquer que Van Spaendonck avait déjà exposé ce tableau en 1785. Il a été acheté alors par Louis XVI et se trouve à Fontainebleau (INV. No. INV. 1854). Il fut exposé à Paris au Grand Palais (16.XI. 1974-3. II. 1975—*La Peinture en France de David à Delacroix*), au "Detroit Institute of Art" (5.III-4. V. 1975) et au "Metropolitan Museum of Art" de New York (12.VI-7.IX.1975). (Cf. Notice de Jacques Foucart dans *French Painting 1774-1830*, No. 168. p. 615-617, ill. p. 73). L'"autre tableau" représente "une Corbeille remplie de diverses fleurs, posée sur une encoignure de marbre sculpté. A côté se voit un piédestal de marbre blanc, sur lequel est un vase." Il fut peint pour le comte d'Artois et correspond à la description du tableau qui appartenait depuis 1887 à la Coll. de I. et S. R. Guggenheim aux Etats Unis. Il figurait dans le catalogue d'une vente chez Christie's à Londres, et fut vendu le 22.IV. 1966 (No. 57).

⁴⁰ Anne Vallayer-Coster (1744-1818), membre de l'Académie (1770). En 1787 elle exposa onze tableaux (*Explication*, Nos. 68-75, p. 15-16). Quatre cent quarante quatre de ses tableaux ont été étudiés dans un catalogue analytique par Marianne Roland-Michel: *Anne Vallayer-Coster, 1744-1818* (Paris, 1970, 285 p.). Seul le No. 69 du Salon de 1787 y figure sous le No. 38 (p. 119), mais même ce tableau a disparu après l'exposition.

⁴¹ Gaspre Dughet (1614-1675), élève et beau-fils de Poussin, il adopta son nom et peignait des paysages à la manière de son maître. Il avait alors tant de succès qu'au XVIII^e s. on nommait encore souvent ensemble les deux Poussin. Denon parle aussi de lui comme du *Gasparo* (Cf., ci-dessous, p. 210).

⁴² Angelika Kauffmann (1741-1807) passa deux ans en Italie, où elle a peint en 1764, le portrait de Winckelmann. En 1765 elle s'installe à Londres et participe à la fondation de la "Royal Academy" dans laquelle elle expose régulièrement à partir de 1769. En 1781 elle épouse le peintre italien Antonio Zucchini et s'installe à Rome, où elle devient dès lors le portraitiste préféré de l'aristocratie italienne et des touristes de marque. Elle a peint en 1786 le portrait de Stanislas K. Potocki à demi couché avec, comme fond, la Campagne de Rome, ainsi que les portraits de sa belle-mère et celui de Henri Lubomirski, le fils adoptif de la princesse-maréchale, représenté comme "le génie de l'amour". Ces trois tableaux furent commandés par la princesse (V. Manners et G. D. Williamson, *Angelika Kauffmann*, Londres, 1924, p. 151). Selon St. Lorentz, le portrait de Potocki a servi de modèle à celui de Goethe par Tischbein, *Goethe dans la Campagne de Rome*. ("Dzialalnosc Stanislawy Kostki Potockiego w dziedzinie architektury", *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, T. I. (1956), p. 450-497: p. 478-479). Le portrait de Potocki appartenait à la Coll. Branicki et fut détruit lors du Soulèvement de Varsovie en 1944.

⁴³ Maria Louisa Cosway (1759-1838), née Hadfield, Membre de l'Académie de Florence (1778); en 1779 elle s'installe à Londres et épouse en 1781, Richard Cosway, le portraitiste attiré de la cour et de l'aristocratie anglaises. La belle-mère de Potocki se lia d'amitié avec elle lors de son séjour à Londres en été 1787, et la ramena avec elle à Paris. Potocki en parle dans une lettre à sa femme, le 17.IX.1787 (AGAD APP 262, I, f. 646-647). Elle a peint alors plusieurs portraits du petit Henri Lubomirski, dont celui où elle l'a représenté en *Amour*, qui se trouvait dans la Coll. Potocki de Lancut (B. Majewska-Maszkowska, *Mecenat artystyczny* . . . , ill. No. 29).

⁴⁴ Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun ou Le Brun (1755-1842), était la fille du portraitiste Louis Vigée. Après avoir étudié avec Doyen et Briard, elle fut influencée par le néo-classicisme. En 1776 elle se maria avec le marchand de tableaux Jean-Baptiste P. Lebrun. Membre de l'Académie depuis 1783, elle était le portraitiste préféré de la cour, et elle quitta la France au début de la Révolution. A Paris, elle se lia d'amitié avec la princesse-maréchale Lubomirska et fit le portrait du petit Lubomirski en *Génie de la gloire* (*Ibid.*, ill. No. 28). Potocki l'a connue chez sa belle-mère en 1787. Il en parle donc non seulement

en critique d'art, mais aussi en ami et en mécène (J. Mycielski et St. Wasylewski, op. cit.). En 1787 elle exposa onze portraits, quelques tableaux et des desseins (*Explication*, Nos. 97-108, p. 19-20).

⁴⁵ "Mme Lebrun, tenant sa Fille dans ses bras" (*Ibid.*, No. 106). En 1843 M. et Mme Tripiet Le Franc—Mme T.L.F. était née Lebrun—ont légué ce tableau au Louvre (INV. R.F. 3069). La *Madonna della Sedia* à laquelle Potocki a comparé ce tableau, se trouve à la Galerie Pitti à Florence.

⁴⁶ "Mlle Le Brun, tenant un miroir" (*Ibid.*, No. 107). Georges Wildenstein a racheté ce portrait de la Collection David-Weill en 1937, et il l'a vendu à Mrs. James P. Donahue de New York (*Illustrated London News*, 4.IX.1937, p. 403). "La petite fille" était la fille du peintre.

⁴⁷ Il s'agit sans doute d'un des tableaux groupés sous le No. 108 ("Plusieurs Portraits et Etudes sous le même numéro").

⁴⁸ "M. le Baron d'Espagnac le fils" (*Explication*, No. 100). Portrait de Joseph-François-Pierre-Guillaume d'Espagnac. Lord Hertford l'acheta pour 5.100 Fr. à Paris à la vente d'Espagnac, le 8.V.1868. Jusqu'en 1928 il était connu en Angleterre comme le "Portrait of a Boy in Red". MacColl l'a identifié alors comme le tableau exposé au Salon de 1787. Il se trouve à présent à la Wallace Collection ("Le comte d'Espagnac", P449). Jean Cailleux en parle dans le catalogue de l'exposition organisée à la Galerie Cailleux (*Éloge de l'Ovale—Peintures et pastels du XVIIIe siècle français*, 18.XI-20.XII.1975, p. 2 et 14).

⁴⁹ "Mme la Marquise de Pézé et Mme la Marquise de Rouget, avec ses deux Enfants" (*Explication*, No. 98). En 1965 The Bay Foundation donna ce tableau à la National Gallery of Art de Washington (No. 1914) (*The New York Times*, 7.XI.1965; *The Art Quarterly*, T. 19, No. 1, 1966). Contrairement à ce que dit Potocki, à l'en croire la description du tableau citée ci-dessus, il s'agit des enfants de Mme de Rouget et non des deux marquises. Par ailleurs, Potocki songeait peut-être à ce tableau, en écrivant que "bien des gens voudraient que ses portraits ne montrassent pas les dents", car c'est ainsi que Mme Vigée-Lebrun a peint ces deux dames.

⁵⁰ "M. Caillot en chasseur" (*Explication*, No. 105) appartient à M. Bérard, président des Amis du Musée d'Art Moderne de Paris. Grâce aux mémoires de Mme V.-L., nous savons dans quelles circonstances elle a peint ce portrait du célèbre chanteur (*Souvenirs de Madame Vigée-Lebrun*, 2ème éd., Paris, s.d., T. I, p. 92-93).

⁵¹ "Mme du Gazon, Pensionnaire du Roi, dans le rôle de Nina, au moment où elle croit entendre Germeuil." (*Explication*, No. 103). Mme Vigée-Lebrun a représenté l'actrice Dugazon dans *Nina, ou la Folle par l'amour* de B. J. Marsollier des Vivrières, au moment où Nina croit entendre dans le jardin la voix de son bien-aimé Germeuil. Ce tableau faisait parti de la Coll. Salverte jusqu'en 1877. Il fut acheté à la vente Salverte (5-6.V.1887) à la Galerie Georges Petit, par le comte Edmond de Pourtalès pour 24.000 Fr. Il appartient depuis 1937 au baron Maurice de Rothschild. Exposé au Jeu de Paume: *Cent Portraits de femmes du XVIIIe siècle* (No. 97, p. 29, 23.IV-1.VIII.1909) et à l'exposition d'art français à la Royal Academy de Londres (No. 279, 4.1-5.III.-1932).

⁵² "La Reine tenant Monseigneur le Duc de Normandie sur ses genoux; accompagnée de Monseigneur le Dauphin et de Madame, Fille du Roi." (*Explication*, No. 97) Mme Vigée-Lebrun a reçu pour ce tableau 18.000 livres. Il se trouve au Musée National de Versailles (No. 4520) (Pierre de Nolhac et André Pératé, *Le Musée National de Versailles*, Paris, 1869, p. 240-241).

⁵³ Potocki se réfère ici aux tableaux de moindres dimensions par opposition au grand portrait de la reine avec ses enfants.

⁵⁴ Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (1749-1803), mariée en premières noces à L.-N. Guiard (1769) et en secondes au peintre F. A. Vincent (1800) (voir ci-dessous). Elle fut élue à l'Académie en même temps que Mme Vigée-Lebrun (1783); elle était aussi premier peintre de Mesdames, filles de Louis XV. Contrairement à sa rivale, elle resta en France pendant la Révolution. En 1787 elle exposa plusieurs portraits et des études en pastel (*Explication*, Nos. 109-118, p. 21-22).

"Madame Elisabeth, peinte jusqu'aux genoux, appuyée sur une table garnie de plusieurs attributs des Sciences." (No. 109). L'artiste reçut 9.010 livres pour ce portrait de la soeur de Louis XVI. Coll. de la famille de Bombelles à Presbourg; vendu en 1900 pour 100.000 Fr. à Joseph Bardac; revendu en 1923 à Nathan Wildenstein; vendu à Paris à un amateur avant la deuxième guerre mondiale. Exposé à Paris en 1926: *Les Femmes peintres . . .* (No. 57) (Anne-Marie Passez, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard*, Paris, 1973, p. 176, ill. LIX).

⁵⁵ "Madame Adélaïde.

Au bas des portraits en médaillons du feu Roi, de la feu Reine et du feu Dauphin, réunis en un bas-relief imitant le bronze, la Princesse, qui est supposée les avoir peints elle-même, vient de tracer ces mots:

Leur image est encore le charme de ma vie.

Sur un ployant est un rouleau de papier, sur lequel est tracé le plan du Couvent fondé à Versailles par la feüe Reine, et dont Madame Adélaïde est Directrice.

Le lieu de la scène est une galerie ornée de bas-reliefs, représentant différents traits de la vie de Louis XV; le plus apparent retrace les derniers momens de ce Roi, où, après avoir fait retirer les Princes, à cause du danger de la maladie, Mesdames entrent malgré toutes les oppositions, en disant: *Nous ne sommes heureusement que des Princesses.* On y aperçoit un autre bas-relief, où Louis XV montre au Dauphin, son fils, le champ de bataille de Fontenoy, en disant: *Voyez ce que coûte une victoire.*"

(*Explication*, No. 100). La fille de Louis XV paya 5.000 livres à l'artiste pour son portrait; Coll. de Madame Adélaïde à Versailles ou à Bellevue; aux Tuileries après la Restauration (1814), puis dans les Magasins du Musée de Paris et au château de Compiègne; au Musée National de Versailles depuis 1835 (No. 3958). Exposition consacrée à Marie-Antoinette en 1955 (No. 246) (Anne-Marie Passez, op. cit. p. 184-185, ill. LXV).

⁵⁶ Alexandre Roslin (1718-1793), un des meilleurs portraitistes du XVIIIe s. Né en Suède, il fit ses études à Stockholm, en Allemagne et en Italie, et se fixa à Paris en 1752. Membre (1753) et conseiller de l'Académie. Il alla en Suède (1774) et en Russie (1775), d'où il revint à Paris par Varsovie et Vienne. Il a fait, entre autres, le portrait de la belle-mère de Potocki (I. Voisé et T. Glowacka-Pochech, op. cit., No. 116, p. 61, ill. 108). En 1787 il exposa plusieurs tableaux (*Explication*, Nos. 40-45, p. 12). Le "Portrait de feü le Maréchal de Nicolaï" (No. 40) se trouve dans la Coll. de la marquise de Brissac, née comtesse de Contades, tout comme les tableaux exposés en 1787 sous les Nos. 41 et 42. G.-W. Lundberg a étudié 625 toiles de Roslin dans *Roslin Liv och Verk* (Malmö, 1957).

⁵⁷ Antoine Vestier (1740-1824), membre de l'Académie (1786). En 1787 il exposa beaucoup de tableaux (*Explication*, Nos. 141-152, p. 26-27), dont le "Tableau de Famille. M.*** assis près du bureau, donne une main à son épouse appuyée sur son épaule, et de l'autre, lui montre sa soeur, s'occupant, dans un plan plus reculé, de son enfant, qui tend ses bras au portrait de son grand-père." (No. 146).

⁵⁸ Jean-Laurent Mosnier (1743 ou 1744-1808). Peintre de la Reine (1776), membre de l'Académie (1788). En 1787 il exposa quelques portraits comme agrégé (*Ibid.*, Nos.

⁵⁹ Les tableaux historiques.

⁶⁰ Potocki se réfère ici à *La Mort de Socrate* de David (*Ibid.*, No. 119, p. 22).

⁶¹ Joseph-Marie Vien (1716-1809), peintre d'histoire et graveur. Membre (1754) et professeur de l'Académie (1759); gouverneur de l'Ecole des Elèves Protégés (1771), Directeur de l'Académie de France à Rome (1775-1782), chancelier, recteur et directeur de l'Académie. Enterré au Panthéon. Les plus grands peintres d'histoire, tels que David, Peyron, Suvée, Vincent, Giroust ou Regnault ont été ses élèves. En 1787 il exposa quatre tableaux (*Ibid.*, Nos. 1-4, p. 3-4). Les trois premiers, dont parle d'abord Potocki, ont disparu. Deux d'entre eux, "Glicère cueillant des fleurs pour faire des couronnes" (No. 3) et "Sapho chantant ses vers en s'accompagnant de la lyre" (No. 4), avaient été peints pour Mme Dubarry, et se trouvaient avant la Révolution au château de Louveciennes (Boizot, *Rapport sur Louveciennes: Procès-verbaux de la commission des monuments*, 1902, T. 2, p. 242).

⁶² "Les adieux d'Hector et d'Andromaque.

Le moment est celui où Hector sortant de la porte de Cée, pour monter sur son char, est arrêté par Andromaque, qui lui fait présenter par sa nourrice le jeune Astianax, lequel s'effraie du panache dont le casque de son père est ombragé."

(*Explication*, No. 1). Signé "jo. m. Vien 1786". Tableau commandé par Louis XVI et estimé à 6.000 livres. Exposé une seconde fois en 1791, il se trouvait aux Gobelins jusqu'en 1794. Il fut envoyé par l'état au musée d'Epinal en 1882 et se trouve au Louvre depuis 1972 (INV. R.F. 8427).

⁶³ Selon Potocki, Lagrénée l'ainé était donc un peintre rococo qui essayait de s'adapter à la nouvelle manière mise en vogue par le néo-classicisme.

⁶⁴ Louis-Jean-François Lagrénée, dit l'ainé (1725-1805), élève de Carle Van Loo, membre de l'Académie (1755), premier peintre de la tsarine et directeur de l'Académie de St.-Petersbourg (1760-1762). Après son retour à Paris, il devint professeur (1763), directeur de l'Académie de France à Rome (1781) et recteur (1785). Dans les années soixante et soixante-dix il eut presque autant de succès auprès des amateurs que Boucher, C. Van Loo ou Fragonard, mais la critique ne l'épargnait plus depuis longtemps. Il puisait ses sujets dans la mythologie galante et dans les poèmes d'Anacréon et d'Ovide. Il cultivait aussi l'allégorie et la légende érotique, et ce n'est que sur le tard qu'il a peint, sans succès d'ailleurs, des tableaux d'histoire, dont les sujets étaient tirés d'Homère, Plutarque et Tite-Live (Jean Locquin, *La peinture d'histoire en France de 1747 à 1785*,

Paris, 1912, p. 201-205). Il notait lui-même toutes les informations concernant ses tableaux dans son *Livre de raison*, édité par les Goncourt en 1877 dans *L'Oeil*. En 1787 il exposa deux tableaux et une esquisse (*Explication*, Nos 5-7, p. 4-5).

“L’Amitié consolant la Vieillesse de la perte de la Beauté et du départ des Plaisirs” (No. 7) se trouve dans le *Livre de raison* entre les Nos. 322 et 323; signé et daté en 1786, peint pour le comte d’Angiviller, il resta néanmoins dans la coll. de l’artiste. Après sa mort, il passa aux ventes de la veuve Lagrénée (1814, No. 27) et Lebrun-Dalbanc-Troyes (29-31.V.1884, No. 23). Localisation actuelle non connue (Marc Sandoz, “Louis-Jean-François Lagrénée, dit l’ainé (1725-1805), peintre d’histoire”, *Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire de l’art français*, Année 1961, Paris, 1962, p. 115-136: p. 134).

⁶⁵ “Fidélité d’un Satrape de Darius.

Alexandre irrité de la fermeté de Bétis, un des Capitaines de Darius, et Gouverneur de la province de Gaza, qu’il n’avait réduite qu’avec peine sous son obéissance, dans son passage en Egypte, devint cruel envers ce généreux Satrape. Ce Roi, qui ne pouvoit souffrir de résistance à ses volontés, outré de ce que Bétis paroissoit devant lui sans fléchir le genou, pour lui rendre les mêmes honneurs qu’à Darius, et de ce qu’il restoit muet à ses menaces: je vaincrai ce silence obstiné, dit-il; et si je n’en puis tirer aucune parole, j’en tirerai du moins des gémissemens: enfin, sa colere se tournant en rage, il le fit attacher à un char, et traîner ainsi autour de la ville. Bétis en silence, regardant Alexandre avec dédain, triomphant en lui-même de voir l’orgueil insatiable de son ennemi, humilié par son courage et sa fidélité pour son Roi, mourut sans laisser échapper un soupir.” (*Explication*, No. 5; *Livre de raison*, No. 328; E. et J. de Goncourt, “Portraits intimes du XVIIIe siècle”, *L’Oeil*, 1877, T. IV, p. 238). Il se trouve à présent au Musée Hippolyte de Parieu d’Aurillac (Robert Rosenblum, *Transformations in late Eighteenth Century Art*, Princeton, 1967, p. 63-64, ill. 63).

⁶⁶ Francesco Albani (1578-1660), élève des Carraches, appelé “le peintre de la grâce” et “l’Anacréonte de la peinture”. Potocki possédait quelques copies de l’Albane (I. Voisé et Teresa Glowacka-Pochec, op. cit., p. 27 et 88, ill. 2 et 3).

⁶⁷ Le peintre et l’architecte Domenico Zampieri dit Domenichino (1581-1641), a été le meilleur élève des Carraches. Potocki possédait un de ses tableaux et la copie d’un autre (*Ibid.*, p. 34 et 90, ill. 20).

⁶⁸ Jean-Jacques Lagrénée, dit le jeune (1739-1821), frère cadet et élève de Lagrénée l’ainé. Membre de l’Académie (1775) et professeur. En 1787 il exposa trois tableaux (*Explication*, Nos. 13-15, p. 7). “Jesus, enfant, prie pendant la nuit dans un lieu solitaire” (No. 15). “Un petit Jésus” se rapporte à l’enfant Jésus et non aux dimensions du tableau (8 1/2 pieds de haut sur 5 1/2 pieds de large). En 1787 il appartenait aux oratoriens de Paris (Marc Sandoz, “Jean-Jacques Lagrénée, peintre d’histoire (1739-1821)”, *Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire de l’art français*, Année 1962, Paris, 1963, p. 121-133). Bien que Potocki a écrit: “. . . pour ne pas confondre les Lagrénée, disons qu’il est du jeune”, Helena Zmijewska note dans son article que “Lagrénée, directeur de l’Académie de Rome, avait attiré l’attention du salonier pour un *Jésus priant au désert*. . . .” (op. cit., p. 350). De même, elle avait remarqué plus haut, que Potocki “fait aussi l’éloge de Vien . . .” (*Ibid.*)

⁶⁹ Jean-Antoine-Théodore Giroust (1753-1817), peintre d’histoire. En 1787 agréé, il fut élu à l’Académie en 1788. En 1787 il exposa les deux tableaux cités par Potocki (*Explication*, Nos. 220-221, p. 43), à savoir: “Saint François d’Assise” et “Un Christ”, qui était destiné à la Troisième Chambre de la Cour des Aides.

⁷⁰ François-André Vincent (1746-1816). Un des meilleurs élèves de Vien, il fut reçu à l’Académie en 1782 et devint professeur adjoint en 1785. Il était très coté parmi les amateurs et beaucoup de critiques le plaçaient au même rang que David, ce qui semble avoir irrité Potocki. Il puisait ses sujets dans l’histoire ancienne ainsi que dans l’histoire nationale. En 1787 il exposa trois tableaux (*Ibid.*, Nos 22-24, p. 9-10) (*French Painting 1744-1830*, p. 669-670).

⁷¹ “Renaud et Armide.

Armide, après la défaite totale des Infidèles, s’étant enfuie, s’arrêta dans un sombre vallon; et là, descendue de cheval, elle jette son casque, son bouclier, son carquois et ses flèches, et elle ne garde qu’un seul trait pour se donner la mort. Le moment est celui où Renaud l’arrêtant, la serrant dans ses bras et l’y retenant malgré les efforts qu’elle fait pour s’en arracher, il lui dit: “Ah! s’il plaisait au ciel de percer le voile du paganisme étendu sur tes yeux, aucune Princesse, en Orient, n’égalerait ta fortune et ta puissance;” et où Armide est prête à lui répondre, je suis ton esclave, disposes à ton gré de moi, que ta volonté soit ma loi. *Jérusalem délivrée*, Chant XX.”

(*Explication*, No. 22). Tableau commandé par le comte d’Artois. Il fut critiqué également par les autres saloniers.

⁷² “Henri IV et Sully.

Sully, ayant reçu plusieurs blessures à la bataille d’Ivry, se retiroit le lendemain à

Rosny, porté dans une espèce de litière, faite à la hâte de branches d'arbres, précédé de son Ecuyer et de ses Pages, suivi des prisonniers qu'il avoit faits, et de sa Compagnie de Gendarmes; sa marche avoit l'air d'un petit triomphe. Le Roi, qui étoit à la chasse, l'ayant rencontré, parut se réjouir de ce spectacle, s'approcha du brancard, lui donna tous les témoignages de sensibilité qu'un ami peut donner à un ami, et lui dit, en s'éloignant: *Adieu, mon ami, portez-vous bien, et soyez sûr que vous avez bon Maître. Mémoires de Sully, tome Ier.*"

(Explication, No. 23). En 1783 le comte d'Angiviller demanda à Vincent de peindre l' "Histoire d'Henri IV" en six pièces pour faire des tentures aux Gobelins. Il commença à les exposer au Salon de 1785. Ce tableau était signé et daté en 1786. Il a appartenu d'abord au comte d'Orsey. En 1864 il fut déposé au musée d'Amiens, où il fut détruit en 1918. Les autres critiques l'ont traité beaucoup mieux que Potocki, mais personne n'a loué les toiles de Vincent autant que Cochin ("Examen des critiques qui ont été publiées sur l'exposition des tableaux au Salon du Louvre en 1787", p. 16-18).

⁷³ "Clémence d'Auguste envers Cinna.

Le moment est celui où Auguste semble dire, *Soyons amis Cinna, c'est moi qui t'en convie*. A cet acte de grandeur d'âme, Livie, femme de l'Empereur, exprime son admiration; Emilie tombe à ses pieds, Cinna est frappé d'étonnement, et Maxime pénétré de honte." (Explication, No. 24).

Signé et daté en 1787. Le thème de cette toile a été tiré du Ve acte de la pièce de Corneille, qu'on jouait alors à Paris au Théâtre Français. Selon Lossky, "... les impressions de la rampe ont suggéré au peintre ... le choix du sujet ... plus d'un détail de son oeuvre. C'est bien à des acteurs qu'on songe devant ces personnages campés et gesticulant librement dans l'espace." Il fut peint pour l'électeur de Trèves. En 1937 il se trouvait au château de Zidlochovice (Boris Lossky, "Tableaux de Ménageot et de Vincent en Tchécoslovaquie", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Janvier 1938, p. 49-53). Les autres critiques ont, en général, loué cet ouvrage ("Critique des quinze critiques du Salon ou notice faite pour donner une idée de ces brochures, suivie d'un résumé des opinions les plus impartiales sur les tableaux exposés au Louvre", *Collection Deloynes*, T. XV, No. 390, p. 61, et Cochin op. cit.)

⁷⁴ Gabriel François Doyen (1726-1806), élève de Van Loo, membre (1759) et professeur (1776) de l'Académie; premier peintre du Comte d'Artois (1774). En 1767 il avait remporté un grand triomphe avec son *Miracle des Ardents* qu'il avait peint pour l'église de St.-Roch. Dès lors, nous dit Locquin, il fut considéré comme "le plus vigoureux coloriste de l'école française et presque comme un nouveau Rubens" (op. cit., p. 209). Cependant il n'a pas réussi à soutenir sa réputation. Il commença à peindre de petites allégories dans le style de Lagrénée. En 1787 il exposa un seul tableau commandé par le roi:

"Priam demandant à Achille le corps d'Hector.

Priam conduit par Mercure dans le camp des Grecs, laisse son char sous la garde de son Ecuyer, entre dans la tente d'Achille, qu'il trouve assis à table et vers la fin du repas, n'ayant auprès de lui qu'Alcime et Automédon. Alors, se précipitant à ses pieds, il lui dit, les yeux baignés de larmes:

"Achille égal aux Dieux, ayez pitié de ma vieillesse; je vous en conjure par celle de votre pere. Il est peut-être attaqué, pendant votre absence, par des ennemis injustes, mais il a un fils pour le venger; et moi j'ai perdu Hector, que vous avez tué, et je viens me jeter à vos genoux pour vous demander son corps."

Achille, frappé de la douleur de ce vieillard, qui lui rappelle le grand âge de son pere, éprouve dans son coeur un combat entre la colère et la pitié. Sa main repoussé doucement le Roi Priam; il détourne la tête pour lui cacher ses larmes; et au milieu des gémissements des spectateurs de cette scène touchante, il lui rend le corps de son fils. Homère, *Iliade*, liv. 24."

(Explication, No. 11, p. 5-6). Les critiques ont en général, assez loué le tableau de Doyen. Il se trouvait au Louvre (INV. R.F. 4095), d'où il fut envoyé en 1872, au Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Alger. Depuis 1930 il ne figure plus dans le catalogue de ce musée. (Marc Sandoz, *Gabriel François Doyen (1726-1806)*, Paris, 1975, p. 18-19, 26, 48-49, fig. 4).

⁷⁵ Jean-Charles Nicaïsse Perrin (1754-1831), élève de Doyen; membre de l'Académie (1787). Il a peint surtout des portraits et des tableaux historiques. En 1787 il exposa sept tableaux (Explication, Nos. 164-170, p. 31-32). Potocki a loué le No. 165: "Antoine s'étant percé de son épée, à l'exemple de son Esclave, qui s'étoit tué devant lui, souffre qu'on le panse de sa blessure, dans l'espérance de revoir Cléopâtre, qu'un des Officiers de cette Reine lui assure être vivante." Les autres critiques ont aussi remarqué les toiles de Perrin.

⁷⁶ "Figure Académique" (*Ibid.*, No. 170).

⁷⁷ Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1573-1610) fit une grande impression sur Perrin lorsqu'il étudiait à l'Académie de France à Rome.

⁷⁸ Jean-Baptiste Regnault et non Renaud comme écrit Potocki (1754-1829). Membre de l'Académie depuis 1783, il a laissé surtout des portraits, des allégories mythologiques et des tableaux historiques. Bien qu'il a été marqué par l'école de Bologne et l'art antique, il peignait d'une manière très différente de celle de David, avec lequel il rivalisait. Tout comme lui, il a eu beaucoup de disciples. En 1787 il exposa deux tableaux (*Ibid.*, Nos. 120-121, p. 22-23). Les autres critiques ont loué d'avantage sa "Reconnaissance d'Oreste et d'Iphigénie, dans la Tauride" (No. 120). Dans le livret, le titre était suivi de l'explication suivante:

"Oreste et Pylade viennent en Tauride par l'ordre d'Apollon pour enlever la statue de Diane. Ils sont pris et menés au roi Thoas, qui les envoie au Temple de Diane pour être sacrifiés, comme l'étoient tous les étrangers qui abordoient sur ces côtes. Iphigénie promet de sauver l'un d'eux, aux conditions [sic] qu'il portera pour elle, dans sa Patrie, un écrit à ses parents. Pylade, après un grand combat de générosité, cède à Oreste la gloire de mourir, et reçoit l'écrit des mains d'Iphigénie, qui en fait la lecture, et commence ainsi: *Vous direz à Oreste, mon frère, que sa soeur Iphigénie . . .* A ces mots, Pylade prend la Lettre et la remet à son ami, en disant à Oreste: *Recevez la Lettre de votre soeur*, et à Iphigénie, *voilà votre frère*. Ils se reconnoissent, enlèvent la statue de Diane et retournent à Argos.

Sujet tiré d'*Iphigénie en Tauride*, Tragédie d'Euripide." Ce tableau se trouve au Musée de Marseille (INV. R. F. 7383) (*French Painting 1774-1830*, p. 576-577).

⁷⁹ Les critiques ont souligné à plus d'une reprise, que leur goût et leurs préférences ne s'accordaient guère avec ceux du grand public, qui admiraient souvent un tableau à cause de son sujet mélodramatique, comme par exemple, "La mort du Duc de Brunswick", ou sentimental, comme les tableaux de Greuze et de ses imitateurs.

⁸⁰ Pierre-Alexandre Wille (1784-1821), dit Wille le fils, pour le distinguer de son père, J.-G. Wille, un graveur très réputé. Elève de Greuze et de Vien, agréé en 1774, il ne fut jamais admis à l'Académie. Il passait pendant toute sa vie pour un peintre de genre, et réussissait le mieux en peignant à la manière de Greuze. En 1787 il exposa "La mort du Duc Léopold de Brunswick" (*Explication*, No. 181, p. 36). Le duc se noya dans l'Oder en 1785, en essayant de sauver les victimes d'une inondation. Sa mort récente et son héroïsme étaient encore dans la mémoire de ceux qui regardaient avec intérêt le tableau de Wille. Et c'est justement ce que Potocki avait voulu suggérer en écrivant que bien qu'il n'était pas au niveau des tableaux historiques, il avait plu "au commun des spectateurs". Il fut par contre très malmené par les autres salonniers. Il se trouve depuis 1926 au Musée Pouchkine de Moscou (No. 800). Il a été exposé en 1974-1975 à Paris, Detroit et New York (*French Painting 1774-1830*, p. 83, 680-682, ill. 206).

⁸¹ Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805). Membre de l'Académie depuis 1769, il rompit avec elle lorsqu'on refusa de le reconnaître comme peintre historique. Pendant de longues années il n'exposa plus alors aux Salons du Louvre.

⁸² Marie-Marc-Antoine Billecoq ou Billecoq (1755-1838). Peintre de genre, membre de l'Académie (1789). En 1787 il exposa, comme agrée, trois tableaux (*Explication*, Nos. 217-219, p. 43). Potocki a remarqué "L'Instruction villageoise" (No. 219), expliquée de la façon suivante dans le livret:

"La mère fait la lecture de la vie des Saints; près d'elle la fille aînée est appuyée sur un buffet, deux autres de ses soeurs regardent leur père, tandis qu'il fume assis sur un tonneau; derrière lui son gendre, les bras croisés, écoute la lecture, et un petit enfant de la fille, joue devant lui avec un oiseau. Le lieu de la scène est une grange."

⁸³ Piet-Joseph Sauvage (1744-1818). Peintre et sculpteur, membre de l'Académie (1789). En 1787 il exposa, comme agrée, trois tableaux (*Ibid.*, Nos. 92-96, p. 19).

⁸⁴ Jean-Baptiste Weyler ou Weiler ou Weiller, et non, comme chez Potocki, Veyler (1747-1791). Membre de l'Académie (1779). En 1787 il exposa plusieurs portraits en émail et des miniatures (*Ibid.*, Nos. 76-82, p. 16-17).

⁸⁵ Henri-Horace Roland de la Porte (1724-1793). Rival de Chardin, il a peint comme lui des fleurs et des natures mortes. Membre de l'Académie (1763). En 1787 il exposa trois tableaux (*Ibid.*, Nos. 56-58, p. 14). Potocki a loué "Un Crucifix imitant le relief en talc, sur un fond violet" (No. 56).

⁸⁶ Potocki se trompe, car Denon n'appartenait pas à la catégorie des amateurs. En 1787 il fut agréé le 31 mars et élu à l'Académie le 20 juillet dans la catégorie des graveurs. Son élection fut confirmée le 4 août (*Procès-verbaux de l'Académie*, p. 315, 329, 331). Potocki l'appelle "le chevalier de Non", car Louis XV l'avait fait Gentilhomme de la Chambre du Roi, mais dans le catalogue il figure comme M. Denon. Comme nous le verrons plus loin, sa brochure fut signée M. De Non.

⁸⁷ En 1787 Denon exposa quelques estampes (*Explication*, Nos. 303-307, p. 56), dont une "Adoration des Bergers, d'après Lucas de Giordano, gravée à l'eau-forte." (No. 304). C'était son morceau de réception à l'Académie. Sa planche se trouve dans la Chalcographie du Louvre. Pour des reproductions des gravures de Denon on peut

consulter : Marcel Roux, *Inventaire du fonds français* du Département des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale/—*Graveurs du XVIIIe s.* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1949, T. VI, 612 p.; p. 513-612).

—No. 303 de 1787: “Une descente de Croix” sous le titre: “Jésus mort sur les genoux de sa Mère”, d’après A. Carrachi de la Galerie du Palais-Royal”. Signée et datée en 1786, en quatre exemplaires (*Ibid.*)

—No. 304 de 1787 (cité ci-dessus), signé, en quatre épreuves dont la première est une “eau-forte pure.” (*Ibid.*)

—No. 305 de 1787: “Une Nuit, d’après Rembrandt; on y voit deux femmes, dont une dans son lit et l’autre berçant un enfant.” La description qui se trouve dans l’*Inventaire*, diffère de celle du livret du Salon: “Effet de nuit dans un intérieur, d’après Rembrandt. Au centre de la pièce, deux femmes sont assises, l’une sommeillant, l’autre lisant, près d’un berceau où dort un enfant.” Cette description-ci correspond à ce qu’on voit sur la gravure. Quatre exemplaires, dont trois épreuves et une contre-preuve. (*Ibid.*)

—No. 306 de 1787: “Deux lions et une lionne” d’après Quadal; signé, deux épreuves. (*Ibid.*)

Il y a aussi un *Catalogue des estampes gravées par le citoyen D. Vivant Denon* (1803, in-4°): le No. 303 (1787) y est mentionné à la p. 3 (16 livres); le No. 305 (1787) à la p. 4 (20 Fr.); le No. 306 (1787) à la p. 4 (6 Fr.).

⁸⁸ Les eaux-fortes de Denon avaient été mentionnées uniquement dans les “Observations du ‘Journal de Paris’ sur l’exposition des Tableaux du Louvre en 1787” (p. 793). Les gravures ne furent pas mentionnées dans les autres Salons. Ainsi, même la critique sévère du *Journal de Paris* pouvait être considérée comme une sorte de distinction. On y avait traité Denon en *amateur*. En outre, la critique avait remarqué qu’il n’avait exposé que des eaux-fortes qu’on ne pouvait pas placer sur le même niveau que des gravures. Enfin, à l’en croire, seul le No. 306 avait été bien dessiné.

⁸⁹ “Socrates au moment de prendre la Ciguë (*Explication*, No. 119, p. 22) de Jacques Louis David (1748-1825), élu à l’Académie en 1783. En 1785, il exposa *Le Serment des Horaces*, qui éblouit les critiques autant que le public. Dès lors il fut acclamé comme le chef incontesté de la nouvelle école. En 1787 il exposa *La Mort de Socrate* qui fut reçue également avec enthousiasme. Elle fut exposée pour la seconde fois en 1791, pour fêter le triomphe de la Révolution. Ce tableau avait été commandé par un conseiller du Parlement de Paris, Ch.-M. Trudaine de la Sablière. Après la mort de Trudaine, en 1794, sur l’échafaud, il a appartenu successivement à Mme Trudaine de Montigny, à Micault de Courbeton (1802), au marquis de Vérac et au comte de Rougé. A la vente Rougé (No. 1), il fut acheté le 8.IV.1872, par Marius Bianchi, le mari de l’arrière-petite-fille de David, pour 17.600 Fr. Leur fille, la vicomtesse de Fleury, en hérita, et ensuite la comtesse Murat, la marquise de Ludre-Frolois et la marquise de Luda. En 1931 il fut acheté par le Metropolitan Museum of Art de New York (“The Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Fund—No. 31.45”) (Charles Sterling, *A Catalogue of French Paintings XV-XVIII centuries*, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1955, p. 192-196). *La Mort de Socrate* a été exposée à Paris, au Luxembourg (1820-1823), en 1826, 1846, 1874, au Petit Palais en 1913 (*David et ses élèves*, No. 23) et en 1948 à l’exposition consacrée à David à l’Orangerie (No. 21); à Boston en 1970 (*Masterpieces of Painting in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, p. 72), à Londres en 1972 (*The Age of Neo-Classicism*, No. 63, p. 41-42, ill. 2), et à Paris, Detroit et New York en 1974-1975 (*French Painting 1774-1830*, p. 82, 367-368, ill. 32).

⁹⁰ André Chénier aurait suggéré à David de présenter Socrate comme une illustration de l’indifférence à l’égard de la mort.

⁹¹ Potocki compare ici Socrate à Dieu. De la même manière on l’a comparé récemment au Christ et le tableau de David à une *Cène* laïque: “Socrates, about to drain the poison cup, is shown here not only as an example of Ancient Virtue, but also as the founder of the “religion of reason”, a Christ-like figure (there are twelve disciples in the scene)” (H. W. Janson en collaboration avec D. J. Janson, *A History of Art—A Survey of the major visual arts from dawn of history to the present day*, Englewood Cliffs N. J.—New York, 1962, p. 472).

⁹² En suivant le conseil d’un helléniste, l’oratorien Jean-Félicissime Adry, David a représenté Platon assis à l’extrémité gauche du lit, tandis que, en réalité, Platon n’a pas assisté à la mort de son maître. En outre, il n’avait alors que vingt-cinq ans et, sur le tableau, il paraît être un vieillard. De même, en suivant les conseils d’Adry, David a peint Criton assis sur un tabouret, une main appuyée sur le genou de Socrate. Enfin, le jeune homme qui lève les mains au ciel, la dernière figure à droite, devait représenter Apollodore (E. Bonnardet, “Comment un oratorien vint en aide à un grand peintre”, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, juin 1938, p. 311-315).

⁹³ Les trois figures au fond à gauche, qui s'apprentent à quitter la prison, devaient représenter Xanthippe accompagnée par deux serviteurs de Criton.

⁹⁴ Le petit-fils de David a écrit, au contraire, que son grand-père avait "poussé l'exécution de son tableau à un degré de finesse et de lèche qu'était loin de demander la sévérité de son sujet. C'est le seul reproche que l'on peut faire à cette oeuvre . . ." (J. L. Jules David, op. cit., p. 46).

⁹⁵ " . . . certaine main imitant une griffe de chat ; je veux parler de cette main maniérée qui est sur la cuisse de Socrate . . ." ("Merlin au Salon de 1787", dans *Critique des quinze critiques du Salon . . .*, p. 12); "On a reproché un peu de recherche dans les expressions, des attitudes peu nobles . . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 63); " . . . la main du vieillard qui s'appuie sur la cuisse de Socrate, quelque admirable qu'en soit le dessein, nous a paru un peu maniérée . . ." (*Correspondance littéraire*, novembre 1787, p. 166). Mais Potocki pouvait ne pas connaître ce dernier compte rendu, car la *Correspondance littéraire* était lue seulement à l'étranger, et encore par bien peu de monde.

⁹⁶ Nous n'avons retrouvé aucune autre critique qui aurait relevé ces défauts du tableau de David.

⁹⁷ "On dira peut-être . . . que le vieillard qui est assis au pied du lit, ne serait pas en proportion avec les autres personnages, s'il était debout . . ." ("La Bourgeoise au Salon", *Collection Deloynes*, T. XV, No. 384, p. 16-17). On a relevé le même défaut dans "Encore un coup de patte pour le dernier ou Dialogue sur le Salon de 1787", (*Ibid.*, No. 378, p. 24).

⁹⁸ "On dira peut-être qu'il fait trop jour dans la prison . . ." ("La Bourgeoise au Salon", *Ibid.*). Le salonnier du *Mercur de France* a critiqué "les effets de lumières" (*Ibid.*, T. XV, No. 396, p. 836-838). "On désirerait plus de vérité dans le ton des clairs . . ." ("Observations contenues dans 'L'Année Littéraire' sur le Salon de Peinture", *Ibid.*, No. 397, p. 863-865). L'auteur de la "Critique des quinze critiques" affirme à son tour qu' "on a reproché . . . généralement un ton trop brillant pour une prison" (Op. cit., p. 63). Tous ces reproches ont été confirmés également par la critique de la *Correspondance littéraire*: " . . . ce qu'on a trouvé le plus généralement à redire à ce superbe tableau, c'est la manière dont il est éclairé . . . On ne voit point d'où peut venir cette grande lumière qui environne si également toutes les figures du premier plan . . ." (Op. cit., p. 166).

⁹⁹ Jean-François-Pierre Peyron (1744-1814). Membre de l'Académie (1786); rival de David et un des initiateurs du néo-classicisme, il paraissait d'abord beaucoup plus doué que lui: en 1773 il remporta le premier prix au concours pour le Grand Prix de Rome, auquel participa aussi David, sur le thème de la *Mort de Senèque*. Mais en 1785, quand il exposa au Salon sa *Mort d'Alceste*, celle-ci ne soutint pas la comparaison avec *Le Serment des Horaces* de David. En 1787 il exposa deux tableaux (*Explication*, Nos. 153-154, p. 27-28). Peyron envoya assez tard sa *Mort de Socrate* au Salon. Le titre complet de ce tableau était le suivant:

"Socrate prêt à boire la ciguë, et après avoir fait un sublime discours sur l'immortalité de l'ame, reproche à ses amis leurs gémissements: que faites-vous, leur dit-il? quoi! des hommes si admirables s'abandonnent à la douleur! où donc est la vertu? n'étoit-ce pas pour cela que j'avois renvoyé ces femmes, de peur qu'elles ne tombassent dans de pareilles foiblesses? J'ai toujours oui dire qu'il faut mourir tranquillement, et en bénissant l'être suprême; tenez-vous donc en repos, et témoignez plus de force et de fermeté". (No. 154). Les dimensions de ce tableau sont bien inférieures à celles de celui de David. Il fut commandé par le comte d'Angiviller et n'était qu'une esquisse de celui qui devait être exécuté pour le roi, et qui fut exposé en 1789 et se trouve à présent à Paris à la Chambre des Députés. Quant à celui de 1787, il plut tellement au comte d'Angiviller, qu'il l'emporta avec lui en quittant la France pendant la Révolution. Il le donna ensuite à la comtesse Amélie Münster, qui le légua à son tour, à son gendre, le comte Carl Moltke. Il fait parti de la Coll. Moltke à Copenhague, où il fut redécouvert par Meir Stein, qui l'a étudié en détail dans "Un chef-d'oeuvre retrouvé de Peyron" (*Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, Année 1973, Paris, 1974, p. 229-238). Une reproduction de celui qui est à Paris se trouve dans le livre de Jean Seznec, *Essais sur Diderot et l'antiquité* (Oxford, 1957, ill. 8). On y lira aussi avec profit son essai sur "Le Socrate imaginaire" (*Ibid.*, p. 1-22). (*French Painting 1774-1830*, p. 561-562).

¹⁰⁰ En employant la tournure de phrase "j'entrevis", Potocki voulait dire sans doute qu'il ne parlerait que très brièvement et en passant des sculptures.

¹⁰¹ "Poquelin de Molière" par Jean-Jacques Caffieri (1725-1792). Membre (1759) et professeur de l'Académie. La statue en marbre de Molière avait été commandée pour le roi et se trouve à présent à l'Institut de France. Elle fut critiquée également par les autres salonniers. Dans le livret de l'exposition l'artiste a développé davantage la description de son ouvrage:

“La tête a été faite d’après un portrait de ce grand homme, que Voltaire assure tenir de la femme d’un des meilleurs comédiens que nous ayons eus.

Il n’étoit ni trop gras, ni trop maigre, il avoit la taille plus grande que petite, le port noble, la jambe belle; il marchoit gravement, avoit l’air soucieux, le nez gros, la bouche grande, les lèvres épaisses, le teint brun, les sourcils noirs et forts. A l’égard de son caractère, il étoit doux, complaisant, généreux. La droiture de son coeur et sa franchise lui firent des amis de tout ce qu’il y avoit de plus distingué. Sa haute réputation ne fit appercevoir aucune différence entre lui et le grand Seigneur”. (*Explication*, No. 235, p. 45-46).

¹⁰² “Racine” de Louis-Simon Boizot (1743-1809) (*Ibid.*, No. 249, p. 49). Membre (1778) et professeur de l’Académie. La statue en marbre de Racine avait aussi été commandée pour le roi, et se trouve à l’Institut de France. Elle fut également critiquée par les autres salonniers.

¹⁰³ Sculpteurs célèbres au XVIII^e s.: Pierre Puget (1620-1694) et François Girardon (1628-1715).

¹⁰⁴ “Bayard”—Modèle en plâtre de la statue qui devait être exécutée en marbre pour le roi par Charles-Antoine Bridan (1730-1805). Membre (1772) et professeur de l’Académie. Le modèle, exposé en 1787, se trouve à présent au Musée National de Versailles (No. 2795). Les autres critiques ont reproché également à Bridan son manque de connaissances des coutumes et des vêtements de l’époque. Il a ainsi expliqué lui-même son ouvrage dans le livret:

“Bayard parlant à son épée, après avoir eu l’honneur d’armer son Roi Chevalier.

Après une bataille, François Ier voulut savoir quels étoient ceux qui s’étoient le plus distingués. Tous les officiers dirent que c’étoit Bayard, comme il avoit toujours coutume. Alors le Roi voulut recevoir l’ordre de Chevalerie de la main de Bayard. Après la cérémonie, Bayard prit son épée, lui fit un discours, et lui promit de l’employer toujours dignement pour son Roi, et la baisa” (*Ibid.*, No. 237, p. 46-47).

¹⁰⁵ “Le Grand Condé” par Philippe-Laurent Roland (1746-1816). “Il est représenté dans l’action de jeter son Bâton de Général dans le retranchement des Ennemis, à Fribourg, en 1644” (*Ibid.*, No. 265, p. 51). Roland fut agréé à l’Académie en 1782. Sa statue en marbre avait été commandée par le roi et se trouve au Musée National de Versailles (No. 2835). En 1787 la critique fut partagée à son sujet.

¹⁰⁶ Une des batailles gagnées par Condé.

¹⁰⁷ Dans le livret du Salon de 1787 on ne trouve que deux statues de saints: Jean-Baptiste Stouf (1742-1826), membre de l’Académie depuis 1785, exposa un *Saint Vincent-de-Paul* en plâtre (*Ibid.*, No. 263, p. 50-51), qui se trouve à présent à l’Hôpital des Enfants-Assistés à Paris. François-Nicolas Delaistre (1746-1832), agréé depuis 1785, exposa une statue de la *Vierge* (*Ibid.*, No. 279, p. 50), destinée à l’église de Saint Nicolas-des-Champs. La description complète de la statue de Stouf était la suivante: “Saint Vincent-de-Paul, Fondateur de la Salpêtrière, de l’Hôpital des Enfants-Trouvés, des Filles de la Charité, etc.

En revenant de l’une de ses Missions, Saint Vincent-de-Paul aperçut un soldat mutiloit un de ces enfans abandonnés, dans l’espérance d’obtenir des aumônes plus considérables, en l’offrant à la charité publique. Il l’aborde, et lui dit: de loin je croyois voir un homme, et je me suis trompé. Ensuite il lui retire cette victime, et se rend dans la rue Saint-Landry, où l’on dépositoit ces sortes d’enfans. Là, considérant le malheur de ces innocentes créatures, il forma le projet de la Fondation de l’Hôpital des Enfants-Trouvés, qui doit son établissement à son éloquence et à sa charité.”

¹⁰⁸ “Cassandre, enlevée par Ajax, lève les mains au Ciel, et implore le secours de Minerve”, groupe en plâtre de Claude de Joux ou Dejoux (1732-1816) (*Ibid.*, No. 260, p. 50). Le sculpteur fut agréé en 1778. Les autres critiques ont aussi admiré son Ajax.

¹⁰⁹ “Phrixus, monté sur un bélier, parcourant les airs, pour se rendre dans la Colchide”, bas-relief de de Joux (*Ibid.*, No. 262).

¹¹⁰ Jean-Antoine Houdon (1741-1828), étudia avec Slodtz, Pigalle et Lemoyne, et devint membre de l’Académie en 1777. En 1787 il exposa huit sculptures (*Ibid.*, Nos. 252-259, p. 49). On a beaucoup écrit alors et depuis sur sa *Vestale* (No. 257). Houdon nous a laissé beaucoup de vestales, dont deux au moins ont été datées en 1787. Selon Réau, la grande statue en marbre (2 m. de haut) exposée en 1787 et signée “Houdon F. [ecit]—Salon de 1787”, a été commandée par le duc Louis-Marie-Augustin d’Aumont, pour le grand escalier de son hôtel particulier, où se trouve aujourd’hui l’Hôtel Crillon, sur la Place de la Concorde. Cette statue figurait aux ventes Houdon (1795) et Latapie (1854). Ensuite elle a appartenu au banquier américain Pierpont Morgan (1905), et se trouve à présent au Metropolitan Museum of Art de New York (Louis Réau, *Houdon, sa vie et son oeuvre*, Paris, 1964, T.I, p. 202-203; T. II, planche II, 3C). H. H. Arnason a soutenu par contre à deux reprises, que la vestale exposée en 1787 est probablement une autre statue aussi en marbre, de proportions presque naturelles, également signée et

datée en 1787, qui appartient à la Galerie Wildenstein de New York (H. H. Arnason, "Introduction" de *Sculpture by Houdon—a loan exhibition*, Worcester Art Museum, 16.1-23.II.1964, p. 22). Arnason a développé ses arguments au sujet de la Vestale des Wildenstein. En se référant aux critiques du Salon de 1787, il cite en premier lieu la *Lettre* de Potocki, mais sans nommer ses sources. En décrivant la statue de Houdon, Potocki parle d'une "petite vestale . . . un peu courte". Tel est aussi l'avis du critique de l'*Année littéraire* (*Ibid.*, p. 887), et de celui de "L'Ami des artistes au Salon" (*Collection Deloynes*, T. XV, No. 379, p. 8-9), qui a remarqué qu'elle n'était pas assez haute. Comme les deux vestales citées ci-dessus, sont au contraire d'assez grandes proportions, il est difficile de comprendre les réflexions critiques des salonniers de 1787. Arnason a essayé d'expliquer ce soi-disant défaut comme un effet de perspective. Eh parlant de la vestale de la Galerie Wildenstein, il a écrit ce qui suit dans le livre qu'il a consacré tout récemment à Houdon: "The vestal is actually 62 inches high, but placed as she is on a pedestal over 3 feet high, she appears partially as a result of the heavy draperies and the small face, shorter than she is. Also, the high pedestal, which is the original one, does make the feet somewhat too obtrusive . . ." (H. H. Arnason, *The Sculptures of Houdon*, Londres, 1975, 294 p.: p. 82, 83, 84; ill.: Fig. 167 et planche 108).

¹¹¹ Potocki admirait l'architecture néo-classique. Il alla même exprès à Vicence pour étudier sur place les oeuvres de Palladio (St. Lorentz, *op cit.*, p. 457). C'est pourquoi il pouvait ne pas apprécier l'architecture de Versailles.

ANNEXE II

LETTRE DE M. DE NON,*

*En réponse à une lettre d'un étranger
sur le Salon de 1787.¹*

[Par Dominique Vivant Denon]

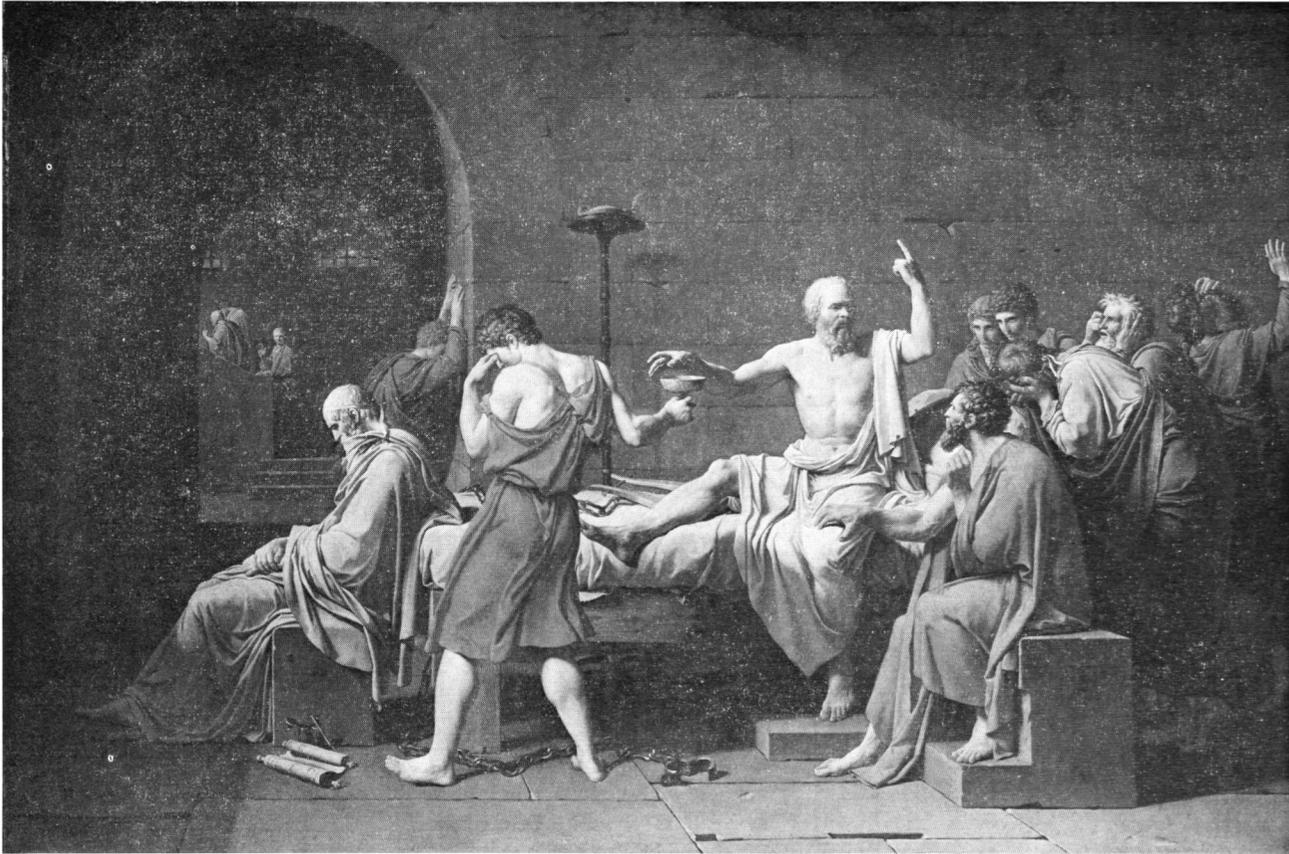
ON m'a fait l'honneur de m'adresser une lettre sur le Salon de cette année. L'auteur, en venant me chercher dans le petit coin où j'ai essayé de me placer², et mettant mon nom avec celui des habiles artistes³, affiche une partialité en ma faveur, que je ne puis devoir qu'à l'amitié. Ma gratitude à cet égard est extrême, et je desire que l'anonyme veuille bien en retour accueillir les observations que l'amour de l'art, qui m'anime comme lui, m'a fait faire en lisant son ouvrage.

L'idée que l'anonyme a des beaux arts, a sans doute exalté ses desirs sur la peinture. Il voudrait que les tableaux fussent les productions de génies au dessus de la nature humaine; et c'est dans cette pensée qu'il semble douter qu'il y ait une école française, ou ne nous en accorde une que sous des conditions qu'il seroit sûrement bien fâché de voir accepter à ses amis. Il nous cite à notre propre jugement, en nous accusant de dire nous-mêmes *le goût français*, en parlant du goût maniéré. Ce langage, qui devrait nous indigner, n'est que celui de nos détracteurs, et de ceux qui leur cedent pour ne savoir le repousser.

Il est bien étonnant que, dans la patrie des petits maîtres, on n'ait de modestie que sur les objets qui devraient faire la gloire de la nation. Nous convenons déjà que nous n'avons pas d'école de peinture; quand nous saurons un peu plus la langue anglaise, nous dirons peut-être aussi nous-mêmes que nous n'avons pas de littérature française⁴. Laissons à la mode ses torts: mais vous, amateur zélé, que je veux regarder comme mon compatriote, puisque vous écrivez en homme qui vous occupez de l'art et des artistes⁵, pourquoi autorisez-vous nos détracteurs en devenant leur complice?

Nous ne serions rien dans les arts sans l'Italie, nous dit-on tous les jours: et pourquoi non? L'école de Venise et celle de Bologne eussent-elles existé sans celle de Rome? Qu'auroit été celle de Rome sans la découverte des monuments antiques et des statues grecques? Les Grecs avoient peut-être eu des modeles dans les Egyptiens. C'est la

*Bibliothèque Nationale Yd².31. () Signifie notes de l'auteur.



Jacques Louis David: La mort de Socrate (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Fund, No 31.45).



D. Vivant Denon: Une Nuit. D'après Rembrandt (Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).

sculpture des anciens qui a reproduit le dessin: c'est le beau qui enfante toujours le beau.

Les *Carraci* se formèrent à Rome, et y envoyèrent leurs élèves; nos premiers maîtres en ont fait autant. On accuse notre école de n'avoir point de caractère distinctif: d'accord; c'est ajouter à ce qu'on lui doit d'admiration, qu'elle n'a point de manière, et qu'elle a tendu vers le beau par tous les moyens que chaque artiste a reçus de la nature pour y arriver.

Faudroit-il que l'écolier ressemblât à son maître pour acquérir le titre de maître de telle école? Ce seroit mettre en principe l'appauvrissement de l'esprit humain. Si Michel-Ange n'eût pas arraché Raphaël à la petite manière du Pérugin⁶⁾, aurions-nous tous les modèles qu'il nous a donnés en surpassant ses deux maîtres? Simon Vouet⁷⁾, le chef de l'école française, bien préférable au Pérugin⁸⁾, fut également surpassé par le Sueur et le Poussin. Les Italiens, nous direz-vous, nous redemandent cet homme universel; mais cette jalouse réclamation n'est-elle pas toute à notre honneur? Le Sueur d'ailleurs, qui n'est jamais allé en Italie, devoit apprendre⁹⁾ qu'il peut naître de grands talents par-tout. Nos artistes, ose-t-on dire, ont paru à différents temps et sans filiation. Quelle est cependant la nation qui ait eu une académie avec une existence plus digne, et honorée d'une plus longue suite d'artistes respectables, puisqu'après ceux que je viens de nommer, Bourdon¹⁰⁾, Champagne¹¹⁾, la Hire¹²⁾, eurent pour successeurs le Brun, Coypel¹³⁾, Mignard¹⁴⁾, la Fosse¹⁵⁾, Jouvenet¹⁶⁾ et Boullongne¹⁷⁾, qui firent l'admiration de l'Europe, quand on ne peignoit plus qu'en France? Subleyras¹⁸⁾ l'emportoit même à Rome sur tous les peintres de son temps. Trémolière¹⁹⁾ et Lemoine²⁰⁾ furent nos Pietre de Cortone; ils égarent nos peintres en les séduisant²¹⁾. Nos boudoirs, nos jolies femmes, les tailles de nos danseuses, corrompirent le goût français. Le génie facile de Boucher servit trop bien cette dépravation: une partie de l'Europe y applaudit; et l'envie saisit cette époque pour fixer le caractère de l'art en France. Mais vous, amateur éclairé, et qui desirez d'être juste²²⁾, ne dites donc pas, *Il n'y a point eu d'école en France: mais dites, L'école française a eu une maladie dont elle a su se guérir, tandis que toutes les autres sont mortes ou avortées.*

A côté de cette longue filiation de grands hommes que je viens de nommer, nous fera-t-on un tort des peintres gracieux que nous avons produits? Watteau²³⁾, Pater²⁴⁾, MM. Fragonard²⁵⁾ et Lagrenée le jeune, quand ils jouent, ne pourront-ils obtenir grâce devant nos juges sévères? ou bien décideront-ils encore que ces peintres originaux forment l'école française, et que cette école est maniérée? Ce seroit juger de la littérature romaine par les œuvres de Tibulle et de Catulle²⁶⁾. Nous accusera-t-on d'avoir voulu tout embrasser en copiant tout le

monde? Est-ce en copiant les Flamands que le Poussin a imaginé le paysage de l'histoire? Le *Gasparo s'honora d'imiter* ce nouveau genre, et se fit gloire d'adopter le nom de son maître⁽¹⁾. Les Milet⁽²⁷⁾, les Patel⁽²⁸⁾, sont des géants pour les paysagistes flamands; et le Lorrain⁽²⁹⁾, sans autre maître que la nature, a surpassé leur coloris. Enfin, tandis que l'art gémissait sous l'empire du mauvais goût en France, tandis que la confiante audace de *Battoni*⁽³⁰⁾ persuadoit à l'Europe que la peinture étoit venue demander asyle chez lui, personne ne s'avisait de citer la couleur, l'ordonnance, le beau faire des tableaux de Carle Vanloo.

M. Vien, sans prôneur, adoptant et imitant à la fois la couleur de *Guercino*⁽³¹⁾ et le style sévère de l'antique, exalté par son propre génie, préparait le retour du bon goût dans une école dont il est devenu le restaurateur. Anonyme, qui voulez nous faire partager votre amour pour l'art, parlez donc avec plus de révérence de ceux qui ont tant fait pour lui; que votre amitié pour un grand artiste ne vous rende point exclusif. Voyez M. David, que tout le monde admire comme vous, élever tous les jours dans le temple de la reconnaissance des autels à M. Vien, et y déposer les couronnes que nous aimons à prodiguer à ses talents⁽³²⁾. Consultez-le; consultez M. Doyen, dont vous estimez le mérite et les connoissances: ils vous ramèneront sur ce qu'il faut penser de leur émule; ils vous diront l'estime que l'on doit faire des talents de M. Vincent; ils vous feront connoître à quel degré il possède son art, comme son dessin est pur, comme sa maniere est belle, comme sa couleur est claire, combien enfin il réunit de qualités académiques⁽³³⁾.

Ils vous diront combien les fautes que vous reprochez sont encore celles d'un habile homme. Ils vous apprendront qu'un génie rapide a fait arriver à pas de géant M. Regnault au premier rang des peintres vivants, et vous verrez M. David lui-même s'affliger de ne vous point entendre nommer M. Suvée⁽³⁴⁾ et d'autres de ses confreres avec lesquels il aime à disputer d'émulation, et qui, chacun à part, feroient encore la gloire de toutes les académies existantes. Ne cherchez donc pas à nous persuader qu'il n'y a qu'un peintre en France⁽³⁵⁾: quiconque n'aimeroit pas Corregge⁽³⁶⁾, parcequ'il adorerait Raphael, commettrait une grande erreur en peinture, où tout ce qui est bien est louable, de quelque genre que ce soit. La perpétuelle comparaison est une maniere de juger froide et destructive⁽³⁷⁾, et prenons garde que la sévérité, qu'on paroît nous prêcher, ne soit un piège que l'on nous tend. Souvent l'envie sacrifie tout à une idole, afin de pouvoir renverser le culte d'un seul coup. Ne paraissez donc plus douter que

(1) *Salvator Rosa* n'est venu qu'après le Poussin. M. Vernet n'a donc pas eu besoin de chercher des modeles hors de son école; et les tableaux de ce maître sont au nombre des précieuses raretés que Rome offre aux amateurs.

nous ayons une école, tandis que chacune autre école à part³⁸⁾ n'a eu autant de grands sujets et avec une succession aussi longue et aussi suivie. Ne veuillez point être l'écho de ceux qui disent du mal du siècle de Louis XIV, puisqu'il a achevé pour les arts ce que François premier avoit commencé, et qu'il a naturalisé ce que l'autre n'avoit fait que transplanter³⁹⁾. Ne citez point pour preuve de votre assertion le château de Versailles. Si la fantaisie d'un jeune prince tout puissant, qui veut jouir, a bâti à la hâte le côté des cours de ce palais, laissez-vous conduire sur les bords du bassin de la piece des Suisses; voyez ces belles rampes, ces terrasses si noblement développées, et, sur cette base mâle de l'*orangerie*, s'élever un palais enchanté, et vous corviendrez que, depuis quinze siècles, on n'a réuni plus heureusement tant de beautés et de richesses ensemble. Et puis, sans discuter du mérite de Mansard⁴⁰⁾, est-ce un architecte qui doit faire juger d'une école de peinture? l'architecture tourmentée du palais Pitti à Florence nous fera-t-elle douter que ce soit les Medicis qui aient ramené les arts en Italie⁴¹⁾?

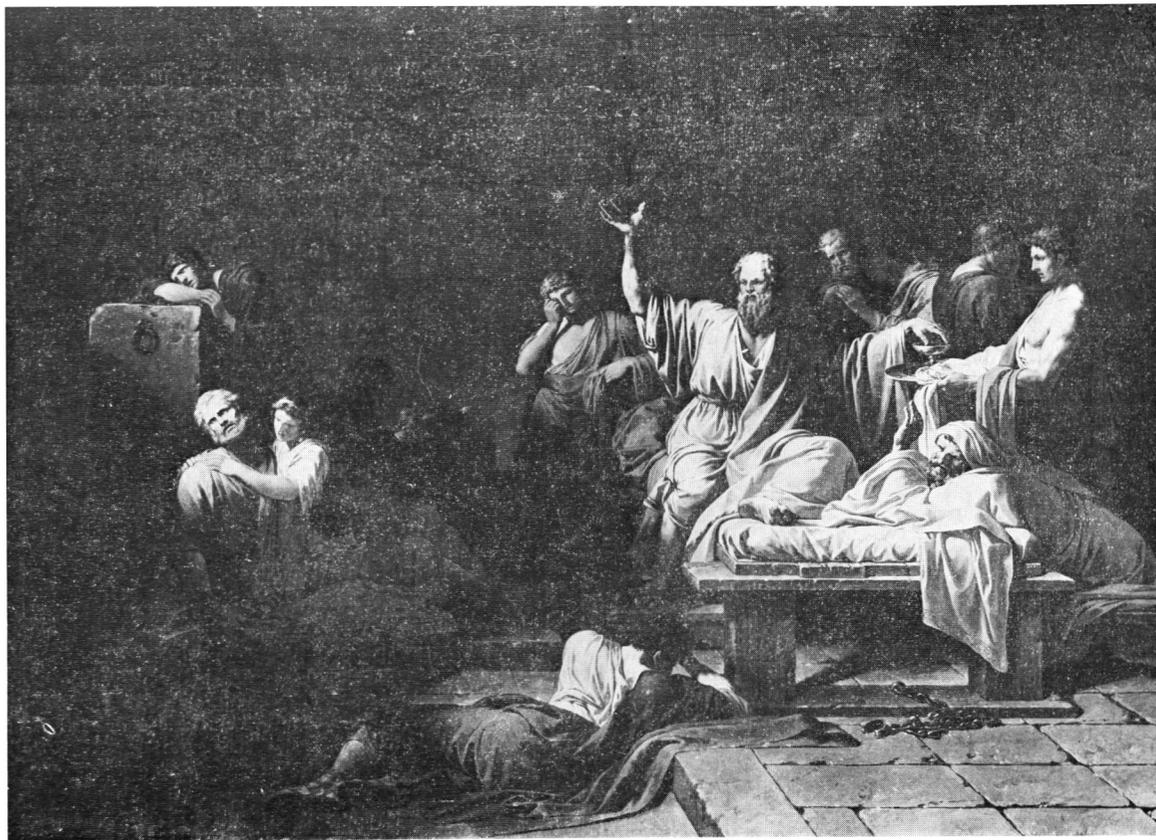
Demandez à ces mêmes Italiens, si justement jaloux de leur gloire en ce genre, s'ils n'ont pas assez fait état de notre école de sculpture pour employer nos artistes à la décoration de leurs plus beaux édifices (1).

Demandez aux appréciateurs de Michel-Ange ce que l'on doit penser de Germain Pilon⁴²⁾, Jean Goujon⁴³⁾, Girardon; ils vous diront s'ils n'ont pas eu de dignes successeurs dans les Legros, le Pautre⁴⁴⁾, Pujet, Coustou⁴⁵⁾, Coysevox⁴⁶⁾, Bouchardon⁴⁷⁾. La génération vivante, appelée par tout où il y a des monuments à élever à la gloire des héros et à l'honneur de l'art, atteste encore que la sculpture n'existe qu'en France, et devoit vous avertir que si les morceaux de cette année vous avoient paru moins intéressants, vous deviez plus d'égards à des sujets distingués, qui soutiennent constamment la gloire de la plus belle école du monde, depuis les beaux temps de la Grece.

Est-il besoin de rien réclamer pour l'honneur de la gravure françoise? Si elle est née en Allemagne, elle est venue si jeune en France, elle s'y est tellement agrandie et perfectionnée, que l'on peut presque la regarder comme indigene. Notre académie semble la posséder comme un bien propre et inaliénable, puisqu'elle compte encore parmi ses membres tous ceux qui, dans le pays étranger, se distinguent dans cet art⁴⁸⁾.

L'amitié toujours partielle est donc le seul sentiment qui ait pu me faire distinguer par l'anonyme au milieu de tant d'habiles graveurs,

(1) Les statues de Legros sont regardées à Rome comme des chefs-d'oeuvre, et ce que toutes les écoles, depuis, ont produit de plus parfait.



J. F. Peyron: La mort de Socrate. (Coll. Moltke, Copenhagen; photo Meir Stein).



Hubert Robert: Pont du Gard à Nîmes (au Louvre, Paris, inv. R.F. 7649).

parmi lesquels je voudrois pouvoir accepter une place. Si mon amour pour les arts a mérité leur indulgence,⁴⁹⁾ ce n'est qu'à ce titre que je puis être loué et défendu: si c'est à lui que je dois la bienveillance de l'anonyme, je desire, en retour, pouvoir lui faire partager mon amour propre national relativement à la gloire de l'école françoise.

*Lu et approuvé (avec applaudissement), ce 4 décembre 1787.
COCHIN⁵¹⁾.*

*Vu l'approbation, permis d'imprimer, le 5 décembre 1787.
DE CROSNE.*

*DE L'IMPRIMERIE DE DIDOT L'AÎNÉ,
rue Pavée S. André des Arcs.*

NOTES

¹ Les personnes mentionnées plus haut dans les notes de la *Lettre d'un étranger sur le Salon de 1787* ne seront plus présentées une seconde fois en marge de la réponse de Denon.

² Denon appartenait à la dernière classe des membres de l'Académie, celle des graveurs. La dernière partie du livret du Salon contenait une liste des graveurs et des gravures qu'ils avaient exposées (*Explication*, Nos. 285-326, p. 54-58). C'est pourquoi il n'y occupait qu'un tout petit coin.

³ Référence à la manière louangeuse dont Potocki avait parlé des gravures de Denon, en réponse à la critique parue dans le *Journal de Paris*.

⁴ Tout comme Potocki admirait ce qui était *romain* ou *italien*, c'est-à-dire l'art antique et la peinture italienne des XV^e, XVI^e et XVII^e siècles, c'est l'Angleterre qui était alors à la mode en France: en politique on louait son gouvernement parlementaire, au théâtre on découvrait Shakespeare, en littérature on lisait avec ravissement les romans de Richardson, et tous ceux qui pouvaient se le permettre, transformaient leurs jardins en parcs à l'anglaise.

⁵ Denon rappelle ici à Potocki et à ses lecteurs, que l'auteur de la *Lettre* était un amateur, bien que un "amateur zélé", et un étranger. Dans la catégorie des amateurs on classait alors non seulement des dilettantes tels que Turpin de Crissé, cité ci-dessus, mais aussi des personnes qui s'intéressaient à l'art, écrivaient sur l'art, etc.—"Vous écrivez en homme qui vous occupez de l'art et des artistes."—Potocki avait cité d'Alembert, qui se référait à "des amateurs éclairés". Comme Potocki avait dit plus haut qu'il n'avait pas le droit de critiquer les Français parce qu'il était un étranger, et que, par conséquent, il n'écrivait que pour son ami, Denon lui répondait à son tour, comme s'il était au contraire un Français.

⁶ Après avoir étudié avec Perugino, Raphaël découvrit à Florence, l'oeuvre de Michel-Ange, et cette découverte eut un effet décisif sur le développement de sa personnalité et de son style.

⁷ Simon Vouet (1590-1649) travailla avant tout pour le cardinal de Richelieu et Louis XIII.

⁸ Pietro di Cristoforo Vannucci, dit Perugino et, en France, Le Pérugin (vers 1445-1523), avait son atelier à Urbino.

⁹ C'est-à-dire, devrait nous apprendre.

¹⁰ Sébastien Bourdon (1616-1671) a surtout peint des tableaux historiques.

¹¹ Philippe de Champaigne ou Champagne (1602-1674) a été un des maîtres de l'école classique en France.

¹² Laurent de La Hire ou La Hyre (1606-1656) a peint des tableaux à sujets religieux et a décoré bien des hôtels particuliers de Paris, comme par exemple, la Salle des gardes du Palais-Cardinal, soit le Palais-Royal, que fit construire Richelieu.

¹³ Noël Coypel (1628-1707) prit part à la décoration de Versailles.

¹⁴ Pierre Mignard (1612-1695) peignait des tableaux historiques et religieux, ainsi que des portraits.

¹⁵ Charles de la Fosse (1636-1716), élève de Le Brun, il peignait des tableaux à sujets bibliques et mythologiques. Il a décoré, entre autres, la coupole de l'église des Invalides et les appartements de Versailles.

¹⁶ Jean-Baptiste Jouvenet (1644-1717) peignait surtout des portraits et des tableaux religieux.

¹⁷ Louis Boullogne, dit l'aîné (1609-1674), a été peintre ordinaire des bâtiments du roi. Il a peint beaucoup de tableaux inspirés par des sujets religieux. Il a participé, entre autres, à la décoration de plusieurs églises à Paris et à celles du Louvre, de Versailles et du Grand Trianon. Ses fils, Bon Boullogne (1649-1717) et Louis Boullogne, dit le jeune (1654-1733), premier peintre du roi et recteur de l'Académie, étaient également des peintres très réputés de leur temps. Denon pensait vraisemblablement au cadet parce qu'il a appartenu à la génération de Le Brun, Coypel, de la Fosse et Jouvenet.

¹⁸ Pierre Subleyras (1699-1749). Envoyé à Rome en 1728, pour y continuer ses études, il s'y fixa pour toujours, et jouissait d'une très grande réputation non seulement en Italie, mais dans toute l'Europe.

¹⁹ Pierre-Charles Trémolière (1703-1739) a peint, entre autres, beaucoup de tableaux sur des sujets religieux et mythologiques.

²⁰ François Lemoyne ou Lemoine (1688-1737). Peintre d'histoire, il prit part à la décoration de Versailles et de l'église Saint-Sulpice à Paris.

²¹ Pietro Berrettini da Cortona, dit Pierre de Cortone (1596-1669). Peintre baroque qui, tout comme Trémolière et Lemoine, décorait des églises et des palais.

²² Potocki avait écrit en effet dans sa *Lettre*: "... j'allois juger l'art et non les hommes, ses progrès seuls m'intéressoient: je n'ai point de peintre favori . . . une conviction désintéressée conduit ma plume et mes jugemens!" Après avoir lu toute la *Lettre*, on a de la peine à croire qu'il ait été sincère en avançant une telle affirmation.

²³ Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684-1721). Son *Embarquement pour Cythère* lui servit de morceau de réception à l'Académie, comme "peintre de fêtes galantes" (1717). On n'avait jamais donné auparavant un tel titre à personne, et il n'y avait même pas une telle catégorie à l'Académie. L'oeuvre de Watteau a été marquée par la *commedia del arte*. Il peignait souvent des acteurs et des scènes théâtrales. Il a fait époque et son oeuvre continua à exercer une grande influence sur la peinture française bien après sa mort. La princesse-maréchale Lubomirska avait acheté deux paysages de Watteau qui se trouvaient jusqu'en 1944 dans la Coll. Potocki de Lancut (B. Majewska-Maszkowska, *Mecenat artystyczny* . . . , ill. 237-238).

²⁴ Jean-Baptiste-François Pater (1695-1736). Tout comme Watteau, il fut reçu à l'Académie comme "peintre de fêtes galantes" (1728).

²⁵ Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806), élève de Chardin et de Boucher, agréé à l'Académie (1765), il n'essaya jamais d'en faire parti, bien qu'il jouissait d'une grande renommée chez les amateurs et le grand public. Dernier représentant du rococo, il n'essaya pas de changer de style après le triomphe du néo-classicisme. Après la Révolution, il serait mort dans la misère et l'oubli si David n'avait pas obtenu pour lui un poste de conservateur du nouveau Musée des Arts (1793) et de membre du Jury des arts (1794) (*French Painting 1774-1830*, p. 17, 57, 86, 416-419). La princesse Lubomirska lui avait acheté des tableaux dont deux se trouvaient jusqu'en 1944 dans la Coll. Potocki de Lancut (B. Majewska-Maszkowska, *Mecenat artystyczny* . . . , ill. 236).

²⁶ C'est-à-dire par des poètes des petits genres et non Virgile ou Horace.

²⁷ Jean-François I, dit Francisque Millet ou Milet ou Millé ou Millé (1642-1679); paysagiste et graveur, il peignait à la manière de Dughet Poussin (cf. ci-dessus). Son fils, Jean-François II, dit également Francisque (1666-1723), et son petit-fils Joseph-François, dit aussi Francisque (1697-1777). Il est très difficile de les distinguer les uns des autres.

²⁸ Pierre I Patel dit *le bon Patel*, (vers 1605-1676) peignait des paysages à la manière de Le Lorrain.

²⁹ Claude Gellée dit Le Lorrain (1600-1682) a passé bien des années à Rome avec Poussin. Il peignait surtout des paysages.

³⁰ Pompeo Girolano Batoni (1708-1787) a peint surtout des tableaux d'inspiration religieuse et mythologique. Il acquit à l'étranger une grande réputation comme portraitiste. Potocki et Denon l'ont sûrement rencontré à Rome, où il a fait, en 1780, les portraits de la femme de Potocki et celui de sa belle-soeur, Isabelle Potocka, qui était en même temps la soeur aînée de sa femme (I. Voisé et T. Glowacka-Pocheć, op. cit., Nos. 9-10, p. 29, ill. 4 et 5).

³¹ Giovanni Francesco Barbieri dit Guercino (1591-1660), l'un des plus grands peintres baroques italiens.

³² David avait été un élève de Vien (cf. ci-dessus), qui lui aurait dit: "De tous mes ouvrages, vous êtes le plus précieux et celui qui me fera le plus d'honneur." (*Mercure de France*, 1.X.1785, cité d'après J. Locquin, op. cit., p. 217).

³³ Denon loue Vincent dans l'esprit de Cochin.

³⁴ Joseph-Benoît Suvée (1743-1807). Il emporta le Grand Prix de Rome sur David en 1771. A Rome, il devint un excellent paysagiste et un bon portraitiste; il a été marqué par l'art antique et l'oeuvre de Piranesi, Le Sueur et Hubert Robert. Il devint membre (1780) et professeur de l'Académie (1792), ainsi que directeur de l'Académie de France à Rome (1792). En 1787 il n'était encore qu'adjoint à professeur. Il exposa cette année plusieurs tableaux (*Explication*, Nos. 16-21, p. 8). Son *Amiral de Coligny* (a) (No. 16) fut très remarqué par tous les critiques. Il avait été commandé par le roi et Suvée reçut pour lui 3.000 livres. Il se trouvait d'abord dans la coll. de Louis XVI, d'où il passa au Louvre (1809-1870), et de là au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon (INV.R.F. 465). En 1794 il servit de modèle à quatre gobelins, dont trois ont été conservés. Un gobelin, fait dans l'atelier de Pierre-François Cozette en 1791, à partir de ce tableau de Suvée, se trouve à "Marble House", l'ancienne résidence de William K. Vanderbilt, qui a été transformée en musée à Newport, R.I. aux Etats Unis. *L'amiral de Coligny* fut exposé à Paris, Detroit et New York en 1974-1975 (*French Painting 1774-1830*, p. 80, 617-620, ill. 169). L'éloge de Suvée par Denon s'accorde avec ce qu'en avait dit Cochin, qui lui a consacré huit pages dans son "Examen des critiques qui ont été publiées sur l'exposition des tableaux au Salon du Louvre en 1787" (p. 8-16). Un des critiques a résumé ainsi les remarques des autres salonnières: "On a beaucoup parlé de ce tableau. Quelques-uns l'ont regardé comme un des plus beaux du Salon; d'autres ont blâmé la disposition générale, la figure peu noble de Coligny, les effets de la lumière

mal exprimés. Le plus grand nombre s'est accordé à dire que M. Suvée aurait dû préférer le trait historique au trait fabuleux; et que son tableau avait de la chaleur et de la vérité dans le coloris." ("Critique des quinze critiques du Salon," p. 60).

(a) Le titre complet du tableau était le suivant:

"L'Amiral de Coligny en impose à ses assassins.

C'est le moment où il leur dit:

*Frappez, ne craignez rien, Coligny vous l'ordonne,
Ma vie est peu de chose, et je vous l'abandonne;
J'eusse aimé mieux la perdre en combattant pour vous.
Ces tigres, à ces mots, tombent à ses genoux:
L'un saisit d'épouvante abandonne ses armes,
L'autre embrasse ses pieds, qu'il trempe de ses larmes;
Et de ses assassins, ce grand homme entouré,
Sembloit un Roi puissant par son peuple adoré.*

Henriade, Chant II."

³⁵ David. En suivant la consigne de Cochin, Denon essaye de prouver ici que David n'était pas le seul bon peintre français de son temps, mais plutôt un des meilleurs, ou encore "primus inter pares".

³⁶ Antonio Allegri (vers 1489-1534), dit Correggio et Le Corrège en France.

³⁷ Encore une fois Denon se sert de mêmes arguments que Cochin, qui avait écrit dans son Salon: "... je me garderai bien de comparer les deux tableaux du même sujet [c'est-à-dire, bien entendu, *La Mort de Socrate* de David et celle de Peyron] ainsi qu'ont voulu le faire quelques critiques. Un vieux proverbe populaire m'a appris que les comparaisons sont odieuses; d'ailleurs qu'en résulterait-il? La peinture est si étendue! l'un brille dans une partie, l'autre dans une autre; *Raphael* est plus grand que le *Guide*, le *Guide* plus agréable, le *Guerchin* plus ferme; tout cela n'empêche pas que *M.A. de Caravage* ne soit un grand peintre, et *Pietro de Cortone* un peintre charmant." ("Examen des critiques . . .", p. 22-23). Enfin il nous faut bien rappeler ce qui a déjà été dit plus haut, notamment que Cochin répondait dans son opuscule au critique du *Journal de Paris*, qui avait loué *La Mort de Socrate* de David et passé sous silence celle de Peyron tandis que Potocki avait choisi d'en faire peu de cas en comparant les deux tableaux. Denon opta diplomatiquement pour l'argumentation de Cochin, mais il s'est bien gardé de parler séparément d'aucun d'eux.

³⁸ C'est-à-dire: qu'aucune autre école . . .

³⁹ François I et Henri II firent venir des artistes d'Italie, tandis que Louis XIV se servit avant tout d'artistes français qui avaient assimilé les leçons de la Renaissance italienne tout en lui donnant un caractère national et classicisant. Potocki admirait d'ailleurs lui-même quelques peintres français du XVIIe s., tels que Poussin et Le Sueur, et regrettait que des sculpteurs du XVIIe s. n'eussent pas fait les statues de Molière et de Racine (cf. ci-dessus).

⁴⁰ Jules Hardouin, dit Hardouin-Mansart (1646-1708), neveu par alliance de François Mansart (1598-1666). Devenu premier architecte de Louis XIV, il agrandit Versailles et construisit, entre autres, la Galerie des Glaces, le Grand Trianon, la coupole et la chapelle des Invalides, ainsi que la Place Vendôme.

⁴¹ Le Palais Pitti a été bâti par Brunelleschi en 1440 pour la famille Pitti, qui rivalisait avec les Médicis à Florence. Denon a voulu dire ici que même si les Médicis n'ont pas fait construire ce palais, ils ont fait bien plus pour les arts en Italie que la famille Pitti.

⁴² Germain Pilon (vers 1537-1569), sculpteur de François I et d'Henri II.

⁴³ Jean Goujon (vers 1510- vers 1564-1569), sculpteur et architecte, il a été influencé par l'école italienne de Fontainebleau et l'antique.

⁴⁴ Antoine Lepautre (1621-1691) était un architecte célèbre, mais Denon se réfère ici à son neveu Pierre (1660-1744), qui était sculpteur.

⁴⁵ Pendant les années dont parle ici Denon, il y avait trois sculpteurs célèbres du même nom: Nicolas Coustau (1658-1733), son frère Guillaume, dit le père (1677-1746), et son neveu Guillaume, dit le fils (1716-1777).

⁴⁶ Antoine Coysevox (1640-1720), sculpteur renommé qui passa du classicisme à la manière qui annonçait le rococo, c'est-à-dire au style rocailles.

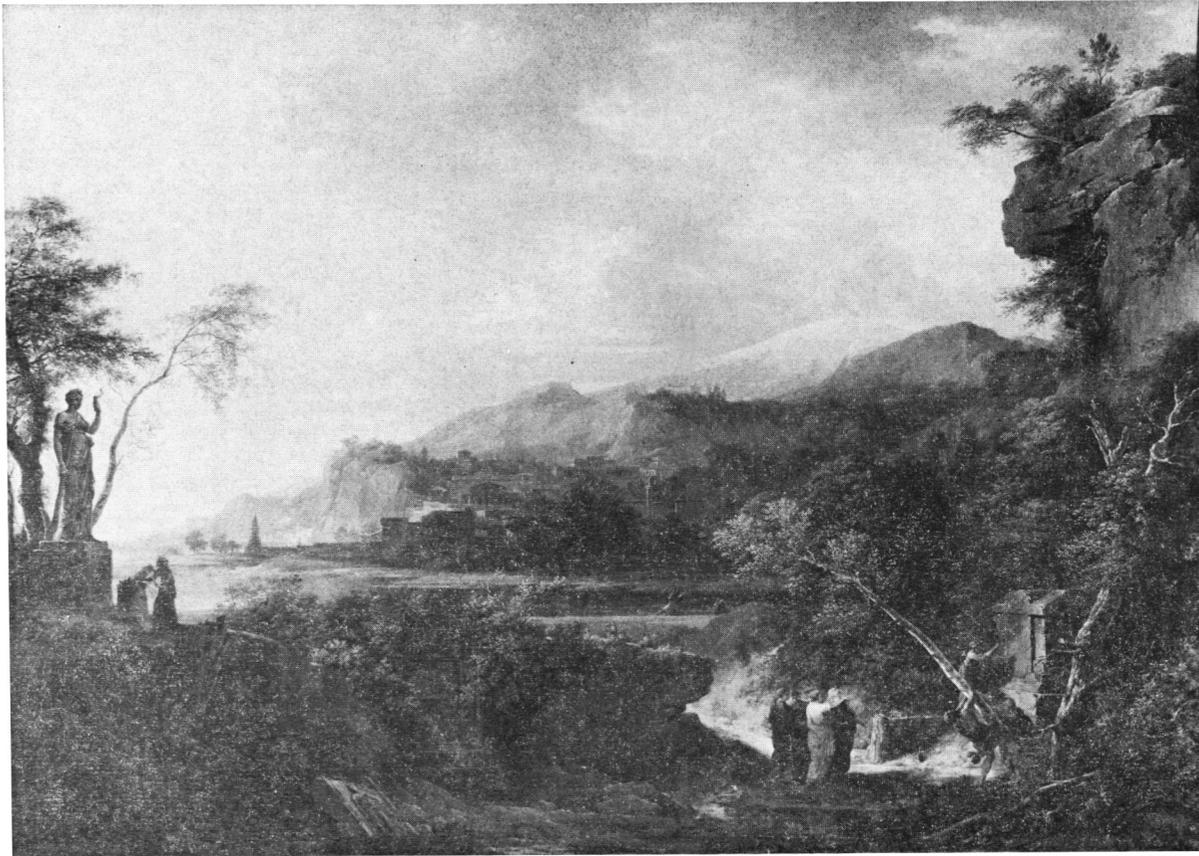
⁴⁷ Edme Bouchardon (1698-1762), sculpteur contemporain de Coysevox.

⁴⁸ En rendant hommage aux graveurs français, Denon s'adressait évidemment à Cochin.

⁴⁹ Allusion à la toute récente élection de Denon à l'Académie.

⁵⁰ Pierre Legros (1629-1714) a fait des sculptures pour le palais de Versailles.

⁵¹ Charles Nicolas Cochin (1715-1790) était considéré comme une des meilleurs graveurs de son temps. Membre (1751), secrétaire (1755) et conseiller de l'Académie (1776) En 1787 il en était le secrétaire perpétuel.



P. H. de Valenciennes: Cicéron découvrant à Syracuse le tombeau d'Archimède. (Musée des Augustins, Toulouse. Inv. R.F. 8243).

STANISLAW KIRKOR
(NEW YORK)

UN NOUVEAU SUPPLEMENT A LA CORRESPONDANCE
DE NAPOLEON 1er

PIECES INEDITES CONCERNANT LA POLOGNE
1808-1815

(Deuxième partie)

*Comme suite à ma publication, parue dans le numéro XXIII
d' "Antemurale", je tiens à publier les documents suivants :*

I

*DECRET CONCERNANT L'ORGANISATION DE LA
CAVALERIE DE L'ARMEE FRANCAISE POUR
L'ANNEE 1814*

Au Palais des Tuileries, le 13 Xbre 1813 [décembre]
Napoléon, Empereur des Français,
Roi d'Italie, Protecteur de la Conféd[érati]on
du Rhin, Médiateur de la Conféd[érati]on suisse,
nous avons décrété et décrétons ce qui suit:

Organisation de la Cavalerie pour l'année 1814

Titre 1er

Du recrutement

Article 1er

Il sera fait, pour les conscriptions des 120,000 hommes et des 300,000 hommes, un appel pour compléter nos régimen[t]s de Cavalerie, [à] savoir : les régimen[t]s de cuirassiers et de dragons au minimum de 550 hommes, et ceux de Cavalerie légère au minimum de 700 hommes. Ce que lesdits régimen[t]s ont aux 1er et 14e corps à Dresde, à Magdebourg, à Wittenberg, à Hambourg, à Dantzick, à Erfurt ou à Wurtzbourg et dans les autres places assiégées audelà [au-delâ] du Rhin, sera porté pour mémoire et en encre rouge dans les états, et n'entrera pas dans l'évaluation du minimum qui vient d'être réglé pour lesdits régimen[t]s.

Art[icl]e 2

Les 7e et 8e régimen[t]s de cheveu-légers ne formeront qu'un seul régiment sous le n° du 8e de cheveu-légers : tout ce qui appartient au 7e sera incorporé dans le 8ème régiment.

Art[icle] 3

Le 13ème et le 14ème de hussards ne formeront qu'un seul régiment sous le titre de 14e de hussards; ce régiment sera réorganisé à Turin. A cet effet, le dépôt du 13ème, qui est à Florence, et tout ce que ce régiment a à l'armée, sera dirigé sur Turin.

Art[icl]e 4

Le 1er et le 14e de Hussards, le 4e, le 19e & [et] le 31e de chasseurs seront complétés à six escadrons, chacun de 250 chevaux ; ce qui fera 1500 hommes par régiment, et en tout 7,500 h [hommes]. Les dépôts de ces régimen[t]s seront près des Alpes.

Titre 2

Remonte

Art[icl]e 5

Il sera fait pour nos régimen[t]s de Cavalerie une remonte de 35,000 chevaux, [à] savoir :

4,500	chevaux	de cuirassiers,
5,500	—	de dragons,
15,000	—	de cavalerie légère,
& 10,000	—	d'Éclaireurs.

35,000 chevaux.

Art[icl]e 6

Les chevaux de cuirassiers devront avoir au moins 4 pieds 8 pouces ; ceux de dragons 4 pieds 7 pouces, ceux de Cavalerie légère 4 pieds 5 pouces ; ceux d'éclaireurs 4 pieds 3 pouces.

Tout cheval d'éclaireur qui aurait 4 pieds 5 pouces et audelà [au-delà] sera sur le champ, donné à la Cavalerie légère. Tout cheval de Cavalerie légère qui aurait 4 pieds 7 pouces sera donné aux Dragons. Tout cheval de dragon qui aurait 4 pieds 8 pouces sera donné sur le champ aux cuirassiers.

Article 7

Cette remonte de 35,000 chevaux sera faite : pour 15,000 chevaux, par des réquisitions dans les départem[ent]s, et pour 20,000, par des achats.

Art[icl]e 8

Sur les 15,000 chevaux à requérir dans les départemen[t]s,
il y en aura 2,500 de cuirassiers

2,500 de dragons

& 10,000 de cav[aler]ie légère

15,000.

Leur répartition entre les départemen[t]s sera faite conformément au tableau ci-joint A. — Vu l'urgence, les chevaux devront être requis chez les particuliers qui les ont, et aucun marché ne doit être passé pour se procurer le contingent du département. Ces 15,000 chevaux seront répartis entre les corps conformément à l'Etat B.

Art[icle] 9

Sur les 20,000 chevaux pour l'achat desquels il sera passé des marchés, il y en aura :

2,000 de cuirassiers

3,000 de dragons

5,000 de cavalerie légère

10,000 d'éclaireurs.

20,000

Art[icl]e 10

Les marchés pour des chevaux d'éclaireurs ne pourront être audessus [au-dessus] de 250 francs par cheval.

Art[icl]e 11

Les 1er & 14e régimen[t]s de hussards, les 4e, 19e, et 31e de chasseurs auront chacun deux de leurs six escadrons montés sur des chevaux d'éclaireurs.

Nos quarante régimen[t]s de Cavalerie légère auront chacun un escadron de 250 hommes montés, équipés et armés en éclaireurs.

L'artillerie légère sera montée sur des chevaux d'éclaireurs.

Les officiers et sous-officiers du train, soit de l'artillerie, soit des équipages militaires, seront montés sur des chevaux d'éclaireurs.

Tout soldat d'artill[er]ie légère, officier ou soldat du train qui serait monté sur un cheval d'une taille plus haute que celle qui a été réglée pour les chevaux d'éclaireurs, sera mis à pied, et son cheval donné à l'arme à laquelle le cheval appartiendra par sa taille.

Art[icl]e 12

Nos ministres de la guerre, de l'administration de la guerre et du trésor seront chargés de l'exécution du présent Décret.

Napol[éon]

Note : Sur une page additionnelle il y a les annotations suivantes :

a.—de la main de Napoléon :

Ces deux états qui doivent être joints à ce décret, seront remis par le Ministre de l'administration de la guerre.

Paris le 13 Xbr[e] [décembre]

1813

b.—d'une autre main :

Les Tableaux seront demandés à M. le C[om]te Daru

Sur la première page, il y a les annotations suivantes :

Exp[édi]é le 14 Xbre [décembre] aux Min[istres] de la Guerre de l'ad[ministrati]on de la Guerre et du Trésor.

Env[oy]é le 18 dud[it mois] copies certifiées des Etats *A* et *B* aux Ministres de la guerre et de l'adm[inistrati]on de la guerre —

Env[oy]é le 19 dud[it mois] copies des mêmes états au M[inis]tre du Trésor.

[Archives Nationales, cote AF IV 837]

Commentaires : Par la lettre du 12 décembre 1813, Napoléon informait le général Clarke, duc de Feltre, ministre de la Guerre, qu'il lui envoyait un décret concernant la formation de la cavalerie pour l'année 1814. Cette lettre a été publiée dans la "Correspondance de Napoléon 1er" (tome XXVI no. 21000) mais sans le texte du décret en question. Ce décret n'a pas non plus fait l'objet d'une publication quelle qu'elle soit, sous la forme d'un article ou d'un livre, dans un périodique ou dans un recueil. L'article 2 du décret concerne les régiments polonais, notamment les 7^e et 8^e régiments de cheveu-légers qui, selon le décret, doivent former un seul régiment sous le no. 8 de cheveu-légers. La nouvelle de l'abolition du 7^e régiment de cheveu-légers est arrivée au dépôt de ce régiment, à Sedan, assez tard et là, elle a entraîné une protestation immédiate de la part des officiers qui s'y trouvaient. Ils ont adressé la lettre suivante au ministre de la Guerre :

7^{ème} Régiment de Cheveu-Légers

Le Corps d'Officiers

à Son Excellence le Duc de Feltre, Ministre de la Guerre

Monseigneur

Si le Corps d'officiers d'un ancien Régiment, qui depuis son existence [existence] et dans toutes les circonstances a prouvé son dévouement à Sa Majesté[,] s'adresse à Votre Excellence pour obtenir son appui près Sa Majesté l'Empereur, afin d'obtenir annulation du Décret du 13 Décembre qui porte son incorporation dans

le 8ème de la même armée, ce n'est que le deshonneur et l'humiliation de souffrir cette extinction aux yeux de toute l'armée, et au milieu de nos compatriotes, les Troupes du Duché de Varsovie, auxquels [auxquels] nous avons été très souvent cité[s] pour exemple, qui nous engage de [à] faire nos justes réclamations contre la suppression de Notre Numéro, que notre ancienneté dans l'armée française, et les rapports flatteurs publiés en notre faveur par les journaux de l'armée d'Espagne a rendu digne de paraître avec honneur au rang des aigles français. Le Siège de Saragossa, le passage de l'Ebro, les jours glorieux d'Occana, de Talavera, d'Albuera et de Salamanca, jours qui ont attribué en quelque sorte à l'idée de la formation de Chevaulégers [cheval-légers] Lanciers pourraient-ils avoir mérité l'Extinction du Numéro 7 ? — Pourrions Nous voir sans peine et sans honte effacer notre Numéro pour faire reviver [revivre] un Régiment de deux tiers moins fort que le nôtre, et au quel [auquel] 200 braves du nôtre ont donné son [leur] existence, il n'y a que deux ans?

Certainement notre Cadre, 24 officiers et 626 sous-officiers et soldats, dont un bon nombre composé des anciens serviteurs et rempli d'enthousiasme de conserver l'ancienne réputation du Régiment, est fort assez pour le réorganiser. — Sans ces espoirs l'extinction de notre Numéro, au quel [auquel] les annales de la guerre reprochent aucune action déshonorante, pourrait nous donner l'idée de faire rayer nos noms du Tableau des officiers de l'armée, vis-à-vis des quels [desquels] nous ne pourrions paraître sans honte.

Veillez en conséquence appuyer de Votre puissante Protection la demande pour notre Conservation, et Nous croire de Votre Excellence

Monseigneur
les très humbles et très obeissants
Serviteurs.

Sedan le 26 Décembre 1813.

Belmont S.L. de 15 ans de service	Kuczynski lieut [enant] de 12 ans de service
J. Stawiarsky S. lieut [enant] 7 ans de service	Blonski Lieutenant 15 ans de service
Rogoyski S. Lieut [enant] 8 ans de service	Huppé Major Lapeyre L [ieutenant] t [3] années de service
Belleville cap [itai] ne de 21 ans de service	Jean Schultz capitaine 30. de service Légionnaire
Leduchoski Lieutenant vingt ans de service	Morell S. Lt. 8 ans de service
Rybaltowski capitaine de 25 ans de service Légionnaire	Sienkiewicz Lieut. de 12 ans de service Lég [ionnai] re
Oyrzanowski capitaine Légionnaire 17 ans de service	Dzinkiewicz Capitaine Légionnaire 17 ans de service

*[Service Historique de l'Armée, Vincennes,
dossier du capitaine Huppé]*

Napoléon a pris en considération la démarche des officiers du 7e régiment, ce qui explique le document suivant :

Paris, le 12 janvier 1814

L'inspecteur aux revues, chef de la 4e Division du Ministère de la guerre,

A Monsieur [Dumicé] chef de la 2e [Division du Ministère].

Monsieur et cher Camarade, le 7e Régim [en] t de cheveu-légers étant d'une plus ancienne création que le 8e de même arme, —

l'Empereur a décidé que le régiment qui va être formé par la réunion de ces deux Corps, prendrait la dénomination de 7e Régim[en]t de cheveu-léger [s], et que le 8e cesserait d'exister.

Son Excellence a chargé le général command[an]t la 2e Division [Militaire à Mezières] de faire opérer le changement que cette décision exige, et dont j'ai pensé que vous devriez être instruit.

Je vous prie d'agréer l'assurance de toute ma considération
Lebarbier de Tinan

[Service Historique de l'Armée, Vincennes, cote Xc184]

STUDIA

MARK LIAM BROWN
(London)

THE POLISH QUESTION AND PUBLIC OPINION
IN FRANCE 1830-1846

*Dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the
University of Cambridge (Christ's College)*

PREFACE

Aucune cause ne fut jamais populaire en France à l'égal de la cause polonaise. Pendant les guerres du Consulat et de l'Empire, il s'était établie, entre nos soldats et les soldats polonais, une complète fraternité d'armes. L'enthousiasme pour Napoléon n'était moins vif en Pologne qu'en France. On trouvait l'image de l'Empereur aussi fréquemment dans les chaumières les plus reculées de la Lithuanie que l'image de Poniatowski dans le demeure des paysans de la Loire. La Varsovienne de M. Delavigne n'avait pas été chantée avec moins de passion dans nos rues que la Parisienne.¹

By 1848 when Mme. d' Agoult began to write her memoirs, the Polish Question had become part of French political tradition. For over 30 years there had been intense popular interest in the fate of all the European revolutionary struggles and the course of events in Greece, Germany, Italy and the Iberian peninsula had been closely followed throughout France, but it was Poland which had won a special place in French affections. News of fresh persecutions in Poland or the plight of the Polish exiles in France was sufficient to arouse public interest and during 1845 the French press spent several months discussing the claims of Mother Makryna Mieczysławska of Mińsk, whose stories of Russian religious persecutions were vigorously defended in several papers. The news of an uprising in Poland was greeted by a wave of enthusiastic euphoria. Sympathetic articles were published in the press, pamphlets, poems, plays and chansons appeared extolling the courage and heroism of the Poles and debates took place in the French parliament. By 1846 even a section of the legitimate press had come to support the cause and on several occasions the intensity of public feeling brought demonstrations and riots in the streets of Paris and other French towns. 'Poland,' wrote Etienne Cabet in 1833, 'is no stranger to us; she is a faithful ally; a devoted friend, a sister; she is a French for-

¹ Daniel Stern, *Histoire de la révolution de 1848* (Paris, 1850-53), iii, 13.

dress, a French army, a French outpost in Europe,' rhetoric which was re-echoed 30 years later when the insurrection of January 1863 once again focused French attention on the plight of that dear sister *la France du nord*.

The aim of this thesis is to trace the origin and development of the Polish movement and to show how and why the question of Polish independence became such a popular issue in France. Despite the importance attached to the cause by contemporaries, there has been little research done on the specific subject of the French reaction to the Polish Question and no comprehensive study of the movement as a whole. The most important work on Franco-Polish relations between the revolutions of 1789 and 1848 remains that of the Polish historian Marceł Handelsman, whose French book *Les Idées françaises et la mentalité politique en Pologne au XIX^{ème} siècle*, published in 1927, is a valuable interpretive study of the political and intellectual links between the two countries, but, though important work exists on the period of the 1863 uprising, the only works on the popular reaction to the Polish Question before 1848 remain a thesis published in 1926 and an extended article which appeared in 1952.² One of the main reasons for the neglect of the subject is the difficulty posed by the destruction of so much documentary evidence as a result of the Second World War. There were a large number of conscientious archivists in the Polish community in France and by 1870 when Leonard Chodźko, one of the most tireless of all the publicists died, there was already a substantial collection of archive material in Paris.

Until 1927 the most important collections formed part of the Polish National Museum in Rapperswil (near Zürich) but in that year they were transferred from Switzerland to form part of the National Library in Warsaw where they were tragically destroyed during the Second World War.³

The destruction of the Rapperswil Archive poses considerable problems for the study of the Polish movement in France. It contained most of the manuscript material of greatest value to researchers in the subject, for it included the papers of the 1831 Polish committee and the letters of many important figures in the

² For 1863 see Bóbr-Tylingo, S. 'L'Opinion française et l'échec du soulèvement polonais de 1863,' *Politique*, n. série 18 (1962), 153-75. For 1830 L. Cukierman, *Die Polenfreundliche Bewegung in Frankreich in Jahre 1830-1831* (Warsaw 1926) and M. Fridieff, 'L'Opinion publique française devant l'insurrection polonaise de 1830-1831,' *Revue Internationale d'Histoire Politique et Constitutionnelle*, ii (1952), 111-121, 205-214, 280-304.

³ See the inventory published before the war, A. Lewak and H. Więckowska, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Narodowej: zbiory Biblioteki Rapperswilskiej*, 3 vols. (Warsaw, 1928-38).

Polish propaganda campaign, not least of them Chodźko, whose voluminous correspondence would have formed a major source for any work on the movement. To some extent these losses are offset by published manuscript and secondary material. Fridieff's article is chiefly concerned with an examination of newspaper reports, but Cukierman's book gives an account of the formation of the Polish committee and there is an old, but useful, biographical study of Chodźko and a published collection of Lafayette's Polish correspondence.⁴ The more marginal manuscript material, having remained in Paris, has become of correspondingly greater importance. The remaining archive sources in Warsaw and Cracow, although important for the study of the Emigration as a whole, seem likely, judging from those papers read on microfilm, to add little to the information available in Paris and pressure of time has made it impossible to enter into an exhaustive search of their contents. There is much useful material, however, in Paris. Among the manuscripts in the Polish Library there are the papers of several important figures in the movement, the papers of the Polish Legation of 1831, the Polish Literary Society and the Polish National Committee of 1848 as well as a number of individual manuscripts which provide useful additional information about the early years of the Emigration. In addition the Library has a comprehensive collection of contemporary published sources.

Whereas the manuscripts in the Polish Library in Paris are an important source for the study of the Polish propaganda movement, the French Archives provide evidence for the study of French opinion during the period. The daily reports of the Prefect of Police in Paris contain information about the state of public feeling during the Polish insurrections of 1830 and 1846 and many of the demonstrations and riots which took place in support of the Poles are documented in the reports received by the Ministry of Justice. Even here, however, the sources are not as rich as they could be, for much manuscript material for the July Monarchy has been lost⁵ and many of the documents relating to the financial and political situation of the Polish refugees are no longer available. Moreover, there is little documentary evidence for the movement of 1846, and, as a result, most of the information about the Polish Campaign of that year has had to be taken from the newspapers. However, the fact that a number of these newspapers had close

⁴ L. Wernicki, *Leonard Chodźko i jego prace: krótki rys biograficzny i naukowy* (Lwów, 1880) and A. Lewak, *General M. R. Lafayette o Polsce: mowy-listy-dokumenty* (Warsaw, 1934).

⁵ See J. Tulard, *La Préfecture de police sous la monarchie de juillet* (Paris, 1964), pp. 21-22.

links were the leaders of the Polish campaigns gives special importance to their reports and much of the evidence for the development of the Polish movement in provincial France has been taken from this source.

Despite the loss of much manuscript material, most of the published sources are available, and, thanks to the bibliographical work of Lorentowicz,⁶ comprehensively catalogued. Whereas it would be impossible to review all the literature published on Poland during the period, most of the political propaganda produced by the Poles and their French associates has been included and a survey made of the many books, pamphlets, periodicals and newspaper articles on the Polish Question which appeared between 1830 and 1846. Even so, it would be difficult to isolate the specifically political material published by the Poles, and, although much of the more traditional picturesque literature has had to be excluded, such closely related subjects as literary criticism, topography and history form a significant part of any study of Polish propaganda. With so much published material, it would inevitably be impossible to review all the propaganda individually, but on the basis of the sources, an attempt has been made to assess the extent to which the Polish propagandists succeeded in keeping alive French interest in their cause. As a result, not only newspaper articles and pamphlets, but poems, chansons and boulevard plays have also been included to show how the main themes of Polish propaganda were taken up in popular literature and found their way into French political thinking.

Essentially, therefore, this thesis is a study of a propaganda campaign whose chief purpose was to win French support for the cause of Polish independence. As such it has involved the study of a number of important, but otherwise distinct, subjects, which, inevitably, can only be touched upon slightly. The whole history of the Polish Emigration is a vast study in itself and much background material has been taken from the work of Lubomir Gadon, whose book on the Emigration, though outdated, is still the basic work on the subject, the study of the literary life of the Emigration by Maria Straszewska and other Polish monographs.⁷ As the propaganda movement itself, however, has never been adequately studied, original work has been contributed on the publicist activities of the various *émigré* groups, the surviving sources being quite sufficient to show how the Poles approached the problem of influencing public opinion in France. On the French side, too, original work

⁶J. Lorentowicz, *La Pologne et la France* (Paris, 1935-1941).

⁷L. Gadon, *Emigracja Polska: pierwsze lata po upadku powstania listopadowego*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1960 and M. Straszewska, *Życie Literackie Wielkiej Emigracji we Francji 1831-1840* (Warsaw, 1970).

has been done on the development of public opinion during the fourteen months following the July Revolution, though here too there is much useful historiography, particularly on related subjects. A. Dimopoulos has written an account of the Philhellenic movement during the Restoration, a campaign which had great influence on its successor, and Cadot's book on the Russian literateurs, although mostly concerned with their literary and philosophical careers in France, provides much valuable background material for the study of French attitudes to the Slavs.⁸ For the diplomatic background to the question, a subject which has to remain largely beyond the scope of this study, heavy reliance has been placed on the study of Franco-Polish relations by Dutkiewicz and the general work on the diplomatic situation in 1830-1831 by Betley,⁹ both of which deal fully with the subject.

In a study of such a nebulous entity as 'public opinion' conclusions have to be tentative. The propaganda movement can be traced in considerable detail, its publications listed and its approach analysed, but its success is more difficult to establish. Inevitably such an analysis will have to rest on impressionistic as well as quantitative and qualitative evidence, but fortunately in the case of the Polish movement there is a considerable amount of all types of evidence. The rôle of the press as a gauge of public opinion is often difficult to assess, for at a time when most of the French newspapers were the tools of political factions, their support of a particular cause was usually partisan, but when papers as diverse as *La Gazette de France*, *Le Journal des Débats* and *Le National* could express their sympathy for the plight of the Poles, that in itself indicates something about the popularity of the cause. Even more significant was the number of political pamphlets and chansons on the Polish Question which appeared during this period, but it is important, too, that all over France individuals from many social and political backgrounds gave active support to the campaigns. The formation of many provincial Polish committees, the large national collections, the many demonstrations and riots which took place in Paris and other French towns provide ample evidence that a sizeable section of the population not only supported the Poles but were prepared to become directly involved in the movement. While the organisation of the Polish campaigns remains a central factor in the success

⁸ A. Dimopoulos, *L'Opinion française et la révolution grecque 1821-1827* (Nancy, 1962) and M. Cadot, *La Russie dans la vie intellectuelle française 1839-1856* (Paris, 1967).

⁹ J. Dutkiewicz, *Francja a Polska w 1831 roku* (Łódź, 1950) and J. A. Betley, *Belgium and Poland in International Relations 1830-1831* (The Hague, 1960).

of the movement, it is also clear that the propaganda published by the committees and the Polish *émigrés* fell on fertile ground and in offering some explanations for the intensity of public feeling over this particular issue, it will be necessary to show the ways in which political issues generally were formed during this period.

The dates 1830 and 1846 have been largely dictated by necessity. Logically it would have been preferable to end in 1848 and to include the *journée* of 15 May, in which popular enthusiasm for the Polish cause played an important part, but lack of space has made this impossible. The dates 1830 and 1846, however, are useful in themselves. In both years there were insurrections in Poland and also Polish campaigns in France. In both years, too, there were large popular movements in support of the Poles and public feeling ran high against government policy. At the same time, the movements in the two years provide points for comparison. In November 1830 there was no Polish Question in France and interest in the fate of the Poles was largely confined to a small group of individuals who had close personal contacts with a number of Polish exiles in Paris; in 1846 the news of an insurrection in Poland was the signal for the beginning of a national campaign and an immediate outburst of popular excitement. Between these two years the issue came alive in popular, and at times national, politics and it is the aim of this thesis to show some of the reasons for this success.

Abbreviations used in the Notes

A.N.	Archives Nationales, Paris.
Arch. parl.	Archives parlementaires.
B.N.	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
B.P.	Bibliothèque Polonaise, Paris.
Lewak	<i>General Lafayette o Polsce: mowy-listy-dokumenty</i> , ed. A. Lewak, Warsaw, 1934.

Proper Names

In general I have kept Polish spelling where Polish names occur and have tried to follow accepted conventions in quoting the titles of literary works. For place names I have again followed convention by using Warsaw for Warszawa and Cracow for Kraków, but have preferred Poznań to Posen, Wrocław to Breslau, Lwów to Lvov, Toruń to Thorn and Gdańsk to Danzig. French names have not been anglicised and I have retained the original spelling in all quotations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER ONE

POLAND AND FRANCE BEFORE THE NOVEMBER UPRISING

In the seventy years which followed the destruction of the old gentry republic at the end of the eighteenth century, the hopes of the Polish revolutionary movement lay in a national uprising. Between 1794 and 1863 there were a series of insurrections in the different parts of the former Polish state which helped to keep alive the memory of Poland's national aspirations and to remind Europe of her grievances against the partitioning powers, and in the uncertain years of the early nineteenth century the name of Poland became synonymous with the ideas of national self-determination and political freedom. Each uprising was the result of individual political and economic circumstances, but throughout there were elements of continuity which helped to give Poland a revolutionary tradition of her own. The movement was characterised by plots and conspiracies, excessive optimism and ruined hopes, powerful myths and frustrated ideals. It was not united within itself, nor did it always succeed in attracting significant support from the country as a whole and in its most basic aim, the recovery of national independence, it was opposed by other groups, who felt that Poland's best interests would be served by a policy of careful diplomacy and political compromise. Nevertheless the leaders of the revolutionary movement saw themselves as the representatives of the moral will of the nation and until 1863, when the *débâcle* of the January uprising finally discredited the idea of a national insurrection for the rest of the nineteenth century, the preparation of new insurrections remained a patriotic duty for many young Poles.

Like many of the other European revolutionaries, the Poles drew much of their inspiration not only from their own situation and native traditions, but from the example of France. France's moral and military strength, her liberal ideals and her *rôle* as the harbinger of European liberty made her revolutionary experience of particular interest to the leaders of incipient revolutions all over Europe, but from the beginning there was a special relationship between Poland and France. This relationship, which reached its fullest expression under Napoleon, developed against a background of governmental indifference and dynastic ambition, but the intel-

lectual, political and military links established between the two nations during the revolutionary wars were important for both countries. In Poland the experience of the revolutionary period acted as a powerful formative influence on political traditions; in France it produced the first stirrings of the popular interest in Poland which developed so quickly after 1830.

1. *The emergence of the Polish revolutionary movement*

The idea of a national uprising owed something of its character to the old 'confederation', a form of legalised rebellion in which a section of the nation took up arms in defence of its rights, and to the long tradition of '*diffidatio*' which had been part of Polish political life for generations. Its origins, however, lay in the complex sequence of events which overtook Poland in the late eighteenth century and which first began to transform and later destroyed the old gentry republic.¹ During this period the great issues became national independence and political reform. The two questions were intimately linked, for in the course of the eighteenth century it became increasingly obvious that Poland's internal weakness had reduced her to the status of a client state. In contrast to the other leading European states, which were in the process of consolidating their power by extending governmental control in the localities and centralising monarchical authority, Poland had followed a process of extreme decentralisation, in which the power of the local gentry had reduced the king to the position of titular head of a commonwealth or *Rzeczpospolita*. A system of 'constitutional' government had developed in which matters of state were discussed rather than decided in the Diet, the king was elected and the rights of the local gentry protected by the rule of unanimity, the *liberum veto*. This unique system of government was regarded by the *szlachta*, a socially diverse caste of noblemen, as the cornerstone of their ancient liberties and the embodiment of the ideal of gentry equality. They spoke of their "golden liberties" and the freedom they enjoyed from the tyranny of the crown, an increasingly rare privilege in the Europe of the centralising monarchies.

By the middle of the eighteenth century the interference of the neighbouring powers in the affairs of the Republic had become an

¹ For the background to Polish history in the eighteenth century see L. R. Lewitter, "Poland under the Saxon Kings," *New Cambridge Modern History*, vii (1957), 365-390 and "The Partitions of Poland," *New Cambridge Modern History*, viii (1965), 333-359. The reform movement is discussed by J. Fabre, *Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski et l'Europe des lumières* (Paris, 1952).

accepted part of political life, but the accession of Stanisław August Poniatowski in 1764 began a period in which Russia alone seemed to control the internal politics of Poland. Foreign intrigues had long played a part in the calculations of all the opposing oligarchical factions, but the growing power of the Russian ambassador in Warsaw and Russia's intervention in defence of the religious rights of the non-Catholic population, produced a reaction. In 1768 a Confederation was formed at Bar to resist the new decree of toleration in the name of 'Freedom and the Faith' and for some months the rebellion continued in defence of the *szlachta's* ancient liberties. In 1772, however, Russia, in league with Prussia and Austria, carried out the first partition of Poland and the full extent of Polish weakness was revealed. With her power consolidated, Russia hoped to strengthen her influence in the Republic, but within the *szlachta* there was a body of opinion, which believed that Poland's salvation lay in a programme of administrative and political reform. This movement, which was particularly identified with the name of Kollataj, took its inspiration from the example of the centralising monarchies and its ideas represented an important break with the tradition of local autonomy and political individualism in the Polish state. The more conservative *szlachta* still hoped for a restoration of their golden liberties and their resentment centred on the Permanent Council, through which the king exercised a modicum of royal power.

The years following the first Partition saw a growing intellectual and political ferment in which Poland's political, social and economic problems were widely debated. It was not until 1788, however, that the embroilment of Russia in a Turkish war raised hopes of substantial change. In that year a Diet was called which began a programme of administrative, military and constitutional reform which continued for almost four years. At first the disagreements between the conservative and reform parties produced a confused package of legislation which included the abolition of the Permanent Council, the raising of an army of 100,000 men and the rejection of the taxation and local government reforms needed to fund it, but in the spring of 1791 the initiative passed to the reformers. By a carefully planned manoeuvre, they won agreement for a completely new constitution which abolished the confederation and the *liberum veto*, made the monarchy hereditary and took the first steps towards an electoral system based on property qualifications.² As the new constitution, known as the Constitution of

² For the new constitution see B. Leśnodorski, *Institutions polonaises au siècle des lumières* (Warsaw, 1962).

3 May, was designed to restrain the factious intrigues of the Polish magnates, it was received with mixed feelings in the country and in 1792 its opponents, supported by Catherine II, formed a confederation to oppose it. In the struggle which followed, however, the only victors were Russia and Prussia, who in 1793 entered into a second partition of Poland which left the Poles with a small strip of land only 212,000 sq. kms. in size.

The Confederation of Targowica and the second Partition were traumatic events. The *szlachta* had always regarded themselves as a national class, whose character was defined by its distinctly Polish culture, its Catholicism and its unique political rights, and, although the large landowners were forced to reach some form of understanding with the new authorities, the lesser gentry found their very status as a distinct class at risk. The supporters of the confederation quickly became regarded as traitors and in 1792, in sharp contrast to the situation twenty years earlier, the Poles were prepared to fight. It was only with great difficulty, therefore, that the Russian and Prussian governments were able to force the Polish Diet to agree to the new arrangements in the following year, for the Poles, under the command of Prince Józef Poniatowski, made considerable resistance.

By 1793, however, the situation in Poland had begun to be influenced by the course of events in Europe, for the years of the great Diet had coincided with the outbreak of the Revolution in France. At first Europe attached little revolutionary significance to the reform movement in Poland. Several Poles, including Tadeusz Kościuszko, had fought as individuals in the American War of Independence, but by contemporary standards Poland already possessed the forms of representative institutions. The *szlachta* represented the whole community in the Diet and, although several of the reformers like Kołłątaj wanted to enfranchise the small Polish middle class, they were careful not to undermine the status of the lesser gentry. Their attitude to social questions was similarly ambiguous. They believed that serfdom lay at the root of Poland's economic weakness and in accordance with contemporary theories they hoped to create a free peasantry, whose services would be available for hire. With the apparent triumph of the principles of democracy and reform in France, however, political representation and social change began to be looked upon as rights as well as political necessities. The supporters of the constitution tried to popularise their new system with the slogan "The king with the people, the people with the king", and in Warsaw and other Polish

towns political clubs began to appear pledged to the discussion of reform. In Europe the constitution was cited as proof of the spread of revolutionary doctrines to the east and was welcomed by Edmund Burke as a model of moderate reform. A reforming movement which was essentially Polish in inspiration had begun to be equated with the new doctrines of liberty and self-determination.³

It was natural, therefore, for Polish hopes to turn to France. There had been links between France and Poland since medieval times and in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries there had always been a French party among the magnates. In 1697 the Prince de Conti had been a candidate for the Polish throne and in 1719 Stanisław Leszczyński had taken refuge in France after his expulsion from Poland. In 1725 his daughter had married Louis XV, an alliance which had given Leszczyński French support in the War of the Polish Succession (1733-1735) and subsequently the title of Duke of Lorraine. After the accession of Stanisław August Poniatowski France sent help to the leaders of the Confederation of Bar and a group of advisers went to Poland under the command of general Charles Dumouriez, but until July 1791 relations between the two governments were such that there was no French diplomatic representative in Warsaw. In that month a new ambassador, Désorches, arrived in the capital with instructions to maintain a position of strict neutrality, but he soon became friendly with the reform party in Warsaw and various schemes for an alliance against Russia were discussed.⁴ The Poles were anxious for French support, but it was not until the outbreak of the war between France and the coalition that the idea of a Polish alliance began to seem attractive to the authorities in Paris.

For the exiled leaders of the defeated reform movement in Saxony, the new war raised hopes of an alliance with France in which Poland, transformed into a French styled republic, would fight with her against their common enemies. France's declaration that she was fighting for the liberation of all the peoples of Europe against the tyranny of the kings was received with enthusiasm in Warsaw and in January 1793 an Albert Turski appealed in the French Convention for support for Poland's struggle against the enemies of humanity.⁵ A few weeks later the *émigrés* in Saxony decided to send their own representative to Paris and their choice

³ Fabre, pp. 522-533.

⁴ See J. Grossbart, "La Politique polonaise de la révolution française jusqu'aux traités de Bâle," *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, vi (1929), 34-55, 242-255, 476-478 and vii (1930), 129-131.

⁵ *Ibid.* vi, 244-246.

fell upon Tadeusz Kościuszko, a veteran of the American War and an honorary citizen of France for his courage in defending Poland in 1792. On his arrival, plans were discussed for a military diversion in alliance with Sweden and Turkey and a popular insurrection in central Europe, but neither the Girondins nor the Jacobins were willing to commit France to a definite alliance, and in February 1794 another embassy under Barss arrived from Dresden with new schemes for Franco-Polish co-operation. Negotiations continued into March, by which time an insurrection had broken out in Poland, but the moderation of the social reforms announced by the insurrectionary government and its unwillingness to declare war on France's chief enemy, Austria, alienated Jacobin opinion.⁶ It was November before the French government agreed to send an observer to Warsaw and begin negotiations for an offensive alliance with Turkey and by that time it was too late. Prussia sued for peace with France and the Polish expedition was shelved.

The insurrection, however, began a new phase in Poland's history. For the first time the Poles were fighting a civil war in the cause of liberty and independence and the struggle was led not by a great magnate but by a petty nobleman, Kościuszko. Following France's example, the Poles established a Supreme National Council with dictatorial powers, set up local committees to control public order and introduced conscription to raise a *levée-en-masse*. The leaders were fascinated by the success of France's new military power and at the battle of Raclawice in April 1794 Kościuszko won his first encounter with 4,000 regular troops and 2,000 peasants. In many towns radicals and self-styled Jacobins took control and on 17 April there was a popular rising in Warsaw during which several leading "reactionaries" were executed. The departments of Food Supply and War Needs took over control of the country's resources and the new Treasury issued Poland's first banknotes, the equivalent of the French *assignats*. The enthusiasm of the levies and the brilliance of Kościuszko as a military tactician, however, were no match for the superior forces of Russia and Prussia and the defeat and capture of Kościuszko at the battle of Maciejowice in October foreshadowed the end of the insurrection. The rump of the Polish state was occupied by the victorious forces and after some lengthy negotiations, finally partitioned by Austria, Prussia and Russia.⁷

⁶ *Ibid* vii, 134.

⁷ For the radicalisation of Polish politics during this period see B. Leśno-dorski, *Les Jacobins polonais* (Paris, 1965).

The third Partition marked the end of Poland's existence as a separate state, but it also witnessed the birth of a revolutionary tradition. The 1794 insurrection had been a national uprising in defence of Poland's independence and by identifying her struggle with the fate of the European revolutionary movement, its leaders had finally broken with the interest-based politics of the eighteenth century. The uprising had won support from various sections of the community, the lesser *szlachta*, whose political rights had been swept away by the Partitions, the officers of the new army, lawyers, journalists and intellectuals, and for the first time the urban population and the peasantry had appeared as a significant factor in national politics. At the same time, however, the movement had revealed inner tensions. The leaders of the insurrection had had to strike a balance between their wish to grant concessions to the peasantry and their fear of losing the vital support of the rural gentry. The larger property owners were to be included in the representative system and were allowed to sit on the local judicial and administrative committees established by the National Council, but, although the peasants were promised personal freedom, the reduction of labour services and security of tenure, any large-scale reform was postponed. The attempt to balance the conflicting interests of the two sections of the community whose support was regarded as vital for the success of any uprising, raised the essential problem for the nineteenth century struggle, the agrarian question. The resistance of many landowners to the idea of reform and the appearance of the Polish "Jacobins" in the towns helped to drive a wedge between the radicals, who favoured social change and political republicanism, and the moderates, who continued to hope for a solution to Poland's problems in the tradition of the Constitution of 3 May. At the same time the final destruction of the Republic had forced the conservative magnates and large landowners to protect their own interests, but many still longed for a return to their old liberties. Many merely accepted the new situation and some even benefited from the expansion of the grain trade in Prussian Poland and the Ukraine, but many of the leaders of the old conservative party placed their political hopes in the conflicts between the partitioning powers. As well as the moderate and radical wings of the revolutionary movement, therefore, there was a body of conservative opinion which saw a chance for the resurrection of Poland in the diplomatic intrigues and territorial conflicts of the European powers.

2. *The emigration and Napoleon*

After the defeat of the 1794 insurrection, many of those most compromised by their part in the revolution went into emigration, some going to Saxony, but most to France. This exodus, which foreshadowed the Great Polish Emigration of 1831, was not the first emigration of Polish refugees to the West. A group of Polish noblemen had followed Stanisław Leszczyński to France and after the defeat of the reform movement in 1792 a group of influential politicians had retreated to Dresden. In 1794 a number of refugees settled in Venice, from where they tried to interest France in the fate of Poland during the negotiations which preceded the treaty of Bâle, but in Paris itself a Polish agency was set up under the Warsaw lawyer, Barss, who had been a leading negotiator in the discussions held with the French government before the insurrection. In September 1795 a deputation from Venice broke into the French Assembly demanding aid for the national cause, but in Paris Barss and his supporters placed their hopes in the advance of the victorious French armies. This policy was opposed by radicals like Franciszek Dmochowski and Józef Kalasanty Szaniawski, who believed that the *émigrés* should organise plots and conspiracies in Poland and during 1797-1798 conspiratorial networks were uncovered in Galicia, Lithuania and Prussian Poland. Even the radicals, however, realised that they could not succeed on their own, and with Kościuszko in Paris after his release by the Russians, republican interest once again centred on France. Meanwhile the moderate wing of the emigration concentrated their attention on organising military units to serve in the victorious French armies.⁸

For this group it was the progress of Bonaparte's campaign in Italy which offered new hope for the Poles. At the suggestion of Jan Henryk Dąbrowski, one of the military leaders of the 1794 insurrection, the Polish peasant levies captured in the fighting against the Austrians in Italy were formed into legions to fight under the command of Polish *émigré* officers as auxiliaries in Napoleon's army. The original aim of the plan was to create the nucleus of an army of liberation and the troops were allowed to wear Polish uniforms with the French cockade, but although Dąbrowski succeeded in raising some 10,000 volunteers and another legion was formed in Germany, the Polish forces were ill-used by Bonaparte. In Italy their main task was the defence of the new Cisalpine Republic and the suppression of revolts against the French authorities, but they suffered great losses in the campaign

⁸ A. Gieysztor et al. *History of Poland* (Warsaw, 1968), pp. 406-409.

of 1799. In the north the other legion under the command of general Kniaziewicz played an important part in the battle of Hohenlinden in 1800, but after the treaty of Lunéville the Poles became an embarrassment and in 1802-1803 the greater part of the force (about 6,000 men) was sent to Haiti to put down a local rebellion. During this campaign most of them perished and, after this, the idea of the legion fell into disrepute, but it had not been a total failure. A large number of officers had received valuable military experience and had come to see themselves as part of the movement for the liberation of Europe. The cynical use of the troops did not prevent a growing sense of solidarity with the republican spirit and democratic ideas of France and the Poles' role in the French campaigns in Italy and Germany helped to strengthen Franco-Polish solidarity and to create powerful new myths.⁹

It was not until 1806, however, that the French victories in Germany revived hopes in Napoleon. Before moving eastward the Emperor ordered Dąbrowski and Wybicki to issue an appeal to the Polish nation urging the people to rise in defence of their nationalist ideals and on reaching Warsaw Dąbrowski organised a provisional government under French supervision. The main task of the government, however, was to provide the French army with volunteers and supplies for the campaign of 1807 and when in 1809 Napoleon, with the agreement of the Tsar, created the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, its task, too, was to furnish supplies, money and recruits for the French army. Like France's other satellite kingdoms, the Duchy was given a constitution modelled on the French constitution of the Year VIII and a centralised administration with a system of prefects and sub-prefects. Serfdom was abolished, a property franchise introduced and the law reformed according to the *Code Napoléon*. The new system was welcomed by the reformist party in Warsaw, who saw in the provision abolishing serfdom the basis of Poland's future economic strength, but the radicals, who initially welcomed the constitution as a prelude to future reform, soon became disillusioned. The moderates saw in the French system the final triumph of the principles for which the eighteenth century reform movement had been struggling since the first Partition, but for the radicals the conservatism of the authorities in Warsaw undermined all hope of more thorough-going reform.¹⁰

⁹ For a contemporary account of the Polish legion in Italy see L. Chodźko, *Historie des légions polonaises en Italie sous le commandement du général Dombrowski* (Paris, 1829).

¹⁰ For the policy of Napoleon towards Poland see M. Handelsman, *Napoléon et la Pologne 1806-1807* (Paris, 1909) and *Les idées françaises et la mentalité politique en Pologne au XIX^{ème} siècle* (Paris, 1927) pp. 1-28.

For the French the new duchy was yet another pawn in the political game, but for the Poles it was a symbol of their independence and the nucleus of a future state. In 1807 they raised nearly 20,000 men to fight the Prussians on the Vistula and in 1809 they successfully doubled the size of the duchy by winning a campaign against the Austrians which recovered much of Galicia and the district of Zamość. In 1812, despite the heavy exaction made by the French government on their resources, the Poles raised another army of almost 100,000 men, the largest contingent of all France's allies in the Russian campaign. They hoped that victory in Russia would bring the liberation of Poland and even when the expedition ended in disaster, with almost 70% of the Polish forces being killed, wounded or taken prisoner, the Poles remained loyal to the Emperor. The following year the commander in chief of the Polish army, Prince Józef Poniatowski, fell defending the retreat from the battle of Leipzig and later Polish troops even fought at Waterloo. The fall of Napoleon, however, finally dashed Polish hopes in France and with the entry of Russian troops into the Duchy, the political initiative passed into the hands of the conservative, pro-Russian magnates, who, since the death of Tsar Paul in 1801, had placed their hopes in the friendship between the young Alexander I and Prince Adam Czartoryski. As the Tsar's deputy foreign minister and his educational advisor in Poland, the Prince introduced some important reforms and within Poland he used his influence to encourage the idea of a separate Polish kingdom under the sovereignty of the Tsar. In 1805 he had tried to rally support for such a scheme, but it was not until the *débâcle* of 1812 that the plan began to seem a feasible idea. During 1813 many of the magnates transferred their allegiance to Alexander and at the Congress of Vienna, the eastern section of the enlarged Duchy was granted to Russia under the title of the Kingdom of Poland, a separate political unit linked to Russia by a common sovereign.¹¹

The Vienna Treaties gave the first formal recognition of the partition of Poland, but the semblance of a Polish state was restored. The struggles of the last twenty years had not been in vain, for although it had covered only a fraction of the former Polish Republic, the Duchy had given Poland its first effective centralised government and the basis of a modern army. The Congress Kingdom retained the machinery of government introduced under the French and kept the Polish army as a distinct force under the com-

¹¹ For Czartoryski's part in the negotiations leading up to the creation of the Congress Kingdom see M. Kukiel, *Czartoryski and European Unity 1770-1861* (Princeton, 1955).

mand of the Grand Duke Constantine. The old idea of the supremacy of the nation over the state had now been replaced by the acceptance of the state's role as the regulator of social relations. Moreover, the very existence of a Polish state had encouraged a revival of national feeling and had given a new impetus to the desire to recover full independence and autonomy. As a result of the experience of the Napoleonic wars, however, Polish hopes rested as much on the strength of the army and the ability of its commanders as on the idea of social reform. The Poles saw in Napoleon a man of genius who embodied the French Revolution and to future generations they bequeathed an enthusiasm for his achievements which created Poland's own Napoleonic cult. At the same time the bonds between France and Poland and the link between the fate of Poland and the success of the revolutionary armies had helped to encourage the idea that help could come from France. Many radicals continued to believe that Poland's future lay in a popular uprising against the partitioning powers and there were many who had been disillusioned with the programme of Napoleonic reform, but after 1815 the quest for independence was identified with the new ideas of *étatisme*, military pride and the fate of the revolutionary movement in Europe.

3. *The Congress Kingdom and the revival of the revolutionary movement*

Although, as a result of the pressure of the European powers, the territory of the new Polish state was reduced as much as possible, in the fifteen years after Waterloo the Congress Kingdom became the centre of Polish political hopes.¹² The Tsar granted the country a 'liberal' constitution, which guaranteed the exercise of civil rights, proclaimed the equality of all citizens under the law and established a form of representative government. The Polish army continued to exist as a separate force, many of the reforms introduced by the authorities in the Duchy were retained and the hope was fostered that the Kingdom would eventually be enlarged by the inclusion of Lithuania and the Ukraine. Yet although many of the leading landowners gave their support to the new government and the country was administered by a native Polish bureaucracy, the years after 1815 saw the emergence of an organised political opposition which gradually came to place its faith in a new national uprising.

Opposition to the new *régime* came from three sources. First

¹² Handelsman, *Les Idées françaises*, pp. 29-62.

there was discontent in the army. Almost immediately resentment developed over the arbitrary rule of the commander, the Grand Duke Constantine, and it was soon fanned by the disillusionment of many young officers and cadets in their prospects of active service and promotion. Like its counterpart in France, the Polish officer corps had become very politically conscious as a result of its experiences during the recent wars and many officers still believed that the fate of Poland lay with the army. During the 1820s their resentment began to be channelled into plots and conspiracies. In 1819 a major in one of Constantine's crack regiments, Walerian Łukasiński, founded a secret organisation called 'national Freemasonry', which in 1821 was dissolved and refounded under the name of 'The Patriotic Society', an association which began to recruit members in Prussian Poland and Russian Lithuania as well as in Congress Poland.¹³ Like the *Carbonari*, the aims of the organisation were supposedly secret and each section was theoretically independent of its neighbour, but the idea behind the organisation was to prepare for the eventual independence of the Polish nation. However, with the arrest of Łukasiński in 1822, the leadership became more conservative. Nevertheless the Society was watched with suspicion by the authorities and in 1828 its leaders were tried for their part in the Decembrist plot, although they were innocent of any direct involvement. The movement, however, had already begun to attract more radical elements and after the arrest of the leaders the direction of the 'patriotic' movement passed into the hands of the subalterns of the Warsaw garrison.

The conspiracies in the army had their counterparts in the universities. In common with those in other European states, the Polish universities of Warsaw and Wilno were centres of intellectual and political ferment after 1815. In Warsaw an association called *Panta Kojna* (Everything in Common) was founded in 1817, followed in 1820 by another, more radical organisation, *The Union of Free Poles*, which tried to prepare Polish students for a future insurrection. Although included in Russian Lithuania, Wilno remained in close contact with Warsaw and in 1817 a *Society of Philomats* was founded with the aim of reforming society through educational changes. The Polish student associations were a cause of constant concern to the authorities and in 1823 the Tsar's commissioner in Poland made several arrests. The *Philomats* were disbanded and persecution followed, but although the student bodies posed no serious threat to the *régime*, they helped to radicalise the opinions

¹³ For the secret societies in Poland see H. Dylągowa, *Towarzystwo Patriotyczne i Sąd Sejmowy 1821-1829* (Warsaw, 1970).

of the younger generation of Polish *szlachta*. The associations were not only concerned with the question of national independence, but often discussed the wider problem of social reform and agrarian change and unlike the army conspiracies, which were predominantly nationalistic and militarist in spirit, the student organisations were the schools in which future radicals like Krępowiecki and Worcell developed many of their ideas.¹⁴

The *Patriotic Society* was the melting pot in which the different underground movements came together and discussed plans for a national insurrection. Once the students who had been active in the societies gradually came to fill posts in the administrative, educational and intellectual establishments of the kingdom, the revolutionary movement began to spread throughout Congress Poland, and, although after 1828 the leaders of the conspiracy were less well-known, the potential support for their ideas increased. At the same time, however, there also developed an open, semi-legal opposition to the government, which hoped to work through the constitutional system established in 1815 to defend the rights granted to Poland by the Congress of Vienna. The opposition was led by two brothers from the Kalisz district in western Poland, Wincenty and Bonawentura Niemojowski, who tried to use their personal influence with the other deputies from their district to create an opposition party which could play a role in the constitutional system.¹⁵ Their tactics were often deliberately disruptive, but they helped to organise opinion against the measures introduced by the Russians to curtail the freedoms granted by the constitution. The public meetings of the Diet became the occasion for boisterous demonstrations and in Warsaw a well-informed and critical press emerged. The government responded by imposing censorship, increasing police surveillance and closing most sessions of the Diet to the public. Such measures, however, only intensified national feeling against the government and made opposition seem patriotic.

Within all sections of the opposition, national sentiment was also strengthened by the resurgence of intellectual life in Poland. A new style of poetry appeared in the spirit of European Romanticism with its emphasis on the native and popular traditions of national life. In Poland the new movement was particularly associated with the younger generation of intellectuals, the most famous of whom was Adam Mickiewicz, who by 1830 had already published such

¹⁴ See W. Łukaszewicz, *Stanisław Gabriel Worcell* (Warsaw, 1951).

¹⁵ See H. Więckowska, *Opozycja Liberalna w Królestwie Kongresowym 1815-1830* (Warsaw, 1923).

important works as *Konrad Wallenrod* and the *Crimean Sonnets*.¹⁶ The poets and writers saw themselves as the guardians of national traditions and as prophets of the future, their nostalgia for past glories being mingled with future hopes. The older classical forms continued to have their defenders, but among the older generation of intellectuals Julian Niemcewicz and the historian Joachim Lelewel had much in common with the new movement. Niemcewicz's *Historical Songs*, although written in the classical style, were an evocation of Poland's past greatness and Lelewel's history provided the background for all interpretations of the rise and fall of the gentry Republic. During his years as a teacher and writer at the universities of Warsaw and Wilno, Lelewel came into contact with many of the future political and intellectual leaders of the new generation of Poles, who were greatly influenced by his ideas. Through his teaching they learned to value Poland's past greatness, to understand the reasons for her slow decline and final extinction, and above all to appreciate Poland's unique national identity. As a result, Polish political and literary life was dominated by history. In politics it gave new depth to the claims of the political opposition and provided a rallying-point for Polish aspirations, while in the hands of Mickiewicz scenes from medieval history became parables which revealed the greatness of the ideas of sacrifice, suffering and patriotism.¹⁷

The literary movement helped to foster the idea of a distinct Polish culture and to heighten feelings of national discontent. By 1830 the opposition to the Russian *régime* had begun to harden, but although in the army there were a number of conspiracies and plots during the late 1820s, the leaders won no important support in Warsaw. The disbanding of the *Patriotic Society* and the political trials of 1828-1829, which brought the Polish senate into sharp confrontation with the Tsar, made most prominent politicians even more careful than before about becoming involved in illegal plots and the instigators of the 'coronation plot' of 1829 found themselves opposed by the more moderate circles in the capital. Nevertheless, the denial of the constitutional rights guaranteed in 1815 and the arbitrary actions of many Russian officials in the Kingdom had alienated many of the original supporters of the Congress Kingdom and even Czartoryski had played an important part in

¹⁶ For Mickiewicz's literary career see W. Weintraub, *The Poetry of Adam Mickiewicz* (The Hague, 1954).

¹⁷ Mickiewicz's poems *Grażyna* and *Konrad Wallenrod* both made use of this metaphor. *Wallenrod*, which appeared in 1828, developed the idea of treachery against foreign domination as a patriotic act and was believed to have incited the leaders of the November uprising to stage their *coup*.

defending the leaders of the *Patriotic Society* at their official trial for treason. As yet there was nothing to link these political leaders with the young subalterns in the cadet school who dreamed of a national insurrection in the tradition of 1794, but when in August 1830 news reached Warsaw of the Revolution in Paris, the whole situation was suddenly changed.

4. *The French view of Poland before the November uprising*

France, for the younger generation of Poles, was still the France of the great Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, and for the liberal opposition she was the country of constitutional government and political progress. The French view of Poland was equally ambiguous, for it too rested on historical memories and half-understood facts. In the eighteenth century the French *philosophes* had seen Poland as a perfect example of a decadent and decayed republic, whose form of government was both monarchical and oligarchical, combining ancient Slav traditions with Roman forms. Several writers saw in the rise and fall of the gentry republic many of the universal causes behind the decline of all states and both Mably and Rousseau wrote treatises advising the Poles on the form of institutional reform best suited to their needs.¹⁸

The most influential work on Poland written at this time, however, was Rulhière's *Histoire de l'anarchie de Pologne*, originally prepared as a memorandum in the 1760s but not published until after the author's death in 1807.¹⁹ In this work Rulhière developed three ideas which were to become central to all French thinking about Poland in the following period: the idea of the purity of the Republic's ancient institutions and their gradual corruption, the complete difference between the political and social systems of Poland and Russia, and its corollary, the threat of Russian expansion westward. For Rulhière, Poland was the only barrier between Europe and a Russian system of total despotism. By taking their religion, culture and political institutions from the decadent Byzantine Empire, the Russians had developed "*une civilisation peu différente de la barbarie*" which had overshadowed the natural traditions of the Slavs and had been strengthened by the arbitrary

¹⁸ Mably published his *Du Gouvernement et des lois de la Pologne* in 1781 and Rousseau his *Considérations sur le gouvernement de la Pologne et sur sa réformation projetée* in the following year.

¹⁹ Rulhière was a French diplomat at the Russian court and had considerable personal knowledge of Polish affairs. See A. Chevalier, *Claude Carloman de Rulhière premier historien de la Pologne, sa vie et son oeuvre historique* (Paris, 1939), pp. 41-74 and also R. Wołoszyński, *Polska w opiniach Francuzów XVIII wieku. Rulhière i jego współcześni* (Warsaw, 1964)

absolutism of the Tartars.²⁰ The Poles, on the other hand, were more truly European, for they had received their religion and culture from Rome and had retained the tradition of liberty and equality of the primitive Slavs, which linked their society to that of the Franks, the Goths, the Celts, “*de presque tous les peuples sortis des forêts du nord et de la Germanie*”.²¹ This primitive liberty had been gradually undermined by the growth of economic inequality, foreign faction and weak kings, but for Rulhière she was still the protecting barrier against Russia’s new power.

Rulhière himself died in 1791 some years before his book was published, but by that time events in Poland seemed already to be confirming his ideas. Russia was determined to maintain her control over Poland and with the second and third Partitions French writers began to pay less attention to the decadence of Polish institutions and place more emphasis on the culpability of the neighbouring powers. The outbreak of the French Revolution, however, created a new perspective on events and developments in Poland began to be coloured by political rhetoric in France. The Polish Constitution of 3 May was welcomed by the moderate constitutionalists as an enlightened reform, attacked by the royalists as another blow against the principle of legitimism and denounced by the radicals as an aristocratic ploy to delay a popular insurrection.²² By 1794, when the Kościuszko rising once again focused attention on Poland, France was in the midst of an international war and the new insurrection became part of a universal movement of emancipation led by France. This identification between the two revolutionary movements was encouraged by the part played by the Poles in the Napoleonic campaigns in Italy, but it was not until 1807 that a concerted effort was made to popularise the Polish cause in France.

With the progress of the French armies eastward, a flood of government inspired propaganda appeared to awaken interest in the new campaign. Several works appeared including Claude Rulhière’s book and Malte-Brun’s *Tableau de la Pologne ancienne et moderne*, which remained the standard survey of Poland until its revision in 1830, and a number of other historical works.²³ Simi-

²⁰ C. C. de Rulhière, *Histoire de l’anarchie de Pologne et du démembrement de cette république* in *Oeuvres posthumes de Rulhière* (Paris, 1819), i, 3.

²¹ *Ibid.* p. 14.

²² For the French reaction to the Constitution of 3 May see M. Handelsman, “La Constitution polonaise de 1791 et l’opinion française,” *La Révolution Française*, LVIII (1910), 411-434.

²³ Among the other works to appear at this time were F. M. Monier, *Histoire de Pologne depuis son origine jusqu’en 1795* (Paris, 1807) and C. Lesur, *De la politique et du progrès de la puissance russe* (Paris, 1807).

larly articles appeared in the press, pamphlets were published and plays staged in the theatres, but all the propaganda shared common themes. Poland was depicted as a land of traditional liberty and republican virtue, a bastion of European civilisation against Russia and an oppressed nation struggling for independence. From the first there was particular emphasis on the threat of Russian expansion and the favourable portrait of Poland was closely linked to the idea of a despotic and acquisitive neighbour. When in 1812 another stream of propaganda appeared to celebrate the great campaign, Poland was depicted as France's faithful ally in the common struggle of all peoples for liberty and emancipation and the loyalty of her troops during the retreat from Moscow and the German campaign later won them great popularity with the press and the pamphleteers.²⁴

During the Napoleonic period the fate of Poland had been closely linked with the victories of the French armies and the defeat of Bonaparte brought an abrupt end to French dreams of European conquest. With the climate of opinion so changed, Poland became merely one more distant land, a victim like all the other nations of Europe of the diplomatic tyranny of the Vienna treaties, and the press and the pamphleteers showed little interest in her plight. It was a time, however, when historical writing became immensely popular in France and by the historians at least Poland was not completely forgotten. The view of Poland fostered during the previous period was accepted by royalist and liberal historians alike. All writing about Poland was still tinged with russophobia and a royalist writer, Ferrand, who published a sequel to Rulhière's work in 1820, spoke of the folly of the Partitions which had removed 'une ligne défensive' between Europe and a state which fifty years ago:

avait des formes grossières d'une monarchie plutôt sauvage qu'absolue, et le despotisme y étoit alors barbare comme les mœurs. La Pologne, par le territoire qu'elle occupoit sur le continent européen, se trouvoit donc entre les frontières de la barbarie et celles de la civilisation, et cette position explique une grande partie des variations de son gouvernement.²⁵

Similar ideas were expressed by the liberal historians Thiessé and Salvandy, both of whom published works on Poland during the

²⁴ Malte-Brun's work was republished in 1812 and taken into Poland with the army. Among the plays to appear at this time were a one act *gaudeville* *Les Bateliers du Niémen* (1807) and a melodrama *Romanowski ou les polonais dans la Russie Blanche* (1812).

²⁵ A. F. C. Ferrand, *Histoire des trois démembrements de la Pologne pour faire suite à l'histoire de l'anarchie de Pologne par Rulhière* (Paris, 1820), i, 4-5

Restoration,²⁶ but in contrast to Ferrand, who criticised the Poles for failing to strengthen monarchical power, they stressed the moral superiority of the Poles' attachment to the principle of liberty.²⁷ Both, too, wrote of the sacred bond which existed between the two nations, their common political interests and the courage of the Polish troops who had served with France, '*de leur vaillance dans la victoire, de leur fidélité dans le revers, cette fraternité d'armes vivra éternellement dans nos coeurs.*'²⁸ Poland's part in the Napoleonic wars was also remembered in many of the military memoirs and histories which became so popular during the Restoration.²⁹ In addition there were a number of biographical sketches of Poland's greatest revolutionary, Kościuszko.³⁰

Nevertheless, despite the efforts of these writers, Polish affairs attracted very little attention during the first ten years after Waterloo. News from the Congress Kingdom was rare, sometimes inaccurate and frequently biased. Most of the articles published in the French press were taken from those German papers most favourable to Russia and at the time of the Decembrist plot in 1825-1826 the French papers had spoken warmly of the clemency of the Tsar.³¹ Moreover, there were good relations between the government and the Russian ambassador in Paris and the censorship laws then in force prevented any open defiance of the government's will.³²

From 1826, however, French knowledge of Polish affairs began to improve with the arrival in Paris of a small community of Polish journalists and *littérateurs*. They were not the first Polish *émigrés* to settle in France during the Restoration. Some, like the three generals Chłopicki, Meyer and Kniaziewicz, who were kept

²⁶ L. Thiessé, *Résumé de l'histoire de Pologne* (Paris, 1824) and N. A. Salvandy, *Histoire de Pologne avant et sous le roi Jean Sobieski* (Paris 1829).

²⁷ 'Il n'y a pas encore un siècle, une nation existait en Europe qui semblaient avoir conservé quelques traditions des républiques de l'antiquité grecque et romaine; sa physionomie rappelait celle de ces peuples, dont l'existence entière fut un long combat pour la liberté.' Thiessé, p. 1. Both authors, however, were fully aware of the fatal weakness of the old republican virtues and their gradual corruption by the *szlachta*.

²⁸ Salvandy, iii, 504.

²⁹ Among them were E. Labaume, *Relation complète de la campagne de Russie en 1812* (Paris, 1816) and P. H d'Artois, *Relation de la défense de Danzig en 1813* (Paris, 1820).

³⁰ M. A. Jullien de Paris, *Notice biographique sur le général polonais Thadée Kosciuszko* (Paris, 1818); A. de Low, *Essai historique sur Thadée Kosciuszko* (Paris, 1820); and C. F. A. Fayot, *Notice sur la vie de Thadée Kosciuszko* (Paris, 1824).

³¹ C. Corbet, "La Littérature russe en France: tentatives de diffusion sous la Restauration," *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, xxxv (1961), 75-76.

³² See I. Collins, *The Government and the Newspaper Press in France 1814-1881* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 34-59.

under close surveillance by the police during 1824 on suspicion of being involved with a Polish revolutionary organisation in France, remained in the country only a short time.³³ Others came as students or apprentices to learn a trade or continue their studies, but the new group came as propagandists and their appearance in Paris marked the beginning of the Polish movement in France. Among them were the pianist and composer Wojciech (Albert) Sowiński, the three Oleszczyńscy brothers, Antoni an engraver who worked with Gérard, Władysław a pupil of the painter David d'Angers and Seweryn a cartographer, Józef Przybylski, a Benthamite economist and Bogdan Jański, a socialist theorist. The most important members of the group, however, were Leonard Chodźko, Michał Podczaszyński and Teodor Morawski, who from 1826 became the leaders of the Polish community in Paris.

The most influential of the three was Chodźko, who arrived in Paris in 1826, and, with the exception of a brief period in England in 1833-1834, remained in France until his death in 1871.³⁴ During a career as a writer and publicist which lasted almost 45 years, Chodźko published an unparalleled number of books, articles and pamphlets which included works on all aspects of Polish history, literature and politics, amassed an enormous collection of documents and historical records and established links with a large number of literary and political figures in France.³⁵ At the age of 26 he arrived in Paris as the secretary of a Polish nobleman, Prince Michał Ogiński, who decided to settle in France to prepare for the publication of his memoirs. It was as a result of his involvement in their publication that Chodźko began his own career. Like many of his contemporaries he had studied at the university of Wilno and had briefly been a pupil of the historian Lelewel, and it was as a populariser and propagandist rather than as a writer of great originality that he achieved his success. As a patriot, he was saddened by the ignorance and indifference of French opinion towards Poland and it was indignation, he once claimed, which had made him a historian. Like his patron Ogiński, he wanted to increase the appreciation of Poland's plight in Europe, but he also believed that his propaganda work was a preparation for the time when a new insurrection in France would challenge the system imposed on

³³ A.N. F7 6952:11597, Reports of the general police. These reports cover the period 1824-1827 and they were forwarded regularly to the Russian ambassador.

³⁴ For Chodźko's career see A. Wernicki, *Leonard Chodźko i jego prace: krótki rys biograficzno-naukowy* (Lwów, 1880) and the article in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, iii, 386-388.

³⁵ For a bibliography of Chodźko's works see K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia Polska XIX stulecia*, new ed. (Cracow, 1959-1962), iii, 149-155.

Europe in 1815.³⁶ By fostering the natural sympathy for the Polish cause in France, Chodźko believed that he was laying the foundations for the revival of the old alliance between the two peoples in the cause of liberty and freedom.

During the Restoration Chodźko's main collaborators were Michał Podczaszyński and Teodor Morawski. Both had been journalists in Warsaw, where Podczaszyński had worked on the Warsaw Daily (*Dziennik Warszawski*) and Morawski, who had also been a government official and a lawyer, had been the joint editor of several papers. Podczaszyński had been a student at both Wilno and Warsaw and arrived in Paris in 1826 as the tutor to the family of Count Władysław Potocki, but Morawski had escaped from detention in Poland after being arrested for taking part in a number of conspiracies. Like Chodźko, Podczaszyński and Morawski wanted to popularise the Polish cause in France and each had a particular field of interest.³⁷ Morawski published articles on the political situation in Poland and the repressive policies carried out by the Russian authorities whereas Podczaszyński concentrated on publicising Polish literary and scientific developments. As Chodźko's own interests were primarily historical, their published work provided information on a wide variety of subjects, ranging from history and politics to literature and topography.

By 1828 the flow of news about Poland had already begun to increase. In that year the police became concerned about a series of articles critical of the Russian *régime* which started to appear in the liberal newspaper *Le Constitutionnel*: on 29 August 1828 the paper published an article on the trial of the leaders of the *Patriotic Society* in Warsaw and in the following year other critical articles appeared, including one on 18 May 1829 on the coronation of Nicholas I as king of Poland.³⁸ At the request of the Russian ambassador the police began extensive inquiries into the source of the paper's information and after suspicion had fallen on a number of

³⁶ 'Francuzi jakoś niecierpliwą się i przebakują o potrzebie nowej rewolucji. W Warszawie odbywa się ważny sąd na członków *Towarzystwa patriotycznego*; wszystko wrę pod ziemią. Co i kiedy wybuchnie, niewiadomo; ale bądźmy zawsze gotowi, aby korzystać z okoliczności dla naszej nieszczęśliwej ojczyzny. Tymczasem pracujmy mową, piśmem i drukiem.' L. Chodźko to Adam Mickiewicz, 3 May 1828: *Korespondencja Adama Mickiewicza* (Paris, 1872), iii, 55.

³⁷ See M. Straszewska, *Życie Literackie Wielkiej Emigracji we Francji 1831-1840* (Warsaw, 1970), pp. 15-18.

³⁸ The police investigation was made as a result of a request by a commission of inquiry in Warsaw which was trying to trace Polish *émigrés* believed to be involved in conspiracies in Poland. A.N F7 6988; 13703, Reports of the general police: 'Sur la conspiration de Pologne dont s'occupe le comité d'enquête à Varsovie'. Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Minister of the Interior, 19 July 1827.

innocent Polish *émigrés*, the police reported that *Le Constitutionnel* received its information through a M. van Guemen, a correspondent for the English journal *Galvani*.³⁹ The Russian ambassador, however, was not satisfied with this explanation and in September 1829 he informed the police that Teodor Morawski was in Paris and was involved in the publication of an anti-Russian newspaper.⁴⁰ The embassy was certain that Morawski was the author of the articles in *Le Constitutionnel*, but the police authorities were unable to trace him and the series of articles continued unchecked. The Russian ambassador believed that Morawski was living under an assumed name, but the police were easily confused by the strange sounding Polish names of the *émigrés* and they reported that he was believed to be in Siberia. Even in February 1830, when the Minister of the Interior requested a detailed report on the expatriate community for the ambassador,⁴¹ the police were unable to confirm his presence in the capital.

While Morawski prepared articles on the political situation in Poland, Podczaszyński concentrated his attention on Polish literature and science. From 1826 he began to publish regular articles in the periodical *La Revue Encyclopédique*, which included reviews and articles on all aspects of European culture. Its editor, Jullien de Paris, himself the author of a short biography of Kościuszko published in 1818, was particularly interested in eastern European affairs and always welcomed articles on Russia and Poland.⁴² Before Podczaszyński's arrival, however, there had been no systematic appraisal of cultural developments in Poland and the French public were almost completely ignorant of the renaissance in Polish letters which had begun after 1815. Beginning in 1826 with a statistical survey of Warsaw,⁴³ Podczaszyński published a series of reviews and articles which he hoped would draw attention to Poland's literary and scientific achievements and relate them to developments in Europe as a whole. It was through him that the first mention was made of the poets Mickiewicz, Witwicki, Alexander Chodźko, Malczewski and Krasiński and their poetry linked to the great movement of European Romanticism. It was through him, too,

³⁹ At first the police were told that the paper's correspondent was a M. Dobsy in Warsaw, but after this name was revealed to be false, suspicion passed to a Count Kościolski, who was known to receive letters from Warsaw and then to a M. Wilson, a Polish citizen who had been in Paris for a number of years.

⁴⁰ Russian ambassador to the Minister of the Interior, n.d. (Sept. 1829).

⁴¹ Minister of the Interior to the Prefect of Police, 23 Feb. 1830.

⁴² For the interest shown by the *Revue* in Russian literature see Corbet, "La Littérature russe . . ."

⁴³ M. Podczaszyński, "Statistique de Varsovie en 1826," *La Revue Encyclopédique*, xxxii (1826), 223-6.

that the French public learned about the Polish universities, the work of the scientific societies and the progress of educational reform in Congress Poland. In 1828 the first French Polish language edition of Mickiewicz's poems appeared and two years later two editions of his work were published simultaneously in French and were favourably reviewed in the literary press.⁴⁴

Chodźko collaborated with Podczaszyński in the preparation of the 1828 edition of Mickiewicz's poetry, but his main interest was history, for it was history, and in particular the history of the Napoleonic wars, which he believed offered the best means of reviving French interest in Poland.⁴⁵ His publishing career began in 1827 with a work called *Observations sur la Pologne et les Polonais*, a brief introduction to the memoirs of his patron Ogiński, but two years later he published his first major work, a history of Dąbrowski's legions in Italy.⁴⁶ Like Ogiński, whose memoirs covered the whole Napoleonic period, Chodźko wanted to remind the French public of the glorious part played by the Polish troops in the French campaigns and to renew the bond of friendship forged between the two nations on the battlefields of Europe:

Dresde, Leipzig, Montereau, les sommets de Montmartre, Fontainebleau, l'île d'Elbe, plus tard encore les champs de Waterloo et même les bords de la Loire, furent témoins de leur courageuse persévérance; et eux aussi peuvent dire avec orgueil: *Nous étions là!*⁴⁷

The cause of Polish independence was thus linked to that of '*une république menacée dans son indépendance*', but Chodźko also wanted to stress Napoleon's shortsightedness in not helping the Poles to win back their liberty. Without an independent Poland, Europe was at the mercy of '*des irruptions soudaines de ces hordes du Nord, qui, lassés de leurs frimats, débordent dans les pays méridionaux pour y conquérir du soleil et des richesses.*'⁴⁸

The history of the Polish legion was only the first of Chodźko's many publishing projects. He was already writing over 200 biographical sketches for the *Nouvelle Biographie Universelle* and had

⁴⁴ Straszewska, pp. 25 ff.

⁴⁵ 'Przed Francuzami trzeba zacząć od tego co dla nich jest znanem, aby później zamilowali w dawnej naszej historii, jeżeli przyjdzie do tego, iż się cofnę w odległą wstęczność.' L. Chodźko to Adam Mickiewicz, 3 May 1828: *Korespondencja*, ii, 52.

⁴⁶ L. Chodźko, *Histoire des légions polonaises en Italie sous le commandement du général Dombrowski* (Paris, 1829). Chodźko was not the author of the *Observations*, which had recently been published in Italian by a Count Bellecour de Langier, but he did arrange for its translation and publication in French. Estreicher, *iii*, 153.

⁴⁷ L. Chodźko, *Histoire des légions . . .*, i, xxv.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* i, xxvii.

also begun a piece on Poland for Jarry de Mancy's *Atlas historique et chronologique des littératures anciennes et modernes*, but at the same time he was also collaborating with Podczaszyński in a revised edition of Malte-Brun's *Tableau de la Pologne ancienne et moderne*, both of which appeared in 1830.⁴⁹ The *Tableau*, now enlarged to two volumes, contained an extensive survey of the geography, economy, culture, literature and history of the territories which had once formed part of the Polish Republic. Chodźko wrote the historical section and Podczaszyński provided a history of Polish literature, but the work also included pieces from a number of contemporary Polish writers, including the statistician Stanisław Plater and the historian Joachim Lelewel.⁵⁰ The new book was the first general study of Poland to be published for over twenty years and it was at once accepted as an authoritative work, but for Chodźko and Podczaszyński it was also an important piece of propaganda. Once again they were careful to link Poland's fate with that of revolutionary France and to encourage the idea of her place as the natural barrier between Europe and Russia, but the main purpose of the book was to emphasise the indestructibility of Polish nationality. Each section of the *Tableau* contributed towards an idea of nationality which was based not on the existence of a state, but on race, natural topography, religion and the common heritage of history and culture:

Ainsi, nous devons suivre les anciennes divisions, qui seules répendent avec exactitude aux limites de la Pologne, qui seules figurent dans l'histoire de cet Etat et qui d'ailleurs sont infiniment plus favorables aux intéressans tableaux de la géographie naturelle, que ne le sont les séparations arbitraires dictées par les conquérans.⁵¹

Chodźko and Podczaszyński hoped that the new edition of Malte-Brun, like their other works, would both inform and influence opinion in France and so successful was their project that within a year a further edition had appeared and preparations were underway for translations into German, English and Italian. By 1830, too, other members of the Polish group had begun to publish

⁴⁹ Soon after his arrival in Paris in 1826 Chodźko had approached Malte-Brun with the idea of revising his work, but after the author's death in the December of the same year, he and Podczaszyński had both taken over the task of the revision and had produced what was in effect a completely new book. L. Chodźko to Adam Mickiewicz, 3 May 1828: *Korespondencja*, ii, 55.

⁵⁰ Lelewel contributed an '*Essai historique sur la législation polonaise civile et criminelle jusqu'au temps des Jagellons depuis l'année 920 jusqu'en 1430*'.

⁵¹ C. Malte-Brun, *Tableau de la Pologne ancienne et moderne, nou. ed. entièrement refondue, augmentée et ornée de cartes par L. Chodźko* (Paris, 1830), i, 1.

propaganda. The composer Sowiński had collaborated in an edition of *Chants polonais nationaux et populaires avec accompagnement de piano et de harpe* and Seweryn Oleszczyński had produced a number of historical maps which traced the changing boundaries of the old Republic.⁵² The small expatriate community had begun to be noticed and the Poles had already established some important contacts in the literary and political circles of the capital. A close friendship was developing between the Poles and several members of the staff of the *Revue Encyclopédique*, in particular the founder Jullien de Paris and two regular contributors, Héreau and Alphonse d'Herbelot. Héreau, who had lived in Russia between 1809 and 1819, was one of the few French journalists to write for the literary press on Slavonic culture and in the mid 1820s he had played an important part in the attempt to publicise the achievements of Russian literature in the *Revue*. As a liberal, however, he was critical of the social and governmental system in Russia and deplored the Tsarist claim to Slav hegemony. His colleague d'Herbelot was an even more enthusiastic polonophile and during 1829 and 1830 he published a number of long reviews which were propaganda articles in themselves. His review of Salvandy's history of John Sobieski was over 25 pages long⁵³ and was later re-published as a pamphlet entitled *Des causes de la décadence de la Pologne*, while in November 1830 he wrote a long article on the political situation in Poland since 1815 which gave details of the political persecutions conducted by the Russian authorities in Warsaw and Wilno.⁵⁴ D'Herbelot was an eager champion of his Polish colleagues' cause and his own writing was greatly influenced by their ideas, especially their view of Russia:

Victorieuse de la vaste confédération lithuano-polonaise, la Moscovie régite maintenant les Slaves; elle ne les représente pas: autre est son origine, elle vient d'Asie; autre est son esprit national, humble, servile et fait au joug; autres sont ses mœurs et ses lois, toutes viciées qu'elles sont encore par le contact du despotisme tartare: encore une fois, elle n'est pas slave: et si quelque jour elle élève des prétentions sérieuses à l'héritage dispersé de cette grande famille, elle n'aura d'autres titres à présenter à l'Europe que le droit du plus fort et son épée.⁵⁵

⁵² Straszewska, pp. 30 ff. Oleszczyński also engraved maps for Chodźko's work on the legions and the new edition of the *Tableau*.

⁵³ *Revue Encyclopédique*, xliii (1830), 348-375.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, xlviii (1830), 296-324.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, xlv (1830), 79-80. D'Herbelot also reviewed Chodźko's book on the legions, the new edition of Malte-Brun and the two editions of Mickiewicz's poetry published in French for the *Revue*.

Chodźko and Podczaszyński also had other contacts in Paris. Chodźko was a member of several learned societies⁵⁶ and through the publisher Barbezat, in whose house he had rooms and for whom he corrected proofs, the Poles met a number of other journalists and men of letters.⁵⁷ Chodźko was already friendly with the radical journalist Armand Carrel and it was through him that Chodźko was introduced to the man who was to become the leader of the Polish movement in France, Lafayette. Chodźko, who in October 1829 sent the general a copy of his book on the Polish legions, found him immediately sympathetic to the cause: *'Je fus l'intime ami de Pulaski, de Kościuszko, et j'ai toujours pris le plus vif intérêt à la liberté et à la gloire polonaise'*.⁵⁸ Lafayette remembered Kościuszko as a revolutionary hero and as a comrade in arms during the American War of Independence and in 1817 he had helped to arrange his funeral, but during the revolutionary period he had also maintained close contacts with the agents of the Polish emigration in Europe.⁵⁹ During the Restoration his house in the rue d'Anjou became a meeting place for many foreign refugees and Chodźko was at once invited to attend his *salon*. The two men quickly became friends and when Lafayette expressed a wish to have a portrait of Kościuszko for his collection of great revolutionary leaders, Chodźko decided to arrange a little ceremony on the anniversary of Kościuszko's birth.⁶⁰ Among his guests were Lafayette, Armand Carrel, Jullien de Paris, Dubois of the newspaper *Le Globe*, Benjamin Constant, Victor Hugo, the painter David d'Angers, the liberal deputies Norvins and Kératry and the writers Villeneuve, Fayot and Reybaud. Most of the *émigré* community were also there including Morawski, who at this time seems to have been living under the name of "Szczeniński".⁶¹

By the end of the Restoration, therefore, the efforts of the small expatriate community in Paris had already begun to revive French interest in the Poles. The political situation in Poland was no longer

⁵⁶ On the title page of the *Tableau*, Chodźko was described as a member of several societies including the Académie royale de Nancy, the Société de géographie and the Société française de statistique universelle de Paris.

⁵⁷ A.N. F7 6988; 13703. Memorandum to the Prefect of Police probably from the Russian ambassador, 16 Mar. 1830.

⁵⁸ Lafayette to L. Chodźko, 14 Oct. 1829 in A. Lewak, *General M. R. Lafayette o Polsce* (Warsaw, 1934), no. 1.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. xi ff.

⁶⁰ The presentation took place on 4 Feb. 1830 and an account of the proceedings was published in the *Revue Encyclopédique*, xlv (1830), 484-490.

⁶¹ A.N. F7 6988; 13703. Memorandum to the Prefect of Police probably from the Russian ambassador, 16 Mar. 1830. In response to a request from the embassy the police had made inquiries about the ceremony, but in his report of 10 Mar. 1830 the prefect confused Chodźko with Sowiński and failed to identify Morawski as one of the participants.

completely neglected by the press, the new literary movement had begun to attract attention and reviews of books on Polish subjects were appearing regularly in the *Revue Encyclopédique*. In their own books the Polish publicists had tried to create an image of Poland which they believed would win the sympathy of opinion in France. By emphasising ideas which were already well established in French writing through the influence of Rulhière and his successors, the Poles reminded the French public of the unique position of Poland as the traditional defender of western civilisation, of her long attachment to the principles of liberty and equality and of her constant struggle against an alien, barbaric Russia. At the same time, however, they identified the Polish cause with the revolutionary tradition in France. By reviving the memory of the part played by the Polish troops in the Napoleonic wars, they had linked Poland's fate with the great epoch of French military glory and the defeat of the revolutionary principle at Waterloo. As yet the influence of their propaganda did not extend very far, but for Chodźko and his colleagues their work was only a preparation for a long awaited change in the international situation. Like many of their contemporaries, they looked to France as the leader of the European revolution and the natural ally of Poland in an insurrectionary war. Their interest in promoting the cause of Polish literature had always been coloured by political hopes and they already formed an important link between figures like Mickiewicz and Lelewel in Poland and the leaders of the political opposition in Paris. Once again '*la question polonaise*' had been posed: '*il faut une barrière à l'Europe, il en faut une d'airain, et cette barrière est introuvable hors d'une Pologne indépendante*'.⁶²

⁶² *Un mot sur la question polonaise* (Paris, 1829), p. 19.

CHAPTER TWO

THE FRENCH REACTION TO THE NOVEMBER UPRISING

1. *The Polish uprising of November 1830*

Polish hopes for a new revolution in France were suddenly realised when in July 1830 three days of street fighting overturned the Bourbon *régime* and placed Louis Philippe on the French throne. The news of the insurrection, which reached Warsaw on 6 August, was received with great enthusiasm. The leaders of the conspiracy in the cadet school, who had only recently abandoned an attempt to stage a *coup d'état* during the coronation of Nicholas I, began to prepare new plans for an insurrection and the circle of conspirators widened. As the international situation deteriorated during the autumn, discussions were held between Zaliwski, Wysocki and other revolutionary activists, but the only leader of any political importance consulted was Lelewel, who advised against the plan. By November the plot had been betrayed to the authorities and a penetrating, though leisurely, inquiry was already underway, and with Russian troops massing on Poland's eastern frontier, the conspiracy seemed once again to be about to fail. Nevertheless, urged on by Zaliwski, the conspirators decided to act, and to forestall arrest the date of the insurrection was brought forward from 10 December to 29 November. On that night armed assault was to be made on the Belvedere Palace, the Grand Duke Constantine murdered and a new insurrection proclaimed.¹

The uprising of November 1830 was the logical outcome of nearly fifteen years of conspiracy and opposition, but it took place without any significant political support. In the attack on the Belvedere the Grand Duke escaped, but his retreat from the capital, his reluctance to crush the rebellion by force and a rising by the population of Warsaw forced the Administrative Council to take control. Their aim was to restore order in Warsaw and to reach agreement with the Russian authorities, but the conservative members of the Council, finding themselves faced with a rising tide of radical enthusiasm, allowed the situation to drift. The Polish army declared

¹ For an account in English of the November uprising see R. F. Leslie, *Polish Politics and the Revolution of November 1830* (London, 1956).

for the insurrection and some of the reactionary elements in the Council were replaced by men more favourable to the revolutionary movement, but although general Chłopicki, a Napoleonic veteran and a political moderate, assumed control of the government and began immediate negotiations with the Tsar, the actions of the Diet soon took the situation out of his control. On 15 December it declared the rising to be an act of the nation and on 3 January 1831 a manifesto was issued which outlined the grievances of the Poles and proclaimed the aims of the uprising to be national independence and self-determination.² On 25 January Nicholas 1 was formally deposed by the Diet and on 30 January a National Government was appointed with Adam Czartoryski as president.³ An armed conflict with Russia had become inevitable and between February and September 1831 the fate of the insurrection lay with the small professional army of the Polish Kingdom.

Despite its confused and uncertain beginnings, therefore, the uprising was a national insurrection in the tradition of 1794. Although ostensibly a rebellion against the Tsar as king of Poland, its real aim was the recovery of Polish independence and, whereas the National Government was careful to make no territorial claims against Prussia or Austria, it was quick to proclaim the reunion of Lithuania and the eastern provinces with Congress Poland. Beyond this basic aim, however, there was little agreement. For the members of the old constitutional opposition, the insurrection was a legal rebellion in defence of the constitutional rights guaranteed by Alexander 1 in 1815 whereas for conservatives like Chłopicki and Czartoryski the uprising was an unfortunate mistake which their patriotic duty obliged them to harness and control. For the radicals, on the other hand, it was a new phase in the revolutionary struggle for liberty and emancipation begun in 1794 and in the Patriotic Club in Warsaw Lelewel and his associates discussed plans for social and political reform. The conservatives in the government tried to restrain the radicals as much as possible, but although the government's statements stressed the legal right of the Poles to resist the attack made by the Russian authorities on their liberties, the aims of the insurrection inevitably became identified with those of the European revolution and as in 1794 the Polish uprising became part of a wider movement. Like the other insurrections in Europe, it was seen as a struggle for liberty and freedom against tyranny,

² The manifesto was the work of the radicals led by Lelewel and was accepted by the Diet against the wishes of Chłopicki, Leslie, pp. 147-148.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 156-160. The other members of the government were Wincenty Niemojowski, one of the leaders of the constitutional opposition, his friend Teofil Morawski, Stanisław Barzykowski and Lelewel.

for constitutional government against absolutism, for national sovereignty and self-determination against arbitrary rule and the government of a *régime* imposed by the hated Vienna settlement. The social question, which for many radicals was the greatest problem facing the country, was put aside and the Poles placed their faith in the military expertise of their Napoleonic army and its young officers.⁴

It was inevitable, therefore, that in such a situation the Poles would look to France. The shared fortune of the two countries in the Napoleonic campaigns was remembered with pride and the revolution in Paris had played an important part in encouraging the November conspirators in their plans. It is unlikely, however, that the uprising itself formed part of a European conspiracy directed by the international *Carbonari* in Paris. The Polish secret societies were very similar in ideology and form to those in other European countries and there may have been links between them through individuals like general Kniaziewicz, who spent many years in exile in Dresden, or even Chodźko, who was in touch with Lelewel and Lafayette, both of whom had been involved in secret conspiracies.⁵ From what is known about the *Carbonari* at this time, however, it is unlikely that the much feared *vente* would have had the influence or the organisation necessary to command an effective network of conspiracy.⁶ The November plot was the last and successful stage in a series of *coups* which had begun well before the July Revolution, but which so far had failed to materialise. The encouragement received from Paris was probably no more than that received by the revolutionaries in Italy and Germany, the encouragement of example, but the Poles were quick to claim that one of the chief motives behind the decision to stage the rising had been the wish to prevent the Polish army from being used as the advance guard in the projected Russian invasion of France.⁷ Poland was France's

⁴ The social question is discussed by Leslie, pp. 172-193. A limited and conservative measure of reform affecting the Crown lands was introduced in March 1831, but its proposals proved too radical for the landowners in the Diet.

⁵ See M. Kukiel, "La révolution de 1830 et la Pologne," *Revue Internationale d'Histoire Politique et Constitutionnelle*, iii (1953), 235-248 and "Lelewel, Mickiewicz and the Underground Movements of European Revolution 1816-1833," *Polish Review*, v (1960), 59-76. The link with the *Carbonari* has been questioned by W. Zajewski, "W sprawie genezy rewolucji listopadowej w 1830 roku," *Przegląd Historyczny*, 1 (1959), 852-855.

⁶ See A. Lehning, "Buonarrotti and the Secret Societies," *International Review of Social History*, i (1956), 112-140 and E. L. Eisenstein, *Buonarrotti, the First Professional Revolutionary* (Harvard, 1959). For France see A. Spitzer, *Old Hatreds and Young Hopes: The French Carbonari against the Bourbon Restoration* (Harvard, 1971).

⁷ In fact the Polish mobilisation had already been postponed, see Leslie, pp. 117-121.

natural ally in the struggle for the emancipation of Europe from the tyranny of the Vienna settlement.

Polish hopes in France, however, took different forms. For the radicals and young revolutionaries in the army a revolution in France meant the reopening of the struggle of the nations of Europe against the absolutist powers and many hoped that a strong France would once again proclaim the war of the liberation of the peoples. Experienced politicians like Czartoryski, on the other hand, hoped that the diplomatic support of France might be used together with that of Great Britain to exert pressure on Russia and force Nicholas I to reach some form of compromise with the Poles. Almost immediately Czartoryski arranged for a number of emissaries to visit London and Paris to establish contact with official circles. The first Polish representatives, Wolicki, Sapieha and Wielopolski, travelled at their own request and expense, but the deposition of the Tsar and the deterioration in Russo-Polish relations made the appointment of a more substantial diplomatic representative necessary, and in March 1831 general Kniaziewicz and Ludwik Plater arrived in Paris as the official legation of the National Government.⁸ By that time, however, the war with Russia was already underway and Poland's fate seemed sealed. The Tsar was determined not to negotiate with his rebel subjects and France had neither the political will to proclaim a war of liberation nor the political or military strength to influence Russia. Yet it was to be eight months before Warsaw fell to the Russians and in those eight months the Poles continued to look towards France. They received little encouragement from the government, but from certain sections of public opinion, for whom the Polish uprising became a noble crusade against tyranny, they won both enthusiastic support and material aid.

2. *The French reaction to the November uprising*

The Polish uprising was only one of a series of revolutions which followed in the wake of the July Revolution in France, but from the beginning it aroused particularly strong sympathy from the French public. The news of the insurrection, which reached Paris on the evening of 10 December, came at a crucial moment. Since early November the capital had been in the grip of a wave of speculation and rumour and it was popularly believed that France was about to be plunged into another European war in defence of her

⁸ For the diplomatic policy of the National Government during this period see J. Dutkiewicz, *Francja a Polska w 1831 roku* (Łódź, 1950).

national sovereignty. Although by September the conciliatory tone adopted by the new government had won recognition of Louis Philippe's *régime* from Great Britain, Austria, Prussia and most of the smaller European states, the personal hostility of the Tsar had not diminished and there seemed little chance that diplomatic relations between France and Russia, broken off at the time of the revolution in July, would be resumed.⁹ The outbreak of the insurrections in Belgium, Germany and Italy served only to confirm the suspicions of those diplomats like Nesselrode and Metternich who had been schooled by the experiences of the revolutionary wars to see France as the source of all revolutionary propaganda in Europe. The new king succeeded in convincing most of the other European powers that the existence of his *régime* offered the best guarantee against the emergence of a more radical government in France, but the determination of his government to protect France's natural interests in Belgium increased the suspicions of the Tsar.¹⁰ At the beginning of November Nicholas, by now alarmed at the course of events in Germany, approached the Prussian government and ordered the mobilisation of Russian troops for 22 December. It is doubtful whether this was intended to be any more than a show of force, for the Tsar received little encouragement from Frederick William III in Berlin, but the Russian threat was taken very seriously in Paris. On 1 December, six days after the Belgian Congress had formally broken with Holland and declared the Dutch dynasty to be permanently excluded from the Belgian throne, Lafitte introduced a measure to raise the French army to a strength of 500,000 men.¹¹ By early December a confrontation between Russia and France had begun to seem inevitable and rumours of war, which had been gathering pace throughout November, intensified.

The prospect of a European war was greeted with pleasure and even enthusiasm in certain quarters. For most of the 221 deputies who had united to oppose Charles X in July the aim of the subsequent revolution had been to uphold the constitutional system established in 1815 and to remove the last vestiges of aristocratic privilege from the governmental system, but for the radicals and for the artisans of the Parisian *faubourgs* who had fought for the insurrection on the barricades, the chief crimes of the late *régime* had

⁹ Dutkiewicz, pp. 11-31. On receiving the news of the July insurrection Nicholas had closed the frontier to French nationals, recalled all Russian citizens from France and forbidden the appearance of the tricolour.

¹⁰ For the background to the diplomatic situation in the autumn of 1830 see J. A. Betley, *Belgium and Poland in International Relations 1830-1831* (The Hague, 1960), pp. 57-97.

¹¹ *Arch. parl.* lxiv, 700-702. The government was also concerned at the pace of re-armament in Prussia and Austria.

been its subservience to the Jesuits and its association with the humiliation of France in 1815. Lafayette, whose appearance on the balcony of the *Hôtel de Ville* had marked the final triumph of the revolution, spoke of the programme of the barricades as '*un trône populaire au nom de la souveraineté nationale entouré d'institutions républicaines*', but in the mind of the populace such vague political ideas mattered less than the hope that the hated settlement imposed on France by the Vienna Treaties would be overturned and that a new *régime* would begin a strong and forceful policy to recover France's territorial integrity and international prestige. Louis Blanc, for example, writing ten years after the events of July was doubtful about the level of political sophistication shown by the population in 1830:

'Il lui était resté des habitudes militaires de l'empire et de la licence des camps un profond mépris pour les jésuites et la clergé. Les Bourbons, il les repoussait, mais seulement à cause du scandale de leur avènement, que son orgueil associait à toutes les humiliations de la patrie. Pour lui-même, il demandait peu de chose, parce qu'entretenu depuis long-temps dans une ignorance complète de ses propres affaires, il était aussi incapable de désirer que de prévoir.'³²

For this section of opinion, the news of the insurrections in other parts of Europe seemed to foreshadow a new alliance between France and the nations of Europe against the Vienna settlement and the fear of foreign invasion was linked, as in 1793-1794, to the idea of France's right to support her natural allies, the peoples of Europe, for liberty and independence.¹³ By November it was widely believed that a new war of liberation was imminent and fears of a Russian invasion began to haunt the radical press and the pamphleteers. The most outspoken exponent of these ideas in the press was Armand Carrel, the editor of *Le National*, who in a series of articles during November proclaimed that a war with Russia was inevitable and even desirable¹⁴, but by early December even the more moderate

¹² J. J. Louis Blanc, *Revolution française: Histoire de dix ans 1830-1840*, 4th ed. (Paris, 1844), i, 177. For a modern study of the 1830 Revolution see D. Plinkney, *The French Revolution of 1830* (Princeton, 1972).

¹³ This became the major theme of many pamphlets and *chansons* which appeared at this time. France, one anonymous writer claimed, had once again posed 'la grande question de liberté qui, en 1789, lui avait valu la guerre et la haine des rois . . . notre drapeau, comme la croix des chrétiens, a rallié tous les peuples'. Lev. . . X, *Un mot sur l'imminence de la guerre* (Paris, 1830), p. 6.

¹⁴ 'La révolution ne peut se défendre, qu'en attaquant: ce fut le cri de l'instinct français en 1792 et il n'y a de salut encore pour nous cette fois qu'à porter les premiers coups.' *Le National*, 30 Nov. 1830.

papers had ceased to play down the threat of war and on 9 December, the day before the news of the uprising reached Paris, the conservative *Le Journal des Débats* raised the spectre of a new struggle for national survival reminiscent of 1793.¹⁵ The situation in the capital was made worse by the continuation of the commercial crisis which had afflicted Paris since before the July Revolution. Artisan gatherings and trade combinations continued to agitate the city throughout August and September 1830, unemployment remained high and the attention of many workers become focused on the idea of a public works programme. The possibility that economic distress might become the source of political agitation was a matter of constant concern to the police and on 5 October the Prefect reported that:

“On ne peut méconnaître qu’une sourde agitation règne dans les masses, l’état des affaires politiques et commerciales, la révolution belge, la possibilité d’une intervention étrangère et par dessus tout le procès des ex-ministres sont le sujet de presque tous les entretiens.”¹⁶

By late November, however, it was the international situation which dominated public thinking and in Paris the speculation about a coming war increased. On 29 November the Prefect reported that the rumours were affecting all classes of the population and on 7 December that the workers of the capital spoke of war as a certainty and appeared to welcome the prospect with enthusiasm.¹⁷ A war with Russia seemed inevitable and the Parisian artisans were unanimous in their desire to march to the defence of the frontiers.

The arrival of the news of a revolution in Poland transformed the whole situation. Although the information received from Warsaw was uncertain, it seemed clear that an insurrection in Poland would delay any invasion of Europe by the Tsar and might, if the Poles held out for any length of time, prevent it altogether. At the London Conference, which had been called in October to discuss the Belgian crisis, the news brought an immediate diminution of tension. France was able to secure the recognition of the principle of Belgian independence and the way was opened for the final recognition of Louis Philippe by the Tsar in January 1831.¹⁸ In Paris the news seemed to offer new hope for the security of

¹⁵ *Le Journal des Débats*, 9 Dec. 1830.

¹⁶ A.N. F7 3884. Daily reports of the Prefect of Police for 1830.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ For the diplomatic significance of the uprising see Dutkiewicz, pp. 36 ff., Betley, pp. 57-97 and C. Morley, “The European Significance of the November Rising,” *Journal of Central European Affairs*, ii (1951-1952), 407-416.

France and for the victory of her cause in Europe and the Press, with the exception of the legitimist papers, was united in welcoming the rising. *Le Journal des Débats* advocated a strong defence of the principle of non-intervention, which had been successful in protecting the revolutions in France and Belgium and could legitimately be extended to Poland.¹⁹ The moderate newspapers were, on the whole, cautious in their response, but the radical Press at once heralded the new uprising as a proof of the resilience of the ideas of liberty and self-determination in Europe and the editors were quick to conclude that their cherished moral crusade against the Vienna settlement was now certain of victory.²⁰ By mid-December several pamphlets had appeared which proclaimed the uprising to be the prelude to a European struggle for emancipation under the leadership of France. For one pamphleteer, the fate of France and the whole European revolution now depended on Poland, for:

“La Pologne est sur la route de Paris. Sans la glorieuse révolution qu'elle vient d'opérer, peut-être que l'ennemi serait aujourd'hui sur nos frontières.”²¹

Although the news of the uprising came as a complete surprise to the Press and the public in Paris, for Chodźko and the other members of the expatriate community in France it was the fulfilment of a long cherished hope. Since July, when Chodźko had fought on the barricades and had been decorated for being wounded in the cause of liberty, he had continued to prepare articles for the Press and during the autumn of 1830 he had begun work on a history of the Warsaw Patriotic Society.²² With the outbreak of the uprising, however, he and his colleagues became the natural spokesmen for the Polish cause in France. They prepared articles for the Press explaining the causes of the insurrection and after a few weeks Chodźko was able to embellish these articles with extracts from the Polish newspapers which he had received from Warsaw.²³ At the same time, they formed a deputation which approached the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sébastiani, in the hope of winning official support and encouragement for the uprising and later in

¹⁹ For the reaction of the press to the uprising see M. Fridieff, “L'Opinion publique française devant l'insurrection polonaise de 1830-1831,” *Revue Internationale d'Histoire Politique et Constitutionnelle*, ii (1952), 111-121, 205-214, 280-304.

²⁰ In *Le National* Carrel wrote: ‘Aujourd'hui tout annonce que, si la puissance nominale est encore aux gouvernements, la force réelle est aux peuples . . . Faites la guerre, parce que c'est en la traversant, et en la traversant au plus vite, que vous pourrez arriver à une paix stable.’ *Le National*, 11 Dec. 1830.

²¹ L. de St. Firmin, *La Question polonaise* (Paris, 1831), p. 10.

²² *Revue Encyclopédique*, xlvi (1831), 313 n. 1.

²³ Dutkiewicz, p. 53.

December they were able to provide help for Wielopolski, Wolicki and Sapieha during their stay in Paris.²⁴ Chodźko was able to put Wolicki in touch with his journalist friends in the capital and on 11 January a banquet was given by the editors of the *Revue Encyclopédique* at which they, Wolicki and most of the *émigré* community were joined by the envoy of the provisional government in Brussels and the consul of the United States.²⁵ Wolicki's attempt to raise funds for agitation, however, was unpopular in France and lost him considerable support.

Meanwhile sympathetic articles and pamphlets continued to appear and Chodźko was pleased to see that their propaganda campaign had at last begun to produce effects. Nearly all the commentators remembered the bonds forged between France and Poland during the revolutionary wars. *Le Globe* recalled that the Poles had signed with France “*un pacte de leur sang en Espagne, en Italie et sur tous les théâtres de nos guerres*”²⁶ and St. Firmin reminded his readers that France had sacred obligations towards the 200,000 men who had fallen for her in Italy, Egypt, Russia, even at Waterloo, “*ils jurèrent de partager notre bonne ou notre mauvaise fortune*”.²⁷ The aims of the uprising in Poland were closely identified with those of the July Revolution in France,²⁸ and it was at once accepted that the regeneration of Poland was Europe's only security against Russia:

Si la Pologne persévère et triomphe, toutes les forces de la Russie sont absorbées pour longtemps et la barrière qui doit défendre les peuples du midi contre les envahissemens du nord se relève enfin.²⁹

In the Press hysterical russophobia reached a peak in *Le National* and *Le Constitutionnel*, which by the end of December was warning the public:

Laissons-nous la Russie, qui des bords du Danube et du haut du Caucase tient le sultan assiégé dans Constantinople, s'élançant au sommet des monts Carpathes, précédé, comme un nouvel Attila, du monstre dévorant du choléra-morbus, pour anéantir l'Europe par le fléau dévastateur de cette peste

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 55 ff.

²⁵ A collection was taken at the banquet which raised 231 francs for the Poles. *Revue Encyclopédique*, xlix (1831), 246-249.

²⁶ *Le Globe*, 11 Dec. 1830.

²⁷ St. Firmin, pp. 12-13.

²⁸ ‘c'est la pensée de l'Hôtel de Ville et du Louvre qui a chassé le grand-duc de Varsovie; ce sont nos sentiments, notre influence, qui ont mis les armes aux mains des insurgés.’ *Le Globe*, 11 Dec. 1830.

²⁹ M. H. Parrot, *Des chances de guerre en Europe et des probabilités d'une alliance entre la France et l'Angleterre* (Paris, 1830), p. 20.

nouvelle, et par celui, plus redoutable encore, du despotisme et de la barbarie?³⁰

Already the radical Press and the pamphleteers were calling for French intervention in support of the rising and while in *Le National* Carrel spoke of the spirit of Valmy, Marengo and Austerlitz ready to rise in defence of Poland's right to independence, a M. de Chabannes appealed to France to begin a new war of emancipation, '*nous allons porter la régénération et la liberté jusqu'aux extrémités de la terre*'.³¹

During December public attention was focused on the trial of the ministers of Charles X, but despite the paucity of information from Warsaw, the course of the insurrection in Poland was followed with enormous interest. Behind the scenes, Chodźko and his associates were making every effort to arouse public enthusiasm for the Poles in the hope of persuading the government to undertake some form of intervention. Their own approaches to Sébastiani had met with little success, for, although the minister expressed his personal sympathy for the uprising, he was not prepared to commit the government to any open declaration of support. Their friends in the opposition had not been so reticent and in the Press Carrel and Jullien de Paris had begun an outspoken campaign of support. Enthusiastic articles appeared regularly in *Le National* and *Le Constitutionnel*, and in the *Revue Encyclopédique* a series of articles, reviews and extracts from Polish documents gave the public information about pamphlets and books appearing in France and political developments in Warsaw.³² Important support, too, had come from Lafayette. After the July Revolution, when Chodźko had become one of Lafayette's *aides*,³³ the friendship between the two men had grown closer and on receiving the news of the uprising, the general had put his considerable influence at the disposal of the Poles. During December and January he raised the question of Polish independence in the Chamber of Deputies on several occasions, demanding clarification of the government's position to-

³⁰ *Le Constitutionnel*, 26 Dec. 1830. Elaborating a familiar theme of Polish propaganda, Parrot spoke of Russia's guiding force as 'la conservation du pouvoir absolu et l'esprit du conquête' and claimed that now her move southward had been checked by England, her ambitions lay in the West. Parrot, p. 8.

³¹ M. de Chabannes, *Français, Marchons à la gloire, à la liberté, à la régénération de l'espèce humain !!!* (Paris, 1830), p. 1.

³² In January 1831 the *Revue* printed the text of the Polish manifesto published on 3 January and reviews of St. Firmin's pamphlet and a number of political poems.

³³ Lafayette to L. Chodźko, 4 Aug. 1830 in A. Lewak, *General M. R. Lafayette o Polsce* (Warsaw, 1934), no. 8.

wards the uprising and defending Polish claims.³⁴ He also wrote to both Louis Philippe³⁵ and Palmerston³⁶ about the need for a forceful policy against Russian intervention in Poland and declared France's intention to protect the independent status of Poland to the Prussian envoy.³⁷

By January the name of Lafayette was already closely linked with the Polish cause.³⁸ The greatest asset he brought to the Polish cause was prestige, for his name was intimately associated with those revolutionary and military traditions which the Polish *émigrés* were most anxious to keep alive, and in early January the interest of the Poles and their French friends turned to an ambitious project, the formation of a Polish committee under Lafayette to act as a pressure group for the cause in France. The plan for a committee seems to have come from the journalists on the *Revue Encyclopédique* some time during December 1830.³⁹ In January Lafayette was approached about the scheme, but within the *émigré* community there was some disagreement about the idea, some believing that it would be better to wait until the Tsar had decided to crush the uprising by force before embarking on such a project.⁴⁰ A majority, however, must have been in favour of the plan, for on 17 January a preliminary meeting was held to discuss the project and it was agreed that a manifesto should be drawn up and its publication fixed for 28 January, the date on which a debate on foreign affairs was due to begin in the Chamber of Deputies.⁴¹

3. *The Comité central français en faveur des polonais*

Although the organisation of the committee had to be completed in less than a fortnight, Lafayette and his brother-in-law, the publicist and philanthropist Charles de Lasteyrie, succeeded in winning the support of some fifty politicians, journalists and *littérateurs* for their plan. Among them were those, who, like

³⁴ On 14 December he spoke of the folly of Louis XV and Napoleon in not reviving 'cette barrière réclamée par les intérêts de l'Allemagne encore plus que par les nôtres,' and on 15 January 1831 he supported the contention that the Polish army was to have formed part of a Russian invasion force. *Mémoires, Correspondance et Manuscrits du général Lafayette publiés par sa famille* (Paris, 1838), vi, 486 and 523-525.

³⁵ Lafayette to Louis Philippe, 12 Dec. 1830, *ibid.*, vi, 484.

³⁶ Lafayette to Palmerston, 23 Jan. 1831, *ibid.*, vi, 536.

³⁷ Lafayette to the Prussian envoy Humboldt, Dec. 1830, Lewak, no. 6.

³⁸ 'Enfin vous avez Lafayette. Pour lui toutes les louanges sont épuisées; mais son nom est son plus bel éloge et vaut à lui seul une histoire', St. Firmin, p. 14.

³⁹ L. Cukierman, *Die Polenfreundliche Bewegung in Frankreich in Jahre 1830-1831* (Warsaw, 1926), p. 38.

⁴⁰ Lafayette to L. Chodźko, 13 Jan. 1831, Lewak, no. 8.

⁴¹ Cukierman, pp. 39 ff.

Lafayette himself, Jullien de Paris and d'Herbelot of the *Revue Encyclopédique*, David d'Angers and Victor Hugo had known the Polish *émigrés* since before the July Revolution, but the personal influence of Lafayette and the general sympathy for the Poles aroused in France helped to interest individuals of many shades of political opinion. They included moderate liberals like Bignon and Odilon Barrot, members of the centre-left like Salverte and Alexandre de Laborde, radicals like Mauguin, Boulay de la Meurthe and Victor de Tracy and one self-styled Bonapartist, Emmanuel de Las Cases.⁴² There were nine former Napoleonic generals⁴³ and several journalists including the editors of *Le National*, *Le Constitutionnel*, *Le Courrier Français*, *Le Globe*, *La Tribune* and the *Revue Encyclopédique*.⁴⁴ Other well known members of the committee were Victor Hugo, the playwright and poet, Casimir Delavigne, another playwright, Lemer cier and the greatest of all French *chansonniers*, Béranger. The only Pole on the committee was Chodźko, described simply as *aide*.

The membership of the committee represented what during the Restoration had been termed liberal opinion, but each member had his own motives for joining the organisation. For some it was a question of personal nostalgia. Dumas, Carbonnel, Laborde, Georges Lafayette, Lallemand and Subervic had all served in Poland during the Napoleonic wars. Baron Larrey had been Napoleon's chief surgeon during the 1812 campaign, Fabvier had fought under the command of Poniatowski and Bignon had been the French resident in Warsaw in 1810.⁴⁵ Several others had fought with the Poles in Italy, but such memories were not merely sentimental. For old Bonapartists like Las Cases, Lallemand and Adolphe Crémieux they highlighted the glory of France's military feats and imperial past while for young patriots like Carrel and Marrast they formed part of the revolutionary legacy which they wished to revive. The triumphs of the revolutionary wars were identified with the success of France's mission to the peoples of Europe and the Poles won the support of both moderates and radicals because their struggle was, like France's own, a struggle for liberty and emancipation. It was the idea of the uprising as a sister revolution, fighting in defence of the same principles as those refounded in

⁴² The membership of the committee had risen to 80 by September. For a list of the members in 1831 see Appendix 1.

⁴³ The generals were Carbonnel, Decaen, Demarçay, Dubignon, Dumas, Fabvier, Lallemand, Lamarque, Subervic and the duc de Valmy.

⁴⁴ Another member was the editor of the newly founded *Le Courrier des Electeurs*, B. Sarrans.

⁴⁵ These details are taken from the articles in the *Nouvelle Biographie Universelle*.

France after July, which attracted the sympathy of moderate politicians like Bignon, who emphasised the right of the Poles to resist the tyranny of the Tsar,⁴⁶ as well as those radicals like Mauguin and general Lamarque, who since the July Revolution had been advocating a policy of confrontation in Europe.⁴⁷ As Cabet, another member of the committee, wrote later, the Polish cause '*c'est la cause de la patrie contre le joug étranger, c'est la cause de la liberté contre le despotisme, c'est la cause des peuples contre leurs oppresseurs*'.⁴⁸

Although between themselves the politicians on the committee interpreted the aims of the July Revolution in different ways, they were united in their support of a revolution which they believed to be part of the European movement of emancipation initiated by France. The same was true of the journalists and *littérateurs*. The views of the newspapers represented on the committee ranged from the cautious liberalism of *Le Constitutionnel* to the bellicose posturing of *Le National* and the outspoken radicalism of *La Tribune*, but all the editors expressed great enthusiasm for the Polish cause. Among the *littérateurs* Daunou was an old-style liberal, who had been responsible for the publication of Rulhière's history of Poland in 1807, and Lemer cier had began his literary career under the patronage of the Princesse de Lamballe and had been a constant critic of the Emperor whereas Delavigne and Béranger praised his feats and revered his memory. Nevertheless on 28 January this disparate group came together to form a Polish committee under Lafayette. A commission of seven members was appointed to act as an executive. Charles de Lasteyrie and Eusèbe Salverte were to be vice-presidents, Dutrône and Thayer secretaries, the notary Février the treasurer and Eugène Cassin the archivist.

Ostensibly the aim of the committee was humanitarian and in the debate on 28 January Alexandre de Laborde claimed that its chief object was to send help to the widows and orphans of the insurgents.⁴⁹ In reality, however, its programme was much more ambitious, for its leaders hoped to use the committee to give both

⁴⁶ In the debate on 28 January Bignon declared 'Je le déclare hautement, l'insurrection polonaise de 1830 a été d'avance, à mes yeux, justifiée, autorisée, legalisée par les actes du congrès de Vienne de 1814 et de 1815.' *Arch. parl.* 2ème série, lxvi, 384.

⁴⁷ On 15 January Lamarque reminded the government 'La gloire est un ciment si puissant, elle environne un trône d'une si brillante auréole, elle fait pousser des racines si profondes une dynastie nouvelle, qu'il serait peut-être politique de la chercher sans motif.' *Ibid.*, 16.

⁴⁸ E. Cabet, *La Révolution de 1830 et la situation présente (Novembre 1833)*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1833), ii, 45.

⁴⁹ 'C'est de servir, non-seulement la liberté, sentiment qui peut n'être pas général, mais l'humanité dont l'intérêt doit enivrer tous les cœurs et réunir toutes les opinions.' *Arch. parl.* 2ème série, lxvi, 389.

material and moral support to the Poles. Several leading members of the committee were already experienced in the art of political campaigning and their experience was reflected in many of the schemes adopted by the new committee. Lasteyrie had organised several philanthropic and scientific societies during the Restoration,⁵⁰ Cadet de Gassicourt had founded the *Association parisienne pour le refus de l'impôt* in 1829 and had been the chief organiser of the banquet for the 221 deputies in 1830, and André Marchais and Desclozeaux had been founder members of the association *Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera*, which from 1827 had tried to organise the electorate in the *arrondissements*. The links with this last association were particularly strong; Odilon Barrot had been its president and among its present members were Armand Carrel, Cauchois-Lemaire of *Le Constitutionnel*, Châtelain of *Le Courrier Français*, Garnier-Pagès and Dupont de l'Eure.⁵¹ Many of the newspaper editors, too, had been leading members of the campaign against the Bourbons in 1830, but the most important model for the *comité polonais* was the most successful of all the associations founded in the Restoration, the *comité philhellénique*.

The Greek committee had been formed in 1824 to organise support for the cause of Greek independence and during its period of greatest activity, 1825-1826, it had been at the centre of a network of both national and international activity. In France it had encouraged the publication of news and information about the course of the Greek war, provided financial and military support for the insurgents and given aid to Greek refugees.⁵² There had been important links between the committee and the Press, especially *Le Constitutionnel*, which in 1821 had organised its own collection for the Greeks, but the particular strength of the movement had been its broad basis of support. The Greek cause had won the sympathy of radicals like Lafayette, liberals like Benjamin Constant, conservatives like Casimir Périer and even legitimists like Chateaubriand and Bonald. In 1826 the pro-Greek lobby in the Chamber of Deputies had won a rare victory over the government on a motion supporting the Greek struggle for independence and it was this success which was widely believed to have encouraged the subsequent French intervention in Morea.⁵³

⁵⁰ Among Lasteyrie's organisations were the *Société d'encouragement pour l'industrie nationale*, the *Société centrale d'agriculture*, the *Société philanthropique* and the *Société constitutionnelle*, founded after the July Revolution to defend the Charter and campaign for electoral reform.

⁵¹ *Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera. Assemblée générale de 1832*. B.N. Lb51 1584.

⁵² For the Greek agitation in France see A. G. Dimopoulos, *L'Opinion française et la révolution grecque 1821-1827* (Nancy, 1962).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 63 ff.

The enormous prestige of the Greek committee and its influence on public opinion and government policy made it an obvious precedent for the founders of the new organisation. In his letter to Chodźko on 13 January, Lafayette spoke of the plan for a Polish committee 'à l'instar de l'ancien comité grec'⁵⁴ and in the debate on 28 January he compared the aims of the new committee with the achievements of the old.⁵⁵ Many of the members of the new committee had been involved with the Greek agitation. Henri Dutrône and André Marchais had been founder members of the Greek committee in 1824, Lasteurie, Dumas and Alexandre de Laborde had been on the original committee and Jullien, Georges Lafayette, Las Cases and Mornay had been members of the Philhellenic Society. Most of the other politicians had also been supporters of the movement. Lafayette had given 5,000 francs to the committee in 1826 and Béranger had written several political chansons.⁵⁶ Cassin had been the committee's agent and through him the headquarters of the new organisation were established at 12, rue Taranne, a house used by several other societies including the *Société constitutionnelle* and, formerly, the Greek committee.⁵⁷ On 30 January three commissions were appointed to direct the campaign: an editorial commission to look after propaganda and information, a financial commission to supervise the raising of funds and a general purposes commission to take charge of all other activities. At the same time the permanent executive was delegated to conduct the everyday business of the organisation and was authorised to take immediate decisions in its name.⁵⁸

The work of the committee began immediately with an appeal for a national collection for the Poles.⁵⁹ 'Patriotic' collections had been very popular during the Restoration and after the July Revolution a subscription had been opened for the victims of the insurrection, which in the *département* of Vosges raised 16,516 francs.⁶⁰ A collection for the Greeks had begun in 1821 with the subscription

⁵⁴ Lafayette to L. Chodźko, 13 Jan. 1831, Lewak, no. 8.

⁵⁵ *Arch. parl.* 2ème série, lxvi, 390. It was also a comparison frequently made in the committee's own propaganda. 'Les Grecs vous bénissent: que la Pologne vous doive une part de son indépendance et de sa liberté.' *Le Comité central en faveur des Polonais*, 28 Jan. 1831, B.P. 14962.

⁵⁶ Dimopoulos, p. 51. Béranger's chansons were *Le Voyage imaginaire* and *Le Pigeon messenger*. Dutrône and Fabvier had both fought as volunteers in the war and Fabvier had commanded the French forces in Morea in 1828.

⁵⁷ The house in the rue Taranne had a large committee room on the first floor and after the arrival of the Polish emigration in 1831, it was also used for the meetings of the Polish National Committee.

⁵⁸ Cukierman, p. 42.

⁵⁹ This was the purpose of the manifesto published on 28 Jan. 1831.

⁶⁰ A.N. F1c 79-83: Offres patriotiques.

opened by *Le Constitutionnel*, but in 1824 the Greek committee had begun a much larger campaign in the course of which over one-and-a-half million francs were collected from all over France and from as far afield as Baden, Saxony and Sweden.⁶¹ Subscriptions were collected by the opposition newspapers, local notaries and Masonic Lodges, appeals were made and by the summer of 1826 local committees in 52 *départements* were organising fund-raising schemes all over France.⁶² On 28 January the Polish committee opened a subscription for the Poles with an appeal for '*nos anciens frères d'armes*' and during the next eight months collections were organised all over the country. Donations were collected at the committee's headquarters, at the offices of local notaries and, once again, through Masonic Lodges, and the financial and general purposes commissions organised several fund-raising schemes, the most successful of which was the Polish concert held on 1 March.⁶³ Large collections were made by the Press. In Paris funds were received by *Le Constitutionnel*, *Le National*, *L'Avenir*, *Le Courrier Français*, *La Tribune* and *Le Journal des Débats*, the largest collection being made by *Le Constitutionnel*, which by September 1831 had seat almost 36,000 francs. The committee also received funds from several of the new papers which had been founded in the provinces and in the *département* of *Pas-de-Calais*, over 10,000 francs were collected by *Le Propagateur du Pas-de-Calais* and *Le Propagateur d'Arras*.⁶⁴

Unlike its predecessor, however, the Polish committee also collected funds through the army and the National Guard. On 28 January Lafayette addressed a personal appeal to all the commanders of the National Guard in France requesting them to begin collections in their units and his appeal was so successful that by early March contributions had been received from 133 units with amounts ranging from the 1,568 francs sent from Poitiers to the 120 francs sent by the civil guard of Chably in Oise.⁶⁵ By the spring, too, over 100 contributions had been received from the military

⁶¹ In five years the committee collected 1,642,317 francs; the lists of subscribers were published regularly in the committee's journal *Documents relatifs à l'état présent de la Grèce*.

⁶² Dimopoulos, pp. 69 ff.

⁶³ The concert raised 16,730 francs and was declared by *Le Constitutionnel* to have equalled the success of the great Greek concert of 1826. *Le Constitutionnel*, 2 Mar. 1831. On 10 March the committee organised a banquet in honour of the Poles and similar social functions were arranged in the provinces, among them a ball at Brussac in Creuse which raised 103 francs and a concert at Tours which produced 800 francs.

⁶⁴ Among the other provincial papers to send money to Paris were *L'Echo de la Frontière*, *Le Pilote de Calvados*, *L'Album de la Creuse*, *Le Journal de Rouen*, *L'Auxiliaire Breton* and *Le Journal de la Meuse*.

⁶⁵ The text of Lafayette's appeal is given in Lewak, no. 84.

units stationed in France and in March 2, 165 francs were forwarded by the governor of *Les Invalides* on behalf of the veterans. By September the committee had received donations from nearly every *département* and in many areas local Polish committees had been formed to organise the collection of funds.⁶⁶ One of the most important was at Metz, where the committee was led by two local politicians, Dornès and Bauchette, who had come into power after the July Revolution. A collection was begun in each *commune*, public functions held and a collection of 20,000 francs sent directly to Warsaw.⁶⁷ Another centre of activity was Lyon, where the original Polish committee formed by the radicals was superseded by a *bazar polonais*, which received gifts from all over France for auction.⁶⁸ The *bazar* forwarded 17,500 francs to Warsaw in August and made a renewed appeal for objects, but although the organisations at Metz, Lyon and Vitry-le-Français were in direct contact with Warsaw, most of the local committees sent their funds directly to Paris and by September the committee working through all these channels had already collected 420,000 francs.⁶⁹

While the financial and general purposes commissions devoted their efforts to the raising of funds, the editorial commission concentrated its attention on propaganda.⁷⁰ Its main responsibility was the publication of the committee's appeals and manifestos which appeared at regular intervals to encourage public enthusiasm for the cause. In February the committee issued a manifesto to the Polish people which spoke of the common bonds of friendship between the two peoples and assured the Poles of France's sympathy.⁷¹ In March it published an account of the Polish banquet held on 10 March in Paris,⁷² in July an appeal to the electorate to

⁶⁶ There is no complete list of the provincial committees, but organisations are known to have existed at Angoulême, Arras, Belfort, Bordeaux, Caen, Châlons-sur-Saône, Charleville, Charolles, Château-Thierry, Cherbourg, Dijon, Douai, Etampes, Evreux, Grenoble, Lâon, Le Mans, Lyon, Metz, Nancy, Nîmes, Notec, Reims, Rochefort, Rouen, Soissons, Strasbourg, Thionville, Toulouse, Toroums, Valenciennes, Verdun, Versailles, Vienne, Villeneuve, Vincennes and Vitry-le-Français.

⁶⁷ The committee sent their funds through a M. Rougemont of Luxembourg, who had commercial contacts in Poland. Dornès, secretary of the Polish committee in Metz to General Kniaziewicz and Ludwik Plater, undated, B.P. 359 no. 1538.

⁶⁸ For the Polish agitation in Lyon see M. Brisac, *Lyon et l'insurrection polonoise 1830-1831* (Lyon, 1909).

⁶⁹ See below, p. 154 ff.

⁷⁰ The commission consisted of Béranger, Carrel, Châtelain of *Le Courrier Français*, Dumoulin, Cauchois-Lemaire and Desclozeaux of *Le Constitutionnel*, Crémieux, Hugo, Delavigne, Jullien and D'Herbelot. Cukierman, p. 42.

⁷¹ *Manifeste du comité central en faveur des Polonais au peuple polonais*, 12 Feb. 1831, B.P. 14927.

⁷² *Banquet du comité polonais du 10 mars 1831*, B.P. 14928.

nominate candidates favourable to the Polish cause in the forthcoming elections⁷³ and in August an appeal for contributions to a Polish loan⁷⁴ and a petition to the Chamber of Deputies requesting the recognition of Polish nationality.⁷⁵ Each was accompanied by a subscription list showing the total amount of money so far collected and the names of the subscribers.⁷⁶ Every effort was made to circulate these appeals. 500,000 copies of the February manifesto were printed and distributed through the Press, reading rooms, literary and scientific societies, Masonic Lodges and the National Guard, and each subscription list was published separately as a supplement in all the newspapers friendly to the cause.⁷⁷ Through Chodźko the commission was also able to receive news directly from Poland and some of its work involved preparing commentaries for the Press and its own publications. The course of the war was followed with great interest in France and sometimes the commission, with Polish help, was able to provide the public with more recent information than that available from official sources or reports in the German Press.⁷⁸ From March the committee began to publish its own account of events in the *Nouvelles de la Pologne*, an edition of which appeared after each of the major military encounters of the war.⁷⁹ In the summer of 1831 the commission prepared two longer pamphlets, *La Pologne et le congrès de Vienne* and *La Pologne et la Prusse*, but any further expansion of the campaign was cut short by the news of the fall of Warsaw and the committee then issued an address lamenting the extinction of Polish hopes.⁸⁰

The commission itself, however, was responsible for only a small part of the total amount written on the uprising during 1831. Some

⁷³ *Le Comité central en faveur des Polonais à messieurs les membres de* undated, B.P. 14930.

⁷⁴ *L'Emprunt polonais*, undated, B.P. 14931.

⁷⁵ *Le Comité central en faveur des polonais à messieurs les membres de la chambre des députés*, 4 Aug. 1831, B.P. 30137(9).

⁷⁶ By September, when the fifth list was published, the committee had collected 420,000 francs. All figures are taken from the lists.

⁷⁷ Cukierman, p. 42.

⁷⁸ On 4 March 1831 *Le Constitutionnel* reported that its account of the recent Polish victories was based on information taken from several Warsaw newspapers and in the same month the official account of the bombardment of Warsaw circulated by the government in Paris was quickly superseded by the reports received by the *émigrés* from Poland and printed in newspapers.

⁷⁹ Four editions of the journal appeared. The first dealt with events between 12 March and 3 April, B.P. 352 no. 427; the second with the battle of Iganie in April, B.P. 352 no. 428; the third with the negotiations which followed the defeat of the Poles at Ostrołęka in July, B.P. 30137(24); the fourth with the persecutions carried out in Poland after the end of the uprising, B.P. 30139(30).

⁸⁰ *Le Comité central polonais de Paris aux comités polonais des départements*, undated, B.N.Mp 3149.

members of the committee published their own pamphlets and others were the work of the Polish *émigrés*, but most of the articles, pamphlets and chansons which appeared during this period were the product of the spontaneous explosion of sympathy which had greeted the news of the uprising in December 1830. The aim of the editorial commission was to sustain the impetus of this enthusiasm and for much of its work it was indebted to the Polish *émigrés*, who not only provided information about the course of the war but helped in the preparation of propaganda. Chodźko himself was the author of half of the manifesto to the Polish people⁸¹ and the committee's pamphlet *La Pologne et le congrès de Vienne*, but his influence was clearly behind many of the commission's other publications.⁸² In all its declarations and manifestos the committee placed particular emphasis on those ideas which the Polish publicists had stressed in their own propaganda, and, although the legitimacy of Poland's grievances against Russia and the Vienna settlement was carefully defended⁸³, the committee based its appeal on emotive imagery rather than legal niceties.

It was the long historical associations between France and Poland and the *rôle* of the Poles in the Napoleonic wars which formed the most important theme in the committee's propaganda. The manifesto of 28 January spoke of Kościuszko, Dąbrowski and Poniatowski as heroes of France's great struggle for freedom and the manifesto to the Polish people assured them of France's sympathy for her old ally '*dont les enfans marquaient de leur sang tous nos champs de bataille*', France:

marchait avec vous dans la carrière de la liberté, elle vous montrait le but qu'il fallait atteindre. Depuis ce jour, vous lui avez voué votre existence, vos biens lui ont été prodigues, votre sang a coulé pour elle dans les Deux Mondes: vous étiez ses amis, ses frères, et nos héros ont conquis leur gloire sous un drapeau commun.⁸⁴

This common standard had once again been unfurled and in his letter to the commanders of the National Guard, Lafayette appealed on behalf of:

. . . des généreux amis de la France, dont le sang a si abonda-

⁸¹ He shared the work with Crémieux, Lafayette to L. Chodźko, 19 Mar. 1831, Lewak, no. 22.

⁸² Chodźko is given as the author of the pamphlet by Estreicher, iii, 153.

⁸³ Most notably in the pamphlet *La Pologne et le congrès de Vienne*, in which Chodźko denied the right of the Vienna settlement to dispose of Polish territory and at the same time used its provisions to justify the insurrection.

⁸⁴ *Manifeste du comité central en faveur des Polonais au peuple polonais*, 12 Feb. 1831, B.P. 14927.

ment, si vaillamment coulé pour nous dans nos guerres, et qui, trompés dans tous les engagements que les despotes et leurs congrès avaient contractés avec eux, ont pris l'héroïque résolution de se dévouer dans la patrie à la conquête de notre devise française: Liberté, Ordre public.⁸⁵

The identification between the uprising and the revolution in France was reinforced by the claim that the Poles had risen to defend France from a Russian invasion and that only an independent Poland could offer any real security from the reactionary forces of the Holy Alliance. Poland was, as the committee reminded the Chamber of Deputies:

une nation-héroïque, si long-temps et si souvent gardienne sure et dévouée de la civilisation de l'Europe, qui cent fois a repoussé la barbarie prête à fondre sur nos contrées: une nation s'est levée à notre exemple.⁸⁶

Her fall in September raised new perils:

le double fléau des barbares et de la peste s'avance, comme pour faire expier aux états qui ont laissé briser la barrière qui les protégeait leur complicité ou leur indifférence.⁸⁷

In its propaganda the committee did no more than develop those themes which the *émigré* group had tried to popularise before the July Revolution, but whereas the Poles had had to work through the medium of the literary Press, the committee aimed at a mass movement. The leaders believed that the force of public opinion could be used, as in the campaign in support of Greece, to oblige the government to give some form of aid to the Poles and behind all the committee's propaganda was the idea that it was France's moral duty to defend the principle of Polish independence. The collection made in France could be used to support the war in Poland as the old Greek committee had supported the insurgents in Greece by sending volunteers and supplies. The new committee's campaign, however, differed from that of its predecessor in that it was conducted in full consultation with the representatives of the Poles in France. At first the link between Warsaw and Paris was through Chodźko and Morawski, who during February was appointed as the official representative of the National Government in France, but within a month general Kniaziewicz and Ludwik Plater had arrived in Paris with orders to seek French help in raising

⁸⁵ Lafayette to the commander of the National Guard in the town of —, 28 Jan. 1831, Lewak, no. 84.

⁸⁶ *Le Comité central en faveur des Polonais à messieurs les membres de la chambre des députés*, 4 Aug. 1831. B.P. 30137 (9).

⁸⁷ *Le Comité central polonais de Paris aux comités polonais des départements*, N.D. B.N. Mp 3149.

money and supplies for the war.⁸⁸ Their instructions advised them to represent the aims of the insurrection in a moderate light and to refrain from becoming involved in any open campaign of propaganda, but they were to direct the attention of the French authorities to the support being given to Russia by Austria and Prussia, arrange for the transport of arms to Poland and work through the *émigré* community in Paris to influence the Press.⁸⁹ Through Chodźko, whom the legation appointed as their adviser, close relations were quickly established with the Polish committee⁹⁰ and as their efforts to interest the French government in the Polish cause proved continuously unsuccessful, the Polish legation came to place to place its hopes in the campaign of the committee. In its turn, the committee made every effort to respond to all requests for aid made by the Poles.⁹¹

On the financial side, the committee transferred almost a quarter of its available funds to the legation, in all 102,700 francs.⁹² Most of this money was spent on the purchase of arms and in the account rendered to the committee by the legation in October 1831, 87,000 francs were accounted for under this heading.⁹³ The legation's attempts to buy arms and transport them to Poland, however, were all effectively crippled by a combination of official opposition and inefficient organisation. The French government would not openly sanction the sale of arms to the Polish insurgents and the Austrian and Prussian authorities were careful not to allow weapons to be smuggled into Poland across the frontier. Through the arms dealer, Poulain, the legation were able to purchase considerable quantities of weapons, but none ever reached the front and Poulain's scheme for an armed expedition to Lithuania also ended in failure.⁹⁴ Lafayette took part in the approaches made by the legation to the French authorities to obtain permission for arms to be transported across France,⁹⁵ but the committee itself was not involved in any

⁸⁸ Dutkiewicz, pp. 74 ff.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* p. 75.

⁹⁰ The legation attended the committee's banquet on 10 March.

⁹¹ In May Andrzej Horodyński, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw, officially sanctioned this policy. Dutkiewicz, p. 43.

⁹² *Résultat des comptes de la légation polonaise*, 30 Sep. 1831, B.P. 360 no. 1593.

⁹³ *Compte rendu de la légation polonaise*, 23 Oct. 1831. B.P. 360 no. 1636.

⁹⁴ Louis Napoleon was approached to be the commander of the expedition, but refused. For the embroilment of the legation with Poulain, see Dutkiewicz, pp. 158 ff.

⁹⁵ In March Lafayette asked for protection to be given to a Polish courier bound for Cracow, for passports for the doctors who wished to go to the front and for permission to be given for arms shipments across France. Lafayette to Sébastiani, 7 Mar. 1831, *Mémoires* . . . , vi, 545. On 9 July he reported further contacts with the authorities on their behalf to the legation. Lafayette to the Polish legation, 9 Jul. 1831, B.P. 354 no. 782.

of the negotiations with Poulain, although he was paid out of the committee's funds. Some of these funds, 2,700 francs in all, also went to help refugees already living in France, but most of the balance of 13,000 francs was used to finance the transport of volunteers to the front.⁹⁶ The committee did not provide money for the volunteers directly, but its leaders were closely involved with the task of raising recruits and doctors for the war and Lafayette often made recommendations on behalf of volunteers.⁹⁷ Several French generals were approached by the legation with offers of commands in the Polish army, but although some expressed interest, the opposition of the government prevented most from leaving.⁹⁸ Ramorino, who was given 3,000 francs from the committee's funds for the journey to Poland, was one of the few to reach the front and even the scheme to send 40 doctors to Poland floundered as a result of official opposition, and, of the 12 who finally crossed into Prussia, only four were allowed to enter Poland.⁹⁹ In addition to these funds, the legation also made available 43,000 francs for those Poles who wished to return to Poland to fight in the insurrection.¹⁰⁰

As well as helping the legation financially, the committee also supported the diplomatic initiatives taken by Kniaziewicz and Plater on behalf of the National Government and behind the rhetoric of its appeals and propaganda lay an interpretation of the uprising which was intended to support their demand for French aid. The *Nouvelles de la Pologne* publicised the Polish account of the war and Polish *communiqués* appeared in the Press with such regularity that the Russian ambassador complained that he found it difficult to place his own dispatches in even the most conservative Parisian newspapers.¹⁰¹ The publication of much of the committee's other propaganda was designed to coincide with particular Polish initiatives. The numerous attempts by the legation to secure official recognition for the government in Warsaw were supported by Jullien

⁹⁶ *Compte rendu*, 23 Oct. 1831, B.P. 360 no. 1636.

⁹⁷ Lafayette made several personal recommendations on behalf of volunteers. On 24 Apr. 1831 he recommended a major Cochrane, Lewak, no. 33; and on 29 Apr. a M. Duvergier, who wished to join a Polish friend who had decided to return to Poland, Lewak, no. 34. In all, the legation gave 27,000 francs for the expenses of the volunteers, B.P. 360 no. 1593.

⁹⁸ Dutkiewicz, pp. 155-156. Many volunteers were lured by the promise of promotion, the legation undertaking to grant them higher ranks than those they held in the French army.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

¹⁰⁰ The legation's total income was 549,535 francs, of which 415,525 francs came from the Bank of Poland, 102,700 from the central committee, 8,300 francs from the American Polish committee formed under Fenimore Cooper and the committee at Vitry-le-Français. *Résultat des comptes*. . . B.P. 360 no. 1593.

¹⁰¹ Dutkiewicz, p. 147.

de Paris' *La Pologne et la Russie* in March, Lemer cier's *Voeu d'un membre du comité polonais* in May and the committee's appeal in August to the Chamber of Deputies.¹⁰² In July the concern felt in Warsaw about the *de facto* support being given to the Russian army by the supposedly neutral Prussians prompted the committee to publish its pamphlet *La Pologne et la Prusse*, which placed great emphasis on the dangers posed by the Berlin government's disregard of the quarantine regulations which protected Europe from the threat of cholera.¹⁰³ In August came the committee's appeal for subscriptions to the Polish loan and in September an attack on the government for its refusal to help the Poles.

From May the legation itself began to send copies of dispatches, *communiqués* and official circulars to the editors of several Parisian newspapers. Through Chodźko, to whom the legation granted over 500 francs a month for '*rapport avec les journalistes et des impressions*',¹⁰⁴ the Poles enjoyed good relations with the Press, for it was Chodźko who kept copies of the Polish papers for republication in France, who collected each pamphlet and article published on Poland for the legation's archive and who arranged for translations and publications. On 20 May the legation approached six editors, all of whom were known to be friendly to the Polish cause, with a request for them to print a circular addressed by the National Government to its agents abroad giving them the official Polish view of the legality of the Vienna settlement.¹⁰⁵ It also approached two German papers, the *Hamburg Gazette* and the *Augsburg Gazette*, both of which were important sources of information about central European affairs for the French Press, but by 8 June, when the legation came to send its fourth communication to the Press, the number of papers to which it made its request had risen to 16.¹⁰⁶ By July it was sending *communiqués* and documents to all the Parisian papers, from the left-wing *La Révolution* to the legitimist *La Gazette de France*, several German and Dutch papers and through a M. Justin, a member of the Polish

¹⁰² Jullien's pamphlet emphasised the need for active government intervention, which in March was still considered to be possible by the Poles; Lemer cier's expressed the bitterness aroused by the French government's failure to give either military or diplomatic aid to the uprising and advocated a forceful policy in defence of the principle of non-intervention.

¹⁰³ Prussian policy was the subject of several discussions held between Sébastiani and the legation in July, Dutkiewicz, p. 127.

¹⁰⁴ *Résultat des comptes*. . . 30 Sept. 1831, B.P. 360 no. 1593.

¹⁰⁵ General Kniáziewicz and Ludwik Plater to the editor of —, 20 May 1831, B.P. 352 no. 411. Copies were sent to *Le Constitutionnel*, *Le Courrier Français*, *Le Journal des Débats*, *L'Avenir*, *Le Temps* and *Le National*.

¹⁰⁶ General Kniáziewicz and Ludwik Plater to the editor of —, 8 Jun. 1831, B.P. 353 no. 532.

committee, to some 50 provincial papers as well.¹⁰⁷ These communications continued throughout July and August and into the autumn¹⁰⁸, but on 13 August a request was made to *Le Constitutionnel*, *Le Courrier Français*, *L'Avenir*, *Le National* and *Le Temps* for them to point one of the legation's articles as their own.¹⁰⁹ From mid-May the legation employed two secretaries to help in the preparation of articles and *communiqués* and the interest of the Press in the Polish war was such that the editors themselves sometimes approached the legation with requests for news.¹¹⁰ The Poles, however, were not always happy about the accuracy of Press reporting and in August Kniaziewicz complained to the editor of *Le Journal de Commerce* that the clause relating to Poland in the address to Louis Philippe discussed at the beginning of the new session of the Chamber of Deputies had been reprinted incorrectly in several papers, not mentioned at all in *Le Constitutionnel* and fully reported only in *Le Journal des Débats*, *Le Journal de Commerce*, *La Révolution* and *Le Moniteur*.¹¹¹

The centre of the committee's political efforts, however, became the Chamber of Deputies. Lafayette had already raised the question of government policy towards the uprising in December and his demands had been supported by Mauguin and Lamarque, but the formation of the committee brought together some 30 deputies of all political opinions who were prepared to defend the Polish cause in debates. The leaders of the committee hoped to use the Chamber of Deputies in two ways: first, for the presentation of Polish grievances and the views of the National Government, and second, to win an official declaration of support for the Poles similar to the Greek declaration of 1826. In most of the debates, therefore, the members of the committee were acting, in part at least, as spokesmen for the government in Warsaw. On 23 February and 18 March Mauguin and Salverte both pressed for government action against the French consul in Warsaw, Durand, a legitimist who was known

¹⁰⁷ It was Chodźko who informed the legation of M. Justin's contacts with the provincial press, L. Chodźko to the Polish legation, 12 Jun. 1831, B.P. 353 no. 569.

¹⁰⁸ Circulars and dispatches were forwarded on 20, 24, 27 May, 8, 11, 13 June, 3, 5, 22, 30 July, 2, 4, 13, 17, 19, 30 August, 15 September, 13 October and 19 November, B.P. 352-360.

¹⁰⁹ General Kniaziewicz and Ludwik Plater to the editor of —, 13 Aug. 1831, B.P. 356 no. 1098.

¹¹⁰ At the end of May the editor of *Le Journal de Commerce* wrote to the legation requesting it to include his paper on their list for the circulation of documents. Editor of *Le Journal de Commerce* to the Polish legation, 28 May 1831, B.P. 353 no. 514.

¹¹¹ General Kniaziewicz to the editor of *Le Journal de Commerce*, 19 Aug. 1831, B.P. 357 no. 1158.

to be hostile to the uprising.¹¹² On 18 March, too, Lafayette protested against the activities of Princess Lieven in London and demanded intervention on behalf of the Polish representative in Breslau, who was being harassed by the Prussian authorities, but during April the seriousness of the military situation following a member of Polish defeats led the members of the committee in the Chamber to demand assurances that the provisions of the Vienna settlement would be respected in the event of a Russian victory.¹¹³ Soon after, however, news arrived of a Polish success and on 13 April Lafayette and Lamarque were demanding official recognition of the National Government in Warsaw.¹¹⁴ This demand was made in collaboration with the legation, who in the same month approached Sébastiani in the hope of gaining more active French support, but on 31 May the Assembly was dissolved and when it met again at the beginning of August the news of the Polish defeat at Ostrołęka had once again changed the military situation in Poland.

During the summer the attention of the legation and the committee became focused on the need to strengthen the position of the government in Warsaw by securing the diplomatic recognition of France. During the elections which took place in July, the committee issued a declaration which requested the electoral colleges to ensure that their new representatives gave a promise to support the cause of Polish independence in the Chamber,¹¹⁵ but the most important effort made by the committee to obtain recognition for the uprising came at the beginning of the new session. The legation drafted an amendment to the address to the throne which contained the following phrase: *'La Chambre des Députés aime à trouver la certitude, qui lui est bien chère: la nationalité polonaise ne périra point,'* and on 5 August it approached several deputies with a request for their help in inserting the amendment in the address.¹¹⁶ Various members of the committee were involved in the plan, but

¹¹² His obstructive tactics and his refusal to forward dispatches for the mission in Paris made him unpopular with the authorities in Warsaw, who pressed for his removal. Dutkiewicz, p. 151.

¹¹³ On 4 April Mauguin drew attention to the visit of a Russian envoy to Berlin and on 12 April he had another angry exchange with Sébastiani, this time over the behaviour of the French representative in Vienna.

¹¹⁴ The Poles, claimed Lamarque, were no longer satisfied with 'une demi-liberté' or 'une quasi-indépendance . . . ils veulent être une nation, ils le seront, et le vaste empire russe est plus prêt peut-être de s'écrouler sous leurs coups que la Pologne ne l'est de reprendre ses fers.' *Arch. parl.* 2ème série, lxxvii, 758.

¹¹⁵ *Le Comité central en faveur des Polonais à messieurs les électeurs*, undated, B.P. 14930.

¹¹⁶ Copies were sent to Victor de Tracy, Dupin, de Schonen, Girod de l'Ain, president of the Chamber, and the comte de Béranger, B.P. 356 nos. 1022-1024.

during the debate the amendment was introduced by one of the more moderate members of the committee, Bignon. On 15 August, however, in the midst of the debate, Lafayette introduced a more far reaching amendment requesting the government '*en recevant la légation polonaise de reconnaître cette glorieuse indépendance de droit et de fait acquise au prix des restes d'un sang si généreusement versé pour nous*'.¹¹⁷ This clause was bitterly contested by the government in the Chamber, who claimed that its acceptance would effectively commit France to active support of the Poles, which in practice it could not give, but after much discussion it was agreed that the vaguer phrase '*une assurance*' should replace '*la certitude*' in Bignon's amendment, which was then passed. The new amendment committed the government to nothing and Bignon was criticised for agreeing to the change, but he himself believed that if he had refused to accept it, the government would have refused the amendment altogether.¹¹⁸ In fact, although the declaration was so vague, it was symbolic of the Chamber's sympathy for the Polish cause and it was renewed annually as a tribute to the Poles.

By August the plight of the Polish insurgents had begun to seem hopeless, but the committee did not relax its pressure on the government in Chamber. By mid-summer there had already been several petitions on behalf of the Polish cause. At the end of July the *Agence générale pour la liberté religieuse*, the liberal Catholic organisation directed by Lamennais and Montalembert, addressed a petition demanding intervention on behalf of the Poles¹¹⁹ and on 4 August several members of the committee itself requested the Chamber to recognise the legality of the Polish legation.¹²⁰ During August further petitions were drawn up and on 10 September petitions were received from the inhabitants of Paris, Metz, Le Mans, Dreux, Sales près Albi, Menilhubert, Domfront and Lohuec demanding the recognition of the National Government and immediate French intervention.¹²¹ The end of the uprising, however, was already in sight and on 16 September the news of the fall of Warsaw appeared in the French papers. The Polish committee in Metz organised an immediate protest with a petition which gained 350 signatories in four hours, but its demand for swift French action to help the Poles was now impossible. In the Chamber of

¹¹⁷ For the debate see *Arch. parl.*, 2ème série, lxxix, 230 ff.

¹¹⁸ Bignon to general Kniaziewicz and Ludwik Plater, undated, B.P. 357 no. 1128.

¹¹⁹ *Pétition catholique en faveur de la Pologne, présentée aux chambres par l'agence générale pour la liberté religieuse* (Paris, n.d.), B.P. 30138 (9).

¹²⁰ *Le Comité central en faveur des Polonais à messieurs les membres de la chambre des députés*, 4 Aug. 1831, B.P. 30137 (9).

¹²¹ *Arch. parl.* 2ème série, lxxix, 319.

Deputies the members of the committee launched a bitter attack on the government. They claimed that French recognition of the National Government, the sending of arms, volunteers and supplies, a fleet in the Baltic and a firm policy of support for the principle of non-intervention were all ways in which the French government could have helped to save the uprising.¹²² While he expressed his personal sympathy for the Polish cause and the willingness of the French government to offer protection to the victims of the uprising, Sébastiani defended the government's policy as one of realism, and, although eloquent speeches deploring his policy were made by Lamarque, Mauguin and Salverte, the motion of censure introduced by Mauguin was defeated by 85 votes. The debate itself, however, became the occasion for the creation of an emotive myth. On 16 September Sébastiani made a statement in the Chamber on the recent events in Poland in which he used the phrase '*la tranquillité règne à Varsovie*'. Several newspapers added the word '*l'ordre*' to this phrase and in two, *Le National* and *Le Globe*, it appeared simply as '*l'ordre règne à Varsovie*', and, although it was reported in only two newspapers, it was this phrase which came to epitomise the feeling of betrayal which the Poles and their supporters in France harboured against the government.

The defeat of Mauguin's motion brought to an end the committee's hopes of influencing government policy and its attentions now turned to the task of welcoming the expected flood of political refugees.¹²³ In its major aim, therefore, it seemed to have failed. The National Government was unable to secure either direct diplomatic support or indirect military aid from France, and, although on several occasions the French Government did approach the other European powers with the idea of at least guaranteeing Poland's constitutional rights under the Vienna treaties, the intransigent attitude of the Tsar and the uncertainty of the diplomatic and political situation in Europe made the idea of any concerted pressure on Russia impossible.¹²⁴ The committee's campaign, however, had had other results. Its propaganda had helped to bring the Polish cause before the public and to sustain their interest in the fate of the Poles by identifying the uprising with those hopes and

¹²² *Ibid.*, 563 ff.

¹²³ See below, p. 171 ff.

¹²⁴ These initiatives are discussed by Betley, pp. 113 ff., pp. 130 ff. and pp. 163 ff. After the news of the Polish defeat at Grochów in March an approach was made by the French government to Metternich in the hope of guaranteeing Poland's rights under the Vienna settlement, but a more serious effort was made in June and July when the French envoy in Berlin attempted to interest the Prussian government in some form of mediation and Talleyrand made a similar approach in London.

aspirations which had played such an important part in the events of July. By presenting Poland as a nation struggling for liberty and independence, the committee's propaganda aroused immediate sympathy for the plight of a sister people struggling, like France, against the tyranny of the Vienna settlement, but by emphasising the military links between France and Poland during the Napoleonic wars, the committee helped to give Poland a special place in French affections. Its propaganda linked the memory of the Polish troops' loyalty to the Emperor with the claim that the uprising had been staged to protect France from a foreign invasion¹²⁵ and the idea that a free Poland would protect Europe, and in particular liberal and revolutionary Europe, from its great enemy, Russia. Throughout the committee's declarations and manifestos, its pamphlets and the speeches of its supporters in the Chamber of Deputies, rus-sophobia and nostalgia for the military glory of the Empire were identified with the idea of France's right to self-determination, her mission to bring emancipation to the other peoples of Europe and the cause of liberalism and civilisation in general. The success of the committee's campaign was such that by September it had come to be seen as the symbol of French sympathy for the Polish cause, but although the committee stood at the head of the Polish movement during 1831, it did not publish more than a small proportion of the total amount written about the Polish uprising. It acted as the spokesman for the Polish cause in France and it tried to organise public support, but its propaganda and ideas permeated down to the public only indirectly and it was in its success in interesting the newspapers, the pamphleteers and the chansons writers that the committee achieved most.

4. *Newspapers and pamphlets*

Although in 1831 the Parisian newspapers were in no sense mass dailies, their influence over public opinion was already clearly recognised. The freedom of the Press had been one of the rallying cries in defence of the Charter and the part played by the newspaper editors in the resistance to Charles X's ordinances had greatly increased their prestige and influence, especially after *Le National's* favoured candidate assumed the throne. The appearance of *Le National* in 1830 had marked a clear move away from the rather

¹²⁵ During the debate on 18 March Lafayette appeared in the Chamber with letters reputed to have been left behind by the Grand Duke Constantine after his flight from Warsaw in December, which appeared to prove the allegation that Polish troops were to have been used as the advance guard of an invasion force. *Arch. parl.* 2ème série, lxxvii, 692-694.

stituted newspapers of the Restoration period and the initial tolerance shown by the new *régime* towards the free expression of political opinion encouraged the foundation of new enterprises, many of which soon became identified with the opposition. The cost of subscriptions remained high, but the Press was believed to have a great influence over the public, for although editors tended to claim that their main function was to reflect political views, in reality their chief aim was to popularise a particular political or social creed. All the main political groups founded their own papers and the government was sufficiently alarmed by the power of political rhetoric to take measures to limit editorial comment.¹²⁶ Nevertheless new papers continued to appear and in the provinces the beginnings of a network of local newspapers was already discernible.

The French Press, therefore, was very much a *presse d'opinion*. Although the various newspapers could be grouped in accordance with whether they were conservative, liberal, radical or legitimist, each possessed its own special character. In 1830 the leading French newspaper in terms of subscriptions, *Le Constitutionnel*, was known for its vague political views and its russophobia, and was described by a contemporary commentator as '*une bannière de ralliement pour les trainards de toutes les opinions*'.¹²⁷ *Le Courrier Français*, *La Tribune* and *Le Journal de Commerce* were associated with the idea of a monarchy surrounded by republican institutions, *Le National* with the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people and the glory of France and *La Révolution* with the idea of social equality. On the other side, *Le Journal des Débats* and *Le Temps* were liberal and conservative, favouring '*une organisation à l'anglaise*' while *La Quotidienne* and *La Gazette de France* supported the cause of legitimism, but there were also papers which supported particular political or social ideas, *Le Globe*, which was the paper of St. Simonians, or *L'Avenir*, the organ of the liberal Catholic movement.¹²⁸ The political complexion of a newspaper was usually defined by the opinions of its owner or chief editor, Armand Carrel for *Le National* or Lamennais for *L'Avenir*, and most of the articles were designed to support a particular point of view, a fact deplored by Heine:

the *rédacteur en chef* of a French journal is a practical, one-sided Frenchman, having a set of opinions which he has for-

¹²⁶ For the history of the press in this period see C. Bellanger et al. *Histoire générale de la presse française* (Paris, 1965), ii (1815-1871), pp. 114 ff.

¹²⁷ A. Petetin, "Revue des journaux politiques de Paris," *Revue Encyclopédique*, xlix (1831), 306.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 301-321.

malised once and for all, in determined words, or which has been delivered to him in distinct terms by his employers. Should any one come to him with an article which would be of no direct advantage to the professed aim of his journal, treating some theme of no direct interest to the special public for which the sheet is an organ, it would be firmly refused with the sacramental words, *'cela n'entre pas dans l'idée de notre journal'*. Now as every one of the newspapers has its own peculiar political shade and its own determined range of ideas, it is easy to understand that any one who has anything which goes beyond this range and has nothing of the party colour, will certainly find no organ for his contributions.¹²⁹

The truth of Heine's observation was well demonstrated in 1831 by the reaction of the Press to the Polish uprising. Even before November 1830 Chodźko and Morawski had already realised that it was necessary to mould their propaganda to suit a certain audience and that while Carrel's interest in Poland reflected his nostalgia for the glories of the Napoleonic wars, the editors of *Le Constitutionnel* would welcome any article attacking Russia. Each newspaper sympathised with the Polish cause for its own reasons and throughout the Press campaign all the papers interpreted its significance in their own way. *Le Courrier Français* emphasised the importance of the uprising for the future of the revolutionary movement in Europe, *Le National* demanded intervention and the beginning of a strong policy to recover France's moral and military hegemony while *Le Constitutionnel* continued to play upon French russophobia. *Le Journal des Débats* looked with favour on the diplomatic claims made by the National Government, *Le Globe* spoke of the part to be played by Poland in the emancipation of Europe from feudalism and *L'Avenir* of the holy struggle of *'l'héroïne du catholicisme défail-lant'*.¹³⁰ For the radical Press the Polish insurrection marked another landmark in the emancipation of the peoples from tyranny, the triumph of the principles of the French Revolution over the hated Vienna settlement, the alliance of nations against the alliance of kings. For the liberal catholic *L'Avenir* the Polish struggle was a war for religion and liberty and for the liberal papers Poland was the advance guard of civilisation in the East, France's protector and daughter in the ways of liberty and progress and an old ally

¹²⁹ H. Heine, *On the Subject of France in The Works of Heinrich Heine*, trans. C. G. Leleaux (London, 1893), vii-viii, 241.

¹³⁰ For the newspaper reaction to the uprising see M. Fridieff, "L'Opinion publique française devant l'insurrection polonaise de 1830-1831," *Revue Internationale d'Histoire Politique et Constitutionnelle*, ii (1952), 111-121, 205-214, 280-304.

struggling for freedom. All the papers saw the Polish struggle as a question of nationality and even the conservative Press agreed that the Poles were fighting for the same liberties as those won by France in July.

Although all the newspapers reacted to the uprising in their own way, some structure was given to the Press campaign by the link between the editors and the Polish committee. This ensured a steady flow of news about the war in the Press, wide publicity for the committee's manifestos and the legation's communiques, and invaluable support for the national collection, but most of all it helped to circulate the committee's propaganda.¹³¹ In the rhetoric of the Press the Poles were the loyal and courageous allies of France who had followed her example and risen against the tyranny of the Vienna settlement. Poland was '*notre belle soeur*', '*la France du nord*', who, in defending France's revolution from the Tsar, had renewed the bonds of friendship forged on the battlefields of Europe. Most of all, the papers stressed the unique position of Poland as the buffer between Europe and the East, and they remembered her victories against the Tartars and the Turks as proof that she would once again protect Europe from the barbarism of the Russian state. For all the papers Poland was '*une barrière*' or as *L'Avenir* claimed:

Boulevard à la fois religieux et politique contre l'irruption armée du schisme grec et des hordes conquérantes d'une autre Tartarie, la Pologne est comme l'avant-garde de l'Eglise romaine et de la civilisation de notre Occident.¹³²

The leading anti-Russian paper was *Le Constitutionnel*, which painted the most fearsome picture of the new Tartary:

Les vieux Tartares de Samarcande sont aujourd'hui à Moscou, organisés plus savamment et pliés à la technique européenne. Ils peuvent avoir demain un khan de caractère à dire, comme Timour, avec une éloquence digne d'être transmise de l'Oxus au Volga.¹³³

Yet the military aspect of Russian society was emphasised by most of the other papers, too, and in June *Le Globe* spoke of the Russians as:

. . . un peuple de soldats tout prêts à marcher au premier coup de tambour. L'organisation de la Russie est purement militaire:

¹³¹ For the reaction of the press to the news of the uprising in December 1830, see above, p. 116 ff.

¹³² *L'Avenir*, 29 Jan. 1831.

¹³³ *Le Constitutionnel*, 7 May 1831.

tout y est enrégimenté et gradé: tout y obéit militairement à la première injonction du maître.¹³⁴

The influence of Polish propaganda, therefore, was apparent in the articles published by even the most conservative papers. Despite the efforts of the legation, many papers still relied heavily on the German press for their day to day account of the war, but, with the exception of the legitimist papers, they rarely accepted their interpretation of events. In most newspapers, articles appeared condemning the evil of the Partitions and explaining the Polish case against the Vienna settlement, but for its effect newspaper rhetoric relied on a combination of emotive russophobia, nostalgia for the era of *la gloire* and enthusiasm for the 'principles of July'. Each paper developed these ideas in different ways, but they remained central to all discussion of the 'Polish Question' during 1831 and they were calculated, as Chodźko and his associates had foreseen, to arouse powerful emotions in France.

The influence of Polish propaganda was even more obvious in the pamphlets of the time. In part this was due to the fact that many of the pamphlets on the uprising published during 1831 were the work of members of the *émigré* community or the Polish committee and naturally formed part of the wider political campaign.¹³⁵ Consequently they all tended to adopt a similar approach to the question of Polish independence, one which was closely linked to the position held by the National Government in Warsaw. Most commentators emphasised the natural right of all nations to liberty and self-determination and attacked the destruction of Polish sovereignty by the Partitions, but at the same time they supported the contention of the National Government that the Poles were in legal rebellion against a government which had violated the agreements reached at Vienna in 1815 and which had consistently ignored the guarantees granted to the Poles in their constitution.¹³⁶ Their

¹³⁴ *Le Globe*, 4 Jun. 1831. *Le Constitutionnel* was less restrained in its analysis of Russian society and in April an article appeared which spoke of 'ses paysans russes abrutis, ses tribus de Cosaques, ses Baskirs armés de flèches et couverts d'écailles, et portant dans la guerre les arts et l'habileté des Scythes, et la civilisation de la grande muraille.' *Le Constitutionnel*, 28 Apr. 1831.

¹³⁵ Among these pamphlets were those by Chodźko and the Polish committee, *Les Polonais au tribunal de l'Europe* by Stanisław Plater, *La Cause polonaise sous son véritable point de vue* by Adam Gurowski, *Lettre de Junius 11 sur le Ministre français, la Chambre des Députés et la Pologne* by Jelski, *Voëu d'un membre du comité polonais adressé au gouvernement du roi des Français* by Lemercier and *La Pologne et la France par M.M. . . . ancien officier français* edited by Jullien.

¹³⁶ Detailed discussion of the constitutional rights of the Poles formed the major part of Chodźko's pamphlet *La Pologne et le congrès de Vienne* and Plater's *Les Polonais au tribunal de l'Europe*.

chief aim was to encourage support for the idea of French intervention, and, while most were careful not to advocate an armed conflict, the possibilities of diplomatic pressure were fully explored. Many of the pamphlets did no more than publicise the arguments being put forward by the Polish legation.¹³⁷ The principles for which the Poles were fighting, it was emphasised, were those for which France herself had struggled in July and Poland's right to independence was equated with that of Belgium, who now enjoyed French protection and in whose interest the principles of non-intervention and national self-determination had been proclaimed. France's security was linked to the need for an independent Poland and the threat of a Russian invasion, which only the Polish uprising had prevented, was painted in the most vivid colours.¹³⁸ The aims of the uprising, it was made clear, were national independence and liberty, but there was little effort to be specific about the extent of the new state's boundaries and there was no attempt to discuss the all important social question. With the exception of Gurowski, who proclaimed that the aims of the uprising were the re-establishment of the 1772 frontiers and full social equality for all citizens, most of these pamphleteers were content to treat concepts like liberty, emancipation and self-determination as abstract ideas, whose realisation in practice was barely discussed.¹³⁹

Although most of these pamphlets adopted a rather legalistic view of the uprising and were phased to fit in with the diplomatic initiatives of the National Government in France, the pamphleteers did not neglect the more emotive themes of Polish propaganda. The links between Poland and France were always strongly emphasised, Lemer cier reminding the Poles:

Vos frères sont nos frères: ils ont marché quarante ans à nos côtés; c'est un adage reçu que de dire qu'ils forment aujourd'hui l'avant-garde des bataillons levés pour la cause dont nous proclamons le principe.¹⁴⁰

His colleague Jullien spoke of the Polish army as *'l'avant-garde de l'armée française'*¹⁴¹ and proclaimed that *'les deux nations sont presque identiques, et le mal fait à l'une est un mal fait à l'autre'*.¹⁴²

¹³⁷ See above, pp. 130-132.

¹³⁸ Even Plater, who defended the policies of Alexander I in Poland, spoke of 'cette épidémie morale' which afflicted the Russian state and of Poland's role as Europe's natural protector.

¹³⁹ Gurowski's pamphlet was a direct attack on that of Plater and was the only one to mention the 1772 boundaries, which even the National Government was careful not to raise.

¹⁴⁰ Lemer cier, *Voeu d'un membre du comité polonais*. . . (Paris, 1831), p. 6.

¹⁴¹ M. A. Jullien de Paris, *La Pologne et la Russie*. . . (Paris, 1831), p. 10.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 20.

Poland's 29 November was France's 27 July and both nations were now the leaders in the struggle for the emancipation of all peoples from tyranny of *'le colosse de l'Ural et du Wolga'*.¹⁴³ It was these ideas which most frequently appeared in the other pamphlets of the time, for the French pamphleteers showed little interest in the finer points of Polish propaganda, which were largely passed over in favour of more effective images. Typical of this approach was the pamphlet *Encore la question polonaise* by Lucien de St. Firmin, a sequel to his *La Question polonaise*, which saluted the Poles as:

Un peuple brave, généreux, héroïque, dépouillé des droits les plus inviolables, attaqué dans sa nationalité, dans ses moeurs, dans ses constitutions . . . brûlant de s'élaner aux rives de la Vistule pour y défendre leurs frères en liberté et garantir le reste de l'Europe des atteintes empoisonnées de la barbarie et du choléra-morbus.¹⁴⁴

For St. Firmin, Poland was *'cette soeur adoptive, cette compagne de toutes nos gloires, de toutes nos infortunes'*,¹⁴⁵ a theme constantly re-echoed by other pamphleteers, who were quick to remember Poland's part in the Napoleonic wars.

It was with the threat of war, however, that the Polish cause was most closely identified. Russia, France's traditional enemy, now posing a new threat to the security of Europe:

Ces hordes n'en restent pas moins sauvages et apprennent, comme celles d'Atilla, le chemin des monumens qu'il faut détruire, des populations douces qu'on peut exterminer, pour prendre leur place, des climats heureux dont il est attrayant de respirer l'air et de manger les fruits.¹⁴⁶

Poland was *la sentinelle de l'Europe*, her *antique boulevard*,¹⁴⁷ always ready to defend civilisation against the half barbarous Russian state:

. . . un rempart de bronze contre la Russie, la Vistule devient un gouffre pour les Cosaques, et le sceptre moscovite se brise s'il ose frapper contre l'autel de la liberté polonaise alliée à la nôtre.¹⁴⁸

The Poles were seen as France's allies in the new struggle for liberty begun after the July Revolution, for *'Nous avons repris en*

¹⁴³ S. Plater, *Les Polonais au tribunal de l'Europe* (Paris, 1831), p. 29.

¹⁴⁴ L. de St. Firmin, *Encore la question polonaise* (Paris, 1831), p. 3.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁴⁶ *Du Retour des peuples à leurs nationalités naturelles par un ancien agent diplomatique* (Paris, 1831), p. 9.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁴⁸ J. M. Giacobbi, *Nécessité d'une nouvelle organisation européenne en harmonie avec notre révolution populaire* (Paris, 1831), p. 6.

1830 le grand oeuvre de '89'.¹⁴⁹ It was both her love of liberty and her willingness to sacrifice herself for the cause of humanity which made Poland *la France du nord* and the sister of all free peoples.¹⁵⁰ War with Russia was still seen as a possible instrument of national emancipation by many pamphleteers and the news of the Russian occupation of Warsaw in September came as a great shock:

l'avant-garde de la civilisation européenne est renversée . . . Le farouche autocrate du nord a déchaîné ses hordes pour exterminer ce peuple de héros, et la terre classique de l'honneur va se trouver foulée par des barbares, sortis d'affreux climats, séjour d'esclavage et d'horreur.¹⁵¹

The Poles had looked to France as their saviour, but France had betrayed their trust, '*On l'a repoussé froidement, on l'a accablée de la plus noire ingratitude; ce peuple malheureux est descendu dans la tombe*'.¹⁵²

The press and the pamphleteers, therefore, played an important rôle in popularising support for the Polish cause. They provided information about the course of the uprising, supported the approaches made to the French government by the Poles and helped to raise funds for the national collection, but their greatest contribution was the transmission of imagery and myth. By their continual descriptions of Russian brutality towards Poland, their emotive rhetoric and oft-repeated phrases, they helped to sustain the enthusiasm for the Poles throughout 1831. Poland became *la France du nord*, the Tsar a new Attila and his subjects a race of brutalised serfs. The Poles were courageous, loyal and unbending in their struggle for liberty and emancipation; they were the saviours of Europe from the Tartars and now they would again save European civilisation from the ambitions of a barbaric state, pledged to crush the principle of liberty. The reflection of these ideas in so many of the newspaper articles and pamphlets published at the time of the uprising inevitably helped to broaden their appeal, for it was already accepted that the views of newspapers and pamphlets had an important effect on popular opinion. Judged by their subscription figures even the most important newspapers reached only a fraction of the population, but in reality the circulation of the

¹⁴⁹ M. Bellier, *Fédération de la France et de l'Europe* (Valence, 1831), p. 35.

¹⁵⁰ The term *La France du nord* was one of the most commonly expressed ideas at this time.

¹⁵¹ J. Petit, *Ruines de Pologne ou le dernier jour à Varsovie* (Paris, 1831), pp. 2-3.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* p. 3. A similar theme was developed by Lamennais in *L'Avenir*, 17 Sept: 'Peuple de héros, peuple de notre amour, repose en paix dans la tombe que le crime des uns et la lâcheté des autres t'ont creusée.'

different newspapers was much wider than official statistics would suggest. In November 1830 the leading Parisian paper, *Le Constitutionnel*, had only 14,476 subscribers throughout France, its nearest rival, *La Gazette de France*, 9,229 and *Le Journal des Débats* 8,486. Among the other papers only *Le Temps* and *La Quotidienne* approached 5,000 and Carrel's *Le National* had only 1,834.¹⁵³ Yet before the July Revolution, in April 1830, the Prefect of Police remarked that one copy of *Le Constitutionnel* could reach a hundred readers whereas one issue of *La Quotidienne* might reach no more than one family.¹⁵⁴ In addition to being passed from hand to hand, papers were read in reading rooms and cafés and their news circulated by word of mouth in public places like the Palais Royal in Paris. Already the influence of the press had begun to penetrate the provinces. Village *communes* took out subscriptions to the Parisian papers, news was discussed in taverns, cafés and local societies, and in many areas local newspapers had begun to appear which gave their own slant to national and local news.¹⁵⁵ The influence of a paper like *Le National*, one of the leading opponents of the Bourbons, cannot be assessed by the number of its subscribers and it was often the least well subscribed papers which caused the government most concern.

Pamphlets, too, enjoyed a wide circulation. Like newspaper articles, their great strength lay in their topicality and the views of a pamphleteer might be discussed in reading rooms, cafés, on the streets or around the booths where books and pamphlets were sold, often for only one or two francs. Both in Paris and the provinces there was a great thirst for news, and, after their patriotic stand against the late *régime* in July, the influence of the press editors was very important. At their crudest many papers proclaimed the virtues of anticlericalism, bellicose patriotism and the Napoleonic cult, but, although the more conservative liberal press took a less extreme view of the political situation, it was papers like *Le National* and *Le Constitutionnel*, the papers of the artisans and small shopkeepers, which were the true repositories of popular prejudices and aspirations. For papers like these, and for many of the pamphleteers who shared their views, the Polish question was a great *cause célèbre* during the spring and summer of 1831 and it was through them that a large section of public opinion was en-

¹⁵³ A.N. F7 3884. Daily reports of the Prefect of Police for 1830: report for 2 Nov. 1830.

¹⁵⁴ C. Ledré, *La Presse à l'assaut de la monarchie 1815-1848* (Paris, 1960), p. 16.

¹⁵⁵ Most of the new provincial papers founded at this time were anti-Bourbon and many supported the collections begun in the provinces for the Poles. See above, p. 124.

couraged to support the Poles in their struggle for liberty and emancipation.

5. *Chansons and plays*

Newspapers and pamphlets offered one means of interesting the French public in the Polish cause, but at a time when the level of illiteracy was still high, popular political literature also had an important influence on mass opinion. The tradition of the political chansons was particularly strong in France and was a powerful populariser of ideas.¹⁵⁶ During the Revolution such songs as *Le Chant du départ*, *Ca Ira* and *La Marseillaise* became symbols of France's revolutionary fervour and so great was the importance attached to them by successive *régimes* that the singing of the *Marseillaise* was regarded as an act of subversion.¹⁵⁷ Under Napoleon the political climate did not favour such open demonstrations of popular feeling, but in the period following the defeat at Waterloo the unpopularity of the Bourbons brought a great increase both in the number and circulation of political chansons.¹⁵⁸ They were sung in *cafés*, taverns, village *cabarets* and *ateliers*, and they were hawked and sung in the streets by *colporteurs* and itinerant *chansonniers*. In Paris they were regularly sung in the *goguettes*, local *cabarets* where the artisans came to drink and sing, and despite the restrictions on the right of assembly they continued to increase in number. In 1818 there were already 300 and by 1836 the number had risen to 500, and, although the discussion of politics was technically forbidden, each had its own political character. Some were Bonapartist, others republican, and they had such names as *Les Vrais Français*, *Les Amis de la Gloire* and *Les Grognards*.¹⁵⁹ The *goguettes* were regarded with great suspicion by the police for the *chansons* kept alive traditions and appeared at times of crisis to give expression to popular feelings. They helped to foster enthusiasm for the Napoleonic cult, kept alive the memory of France's victories in the revolutionary period and embodied popular hatred of the Jesuits, and by the repetition of images, ideas and symbols they helped to mould popular opinion and give expression to its beliefs.

The great flowering of the *chanson* during the Restoration established the reputation of a number of *chansonniers* as 'national

¹⁵⁶ For the development of the *chanson* after 1815 see J. Touchard, *La Gloire de Béranger* (Paris, 1968), i, 199 ff.

¹⁵⁷ It was banned altogether under Napoleon III.

¹⁵⁸ Touchard, i, 200-203.

¹⁵⁹ P. Brochon, *La Chanson sociale de Béranger à Brassens* (Paris, 1961), pp. 9 ff.

poets'. They included Casimir Delavigne, Méry, Barthélemy and the greatest of them all, Béranger, whose influence was such that one commentator believed that he had helped to make the July Revolution:

. . . sans lui, sans ses chansons qui l'ont si bien préparées et qui ont rendu populaire le mépris de la légitimité, elle serait encore à faire, et pourtant il n'a pas reçu, que je sache, le décoré de juillet.¹⁶⁰

It was Delavigne's *La Parisienne*, however, which became the new hymn of popular revolution, the new Marseillaise:

Peuple français, peuple de braves,
La liberté rouvre ses bras;
On nous disait: Soyez esclaves!
Nous avons dit: Soyez soldats!
Soudain Paris dans sa mémoire
A retrouvé ce cri de gloire
 En avant marchons
 Contre leurs canons!
A retrouvé ce cri de gloire:
 Courons à la victoire!¹⁶¹

The poem was only one of many homages to the victors of July published both in Paris and the provinces,¹⁶² but it was Delavigne's poem which came to symbolise popular feeling about July. Each *chansonnier* used his own poetic imagery and metaphors and many set their *chansons* to popular melodies to enhance their immediate appeal, but it was the rhetoric of expression, which, as in Delavigne's poem, attracted popular attention.

The great common characteristic of the *chanson* writers, however, was their patriotism. During the Restoration they pictured France as a land of liberty and glory, who would once again one day be '*la reine du monde*', and whose struggle for emancipation from the tyranny of the Vienna settlement was identified with that of all oppressed peoples in Europe. Against the Holy Alliance of the European powers, Béranger proposed a Holy Alliance of Peoples:

Ainsi parlait cette vierge adorée,
Et plus d'un roi répétait ses discours,
Comme au printemps la terre était parée:

¹⁶⁰ J. Colmet, *Le Pouvoir de la chanson en France et de son influence sur la révolution de juillet* (Paris, 1831).

¹⁶¹ C. Delavigne, *La Parisienne* (Paris, 1830).

¹⁶² Among them were *Le Réveil du peuple* by Duplaisset, *L'Etendard de la liberté* by a M. Bigot of Le Havre and *Au Peuple* by Théodore and Hypolite Cogniard.

L'Automne en fleurs rappelait les amours.
 Pour l'étranger, coulez, bons vins de France:
 De sa frontière il reprend le chemin.
 Peuples, formons une sainte alliance,
 Et donnons-nous la main.¹⁶³

Foreign policy, therefore, was always followed with great interest by the *chansonniers* and *chansons* appeared to decry French intervention in Spain in 1823 and to welcome the success of the Algerian campaign in 1830. A steady stream of *chansons* plotted the course of the war of independence in Greece and in 1826, the year of Missolonghi, 34 poems were published with 12 on the battle itself.¹⁶⁴ The success of the July Revolution seemed the prelude to a new movement of liberty in Europe and with the development of the international situation popular hopes for a war of liberation began to rise:

Remuée au grand jour, Josaphat s'est dressé;
 C'est nous dont la trompette a donné le signal,
 Et le coq des Gaules a chanté, matinal.
 Le combat termine, des débris de la lance,
 Sur l'Europe, semez nos bagues d'alliance
 Dans chaque peuple indépendant.
 Et que la liberté, mon pays, recommence,
 En nouant les anneaux dans un chaine immense
 Un autre empire d'Occident.¹⁶⁵

The news of the uprising in Poland produced an immediate and spontaneous response from the *chansonniers* and a flood of *chansons* appeared which soon established the Polish cause as a favourite theme for the *chansonniers*. Over 50 *chansons* were published during 1831 alone, some by well known writers like Béranger, Barthélemy and Delavigne, but most by unknown individuals and many in the provinces.¹⁶⁶ Béranger wrote two *chansons*, *Hâtons-Nous*, which appeared in February 1831 and *Poniatowski*, which was published in July, Barthélemy mourned the fall of Warsaw with a poem entitled *Némésis*, while Delavigne produced the most celebrated of all the *chansons* on Poland, *La Varsovienne*.¹⁶⁷ The

¹⁶³ P.-J. De Béranger, *La Sainte alliance des peuples* in *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1849), p. 255.

¹⁶⁴ Dimopoulos, p. 48.

¹⁶⁵ A. Dumas, *Les Parisiennes* (Paris, 1830). For the reaction of *chansonniers* to the July Revolution see J. Skerlitch, *L'Opinion publique en France d'après la poésie politique et sociale de 1830 à 1848* (Lausanne, 1901).

¹⁶⁶ See C. Sénéchal, *La Pologne de 1830 à 1848 dans la poésie romantique* (Paris, 1932), pp. 59 ff. At least 15 *chansons* were published in Lyon, a lesser number in Metz, Marseilles, Nantes, Dijon and Toulouse.

¹⁶⁷ See below, pp. 149-150.

chansonniers closely followed the course of events in Poland and the optimism of such *chansons* as *L'Infaillible triomphe de la Pologne* by a de la Fresnaye or H. de la Morvonnais' *L'Affranchissement de la Pologne* was soon superseded by such laments as Barthélemy's *Némésis* and Sanson's *Le Dernier soupir des braves*. Many of the *chansons*, however, shared a common language and imagery. Every emotion was expressed, admiration for the courage of the Poles, pity for their plight, shame at France's indifference, indignation at government policy, hope in the future and the inevitable triumph of the cause of liberty over tyranny. Particular emphasis, however, was placed on the shared struggles and glories of the Napoleonic wars and Béranger's *chanson Poniatowski* was typical of many when it spoke of the Poles as the faithful allies of France:

C'est la Pologne et son peuple fidèle
 Qui tant de fois a pour nous combattu;
 Elle se noie au sang qui coule d'elle,
 Sang qui s'épuise en gardant sa vertu.
 Comme ce chef mort pour notre patrie.
 Corps en lambeaux dans l'Elster retrouvé.
 Au bord du gouffre un peuple entier nous crie:
 "Rien qu'une main, Français, je suis sauvé"¹⁶⁸

It was this loyalty which had once again saved France from the Cossacks and the *chansonniers* were quick to point out that Poland was not merely a barrier between Russia and Europe, but a symbol of liberty and the struggle of all peoples against the Vienna treaties. Her uprising had been made in France's own image:

Tout un peuple est debout; ce peuple valeureux
 A juré d'imiter l'exemple de la France.
 La France après de longs revers,
 Sort d'un sommeil de quinze années:
 Elle a brisé d'indignes fers,
 Elle a changé les destines,
 Ainsi le peuple polonais,
 Veut de la liberté conquérir les bienfaits.¹⁶⁹

As the expected success of the Poles did not materialise, the bitterness of the *chansonniers* turned against the government for its indifference to the fate of France's sister in arms. In February 1831 Béranger had cried '*Hâtons-nous: l'honneur est là-bas,*' but by September France's honour was already lost:

¹⁶⁸ P.-J. de Béranger, *Poniatowski* in *Oeuvres Complètes*, p. 459.

¹⁶⁹ *Les Trois capitales, Petersbourg, Varsovie et Paris ou le triomphe de la liberté* (Paris, n.d.).

Ainsi de tout destin notre France maîtresse
 N'a donc pu secourir une soeur en détresse!
 Varsovie était loin; un compas à la main
 Les froids calculateurs ont toisé le chemin.
 Car pour se faire entendre à leur charité morte,
 Il faut que le malheur pleure assis à leur porte.¹⁷⁰

In many of the *chansons* the Polish insurrection was identified with the newly refounded revolutionary tradition in France with its strange admixture of military pride and moral sentiment. Poland was a nation struggling for liberty, but she was also especially dear to France as she was the victim of France's greatest enemy, Russia. Like the pamphleteers and the newspaper journalists, the *chanson-niers* painted an awesome and lurid picture of Russian society, whose citizens, denied all rights, were the slavish followers of an autocratic Tsar:

Jaloux de commander à des serfs endormis
 Fier d'un triomphe vain chez le Turc insoumis
 L'Autocrate disait, dans sa folle espérance
 Hourra! mes Polonais, allez punir le France!
 Enchaînez, sous leur roi, ces hommes d'occident
 A mes Russes vainqueurs vous serviez de guide.¹⁷¹

The insurrection was a new proof of the devotion of the Poles to France and its defeat brought not only resentment but fear. Yet belief in the ultimate triumph of the uprising persisted:

Le rouge, mes amis: c'est le deuil militaire:
 Rouge comme le sang qui faillit d'une artère;
 Varsovie en mourant avait cette couleur.¹⁷²

The *émigrés*, the victims of the Tsar's cruel persecutions, would be welcomed as *le débris de la liberté* or *les martyrs de la liberté*, who one day would return to renew the struggle for independence and liberty. It was Delavigne's *La Varsoviennne*, however, which remained the symbol of French sympathy for the Polish cause:

Il s'est levé, voici le jour sanglant;
 Qu'il soit pour nous le jour de délivrance!
 Dans son essor voyez notre aigle blanc
 Les yeux fixés sur l'arc-en-ciel de France
 Au soleil de juillet, dont l'éclat fut si beau,

¹⁷⁰ A. Barthélemy, *Varsovie, 25 Septembre 1831: Némesis XLVI* (Paris, 1831).

¹⁷¹ *Messenienne: les polonais* (Tours, n.d.).

¹⁷² Barthélemy, *Némesis* (Paris, 1831).

Il a repris son vol, il fend les airs, il crie:
Pour ma noble patrie,
Liberté, ton soleil, ou la nuit du tombeau! ¹⁷³

The reaction of the *chanson* writers to the Polish insurrection was largely spontaneous. Béranger and Delavigne were both members of the Polish committee and in July 1831 Béranger published an edition of his two *chansons* which was sold to raise money for the Poles,¹⁷⁴ but on the whole the influence of Polish propaganda was indirect, a tribute to the skill with which the Poles had been able to identify the uprising with powerful French traditions. The *goguette* was a place of popular political education, but so too were the *boulevard théâtres* which during the last years of the *ancien régime* had sprung up along the Boulevard du Temple, de Montmartre and de la Bastille.¹⁷⁵ The theatres, which staged plays, ballets, pantomimes and spectacles of all kinds for the ordinary people of Paris, were first and foremost places of entertainment, but they always pandered to the changing tastes of their clientele by staging plays on subjects of popular or topical interest. During the hectic years of the Revolution, the hopes and aspirations of the artisans and small businessmen who made up the theatre audiences were acted out on the stage and at times of military crisis patriotic dramas often appeared designed to arouse popular support for the war of the liberation of the peoples.¹⁷⁶ During the Restoration the theatres, like the *chansons*, played an important role in keeping alive the memory of the Emperor's victories and the glorious feats of the French army in Europe and the weeks immediately following the July Revolution saw a stream of plays which glorified republican and Bonapartist traditions and attacked the clerical and unpatriotic Bourbons. The government was soon obliged to take powers to censor the more extreme performances, but events of topical interest continued to occasion hastily written, impromptu productions.¹⁷⁷ Each theatre was known for its particular audience. The Odéon was patronised by the students and the small *rentiers*, the Vaudeville by the lower middle classes whereas the Porte St. Martin drew its audiences from all social classes.¹⁷⁸ Performances were often boisterous and noisy, and theatres generally were regarded as

¹⁷³ C. Delavigne, *La Varsoivienne* (Paris, 1831).

¹⁷⁴ The *chansons* were accompanied by historical notes written by Chodźko and was sold at a low price to ensure wider distribution. Béranger to L. Chodźko, 16 July 1831: P. Boileau, *Correspondance de Béranger* (Paris, 1860), ii, 42.

¹⁷⁵ See M. Albert, *Les Théâtres des boulevards* (Paris, 1902).

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 87 ff.

¹⁷⁷ See also D. O. Evans, *Le Drame moderne à l'époque romantique 1827-1850* (Paris, 1923).

¹⁷⁸ Albert, p. 367.

places of likely disorder by the police, for a political play might become the occasion for demonstrations of popular feeling.¹⁷⁹ In such circumstances it was in the interests of the management to stage plays which were likely to be popular with the audience and few productions were more than hack entertainments designed to draw in the crowd.

The censors appointed after July were particularly sensitive to the inference that the new *régime* was, like its predecessor, unpatriotic, but sympathy for the oppressed peoples of Europe remained a popular theme in plays throughout 1831 and the Poles were certainly not forgotten by the playwrights. Polish settings had already been used in comedies and melodramas during the Empire and the Restoration.¹⁸⁰ From 1807, when Napoleon's plans for Eastern Europe had become clear, a number of political plays had appeared. In that year a one act vaudeville, *Les Batelier du Niémen*, was staged to celebrate the newly concluded peace, in 1811 an historical melodrama entitled *Stanislas Leczinski ou le siège de Dantzick* appeared and in the following year it was followed by a three act melodrama *Romanowski ou les Polonais dans la Russie Blanche*.¹⁸¹ In these plays France's mission to the nations of Europe was clearly identified with the generosity and glory of the Emperor, the hero of the hour, but Poland was also presented, in conformity with Napoleonic propaganda, as the traditional ally of France whose resurrection as an independent state would protect Europe from Russia. The traditional links between the two countries were also remembered and Poland's *rôle* as the protector of European civilisation was the chief theme of a number of plays on Sobieski,¹⁸² but most popular of all was the idea that the Poles were the most loyal of all France's allies and at the end of one play produced in 1819 the authors paid homage to '*les braves Polonais, ces fidèles amis de la France rivalisèrent de dévouement avec nos plus illustres guerriers*'.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁹ On the evening of 9 September 1830, for example, there was a riot at the Odéon when one of the actors refused to read a patriotic verse thrown on to the stage. The evening ended with the singing of *La Parisienne* and two patrons who refused to stand for the last verse were ejected from the theatre. A.N. F7 3884. Daily reports of the Prefect of Police for 1830: report for 10 Sep. 1830.

¹⁸⁰ For example in Pixérecourt's *Les Mines de Pologne* produced at the Ambigu Comique in 1803.

¹⁸¹ See the bibliography in J. Lorentowicz, *La Pologne et la France* (Paris, 1935-1941), i, 114-118.

¹⁸² For example *Le Camp de Sobieski ou le triomphe des polonais* (Paris, 1813), by L. Duparty and F. Mercier or *Jean Sobieski, roi de Pologne* (Paris, 1806), by B. Hadot.

¹⁸³ Franconi (jeune) and P. Villiers, *Poniatowski ou le passage de l'Elster*, produced at the Cirque Olympique on 11 Dec. 1819.

During 1831 the popularity of the uprising in France helped to define these political ideas more sharply. In *Les Polonais ou Février 1831*, an impromptu drama staged at the Gymnase theatre on 16 March 1831, the Poles were depicted as a united nation preparing to fight for liberty, independence and the security of Europe against terrible odds. Their only hope was France, *la France de juillet*, to whom they had appealed for aid and at one stage they see the tricolour in the distance:

Français, nos défenseurs,
Venez, vos trois couleurs,
Triomphant à la ronde
Ce drapeau respecté
Avec la liberté
Fera le tour du monde

However, it is only a messenger bringing news of the popularity of the Polish cause in France, of Lafayette's committee and Lamarque's brave speeches in their defence. Hope is once again raised:

Le coq gaulois chante pour nous
Nous mourions pour l'aigle de France¹⁸⁴

French help, however, was not to come and by November, when the Ambigu Comique presented *La Révolution polonaise*, an allegory in five acts, the last scene depicted Poland in chains, the victim of a despotism surrounded by slaves.¹⁸⁵ Shortly after the Opéra Comique presented *Les Polonais*, a melodrama in four acts with 12 tableaux and two apotheoses, the first showing the Poles as the victims of the cause of liberty ascending to heaven and the second showing liberty inheriting the world. The inhuman treatment of the Poles by the Russians was symbolised by the knouting of a peasant, the link between the revolution in France and the uprising in Poland by the enthusiastic response of the young ensigns to the news of the fall of Charles X. The courage and bravery of the Polish army, it was made clear, was supported by the whole population and the nation's quest for liberty was once again equated with the security of France's own revolution. In the first act Lelewel has his doubts about the conspiracy, but he is reassured by another conspirator:

. . . regardez cette poitrine; des blessures la sillonnent, mon sang a été versé pour la France en dix combats, cent mille Polonais ont comme moi combattu pour elle. Tous lui ont été

¹⁸⁴ C. Desnoyer, *Les Polonais ou Février 1831* (Paris, 1831).

¹⁸⁵ Other tableaux included an assembly of troops beneath the Polish flag, the peasantry marching to the defence of the revolution and a massacre in a Polish town.

fidèles, même sous les murs de Paris, quand plusieurs de ses enfans l'abandonnaient . . . Pendant vingt ans le soldat français et le soldat polonais ont été frères: pendant vingt ans ils ont tout partagé: même fortune, même gloire, même revers, même mort . . . Non, non, une telle fraternité ne s'oublie pas, et si jamais, la Russie nous écrase, le Française se sentira blessé au coeur. En avant donc, arborons l'aigle et le drapeau polonais, et s'il faut mourir, du moins, mourrons libres en regardant fièrement le Russe étonné.¹⁸⁶

At the end of the play Ramorino and the French volunteers appear in Warsaw, but their arrival cannot stem the tide of defeat. The faithful ally of France, the beacon of European liberty, is no more.

By December the fate of the Polish uprising had already been decided, but the strength of public feeling was such that two historical dramas on Poland could be presented within a month. Like newspapers, pamphlets and *chansons*, plays both influenced and reflected public opinion. To guarantee success, theatre managers had to present plays which reflected popular ideas, but these plays also helped to spread the views of the Polish lobby. Not only did the plots and themes of the plays encourage enthusiasm for the Polish cause, but ever increasingly elaborate stage sets, colourful tableaux and the singing of patriotic verses helped to emphasise the political message of the piece. During the 1830s and 1840s a growing interest in social questions created a vogue for greater social realism in popular dramas, but even in 1830 the new movement was already gaining ground. Like the *chanson*, drama relied for its effect on the spoken word, but, like the engraving and the cartoon, it also appealed visually. Engravings of Polish subjects, particularly Kościuszko and Poniatowski, circulated widely¹⁸⁷ and stage tableaux created a living representation of historical events, and, although each performance could reach only a fraction of the population, such dramas still remained important popularisers of ideas.

6. *The popular reaction*

The barrage of propaganda which assailed the French public during the first nine months of 1831 was itself a measure of the popularity of the Polish cause in France, but for the leaders of the Polish campaign it was only a means to an end. Their aim was not only to influence public opinion, but to involve the public in a

¹⁸⁶ M. Prosper, *Les Polonais* (Paris, 1832), p. 14.

¹⁸⁷ A series of patriotic engravings by Antoni Oleszczyński appeared during 1831, see below, p. 205.

national movement in support of the Poles. Building upon the spontaneous wave of sympathy which had greeted the news of the insurrection in December 1830, they played upon the fears and aspirations which had gripped a large part of the French public in the months after July with such success that by September 1831 the war in Poland had become a matter of national concern. Support came not just from the political circles of the capital, but from all classes and shades of opinion throughout France. The legitimists naturally stood aloof from what could only be regarded as a revolutionary cause, but such hostility was more than balanced by the support which the cause received from the mass of the population. For the artisans, small businessmen, students and professional people of Paris and many provincial towns the Polish cause was a great national question in which France's honour, security and prestige were all at stake. They identified the insurrection with the ideals of the July Revolution, the fear of Russian invasion and nostalgia for the Napoleonic wars, and they gave willing support to the Polish committee in its attempts to persuade the French government to offer aid to the Poles. For this section of public opinion Poland was the great *cause célèbre* of 1831 and the government's failure to respond to its patriotic duty created bitterness and resentment.

The great symbol of popular sympathy was the national collection, which not only raised a large amount of money but involved large sections of the community in a mass agitation on behalf of the Poles.¹⁸⁸ In this respect the Polish collection was not unique. The Greek collection had acquired much of its money from abroad and had won the support of leading figures in the political establishment, but, although there had been numerous contributions from all sections of the community all over France, most of the individual contributions had not been included on the published subscription lists and in the localities fund raising schemes had generally been the work of society ladies and members of the provincial nobility and *haute bourgeoisie*.¹⁸⁹ The subscription lists published by the Polish committee, on the other hand, abound with donations from all sections of society. Many of the contributions were of amounts varying from 50 centimes to two or three francs and all over France whole communities became involved in raffles, bazaars, balls, theatrical performances and other fund raising schemes.

The military appeal of the cause brought support from many

¹⁸⁸ See above, pp. 123-125.

¹⁸⁹ The subscriptions collected by the *Comité Philhellénique* were published regularly in the Committee's *Documents relatifs à l'état présent de la Grèce*.

veterans of the Napoléonic campaigns. A M. Latour, *ancien militaire jambe de bois* sent five francs, a former officer at one time a prisoner in Russia sent ten; other donations came from individuals described simply as *ancien militaire* and in the spring the governor of *Les Invalides* sent a collection of 2,165.20 fcs. by the veterans who:

débris de nos vieilles armées, se rappellent que les légions polonaises ont partagé leur gloire et leurs dangers, les liens de confraternité formés sur les champs de bataille sont indissolubles; les Polonais verront sans doute de ce faible secours le seul tribute que peuvent leur offrir leurs anciens frères d'armes, une preuve du vif intérêt qu'ils leurs inspirent.¹⁹⁰

An equally enthusiastic response came from the Parisian students. Collections were made in the Ecole Polytechnique (359.50 fcs.), the Collège Charlemagne (447 fcs.), the preparatory school for St. Cyr and the Ecole Polytechnique (363 fcs.), the Collège de Bourbon (183.70 fcs.), the Collège de St. Louis (450 fcs.) and the Collège de Louis le Grand (656 fcs.). The collections made by the National Guard helped to interest the more patriotic of the liberal *bourgeoisie* in the movement, but individual donations were also received from such people as Soron, a doctor from the rue de l'Université, M. Portier, an engraver and a magistrate M. Dangan. Even more significant were the efforts made by the artisans and workers of Paris to raise money for the Poles. The young apprentice silkworkers sent 20 fcs., the shoemakers and bootmakers employed in the *atelier* of a M. Lequillier in the rue du Temple another 20 fcs. and the saddlers in Anslers' workshop 11 fcs. A collection made by the sawyers and firewood collectors at the Bastille produced 16.70 fcs. and in March a raffle in the café Maillard in the faubourg St. Antoine another 120 fcs. Numerous small donations were also received from individuals described simply as *ouvrier* or *ouvrière*, and, apart from the generous donations made by the members of the Polish committee itself, contributions like that of 1,000 fcs. made by the baron de Villequier were comparatively rare. For the most part, the members of the old legitimist and the new liberal political establishments were unwilling to give open support to a cause which was increasingly identified with demands for a bellicose foreign policy and a European war.

The national collection was not only successful in Paris but raised funds throughout France. In the localities the Polish committees

¹⁹⁰ This and all subsequent figures are taken from the subscription lists published by the Polish committee between February and September 1831. See above, p. 126.

arranged fund raising schemes and donations were collected by the National Guards, the army, the local newspapers and masonic lodges.¹⁹¹ Contributions were received from nearly every *département*, but the greatest support came from those areas where opposition activity was most successful and where the level of political organisation was high. Many of the chief organisers of the Polish campaign in the provinces were leading members of the local political establishment and mostly radicals, like Dornès and Bauchette in Metz, Lortet and Gilibert in Lyon and Monnet in Dijon. Dornès and Bauchette were important members of the town council and had been active in local politics since before the July Revolution while Monnet, whose subscription in Dijon raised 2,732 fcs., was a leading member of the association *Aide-Toi, le ciel t'aidera* and the founder in 1833 of the association for the liberty of the press.¹⁹² Another centre of support for the Poles was Nancy, a town whose Polish connexions reached back to the time of Stanisław Leszczyński, who, as duke of Lorraine, had embellished Nancy with many fine buildings.¹⁹³ A concert held in February raised 2,060.65 fcs. and further collections of 1,276.45 fcs. and 451.50 fcs. were forwarded through a M. Thoriot. The greatest areas for fund raising were in the north and east, where radical feeling was strongest in the towns, and there was comparatively little activity in *départments* like Landes, Gironde, Vendée or Côtes du Nord.¹⁹⁴ Even in the west, however, there was some activity in the towns and a ball at Brest raised 2,946 fcs. and *L'Auxiliaire Breton* collected 1,175 fcs. in Rennes. On the whole, wherever there was some political organisation there were collections for the Poles and this fact helped to identify the Polish cause with the political opposition.

In the eastern provinces the success of the campaign was closely connected with the security of France, for in towns like Metz the memory of foreign invasion was still fresh in the minds of many inhabitants. Sympathy for the Poles, however, ran deeper than fear of the dreaded Cossacks. The Polish committee at Metz appealed to the citizens to help France's ancient ally:

Sauvons le nom français de l'opprobre dont il serait couvert
parmi les nations, si l'on pouvait dire un jour que les Polonais
n'ont jamais hésité à verser leur sang pour la France, qu'ils

¹⁹¹ See above, p. 124.

¹⁹² G. Perreux, *Aux temps des sociétés secrètes* (Paris, 1930), p. 94.

¹⁹³ In 1826 the Prefect of Meurthe mentioned that Nancy was a town with liberal traditions where national subscriptions were always well supported. Reports of the general police, A.N. F7 6722 no. 45.

¹⁹⁴ Further south, however, Perpignan sent 1,425.70 fcs. and its National Guards 237.55 fcs.

ont imploré notre secours, nous n'avons pas même su nous imposer de légères privations pour les mettre en état de résister à leurs oppresseurs.¹⁹⁵

The same ideas were re-echoed by the founders of the Polish bazaar in Lyon, who spoke of the Polish cause as '*le plus sérieux, le plus pressant et le moins contesté*' of all the issues facing France and of her obligation:

. . . de secourir leur hôte, leur ancien allié, leur loyal et constant ami, dans ce peuple dynamique dont la vertu héréditaire est maintenant aux prises avec tous les genres de fléaux et des souffrances.¹⁹⁶

In the provinces, too, it was once again the artisans and the lower bourgeoisie who were most enthusiastic in their support of the subscriptions. In Versailles the local *Société constitutionnelle* organised a collection whose subscribers included several lawyers, doctors and *propriétaires*, a corn-chandler, a hatter, a tailor, a gardener, a grocer and an usher. In Reims donations were received from a lawyer, a notary, several traders, a post master, an iron-master and several students and at Laon from a pharmacist, a saddler, a notary and a driver of a cart. By September 1831 it seemed that most of France, with the exception of the west, had made some contribution to the work of raising money for the Poles and even in the smallest communities there were those eager to show their support of the cause.

Popular enthusiasm, however, was not limited to raising funds for the national collection, for in Paris and other large towns there were demonstrations, public parades and even riots in support of the Poles. For the most part ill-organised and spontaneous, these demonstrations, sometimes expressive of popular excitement at a Polish victory, sometimes the result of the bitterness felt at the news of a defeat, were a measure of the popularity of the cause in France. The police regarded the arrival of unfavourable news from Poland or the organisation of a public ceremony on their behalf with great concern, for they knew only too well how demonstrations and public *fêtes* of all kinds could develop into riots. In the case of Poland, these fears were amply justified. Incidents of various kinds took place throughout the spring and summer of 1831, and, when news reached the government of the fall of Warsaw, hasty preparations were made to contain the expected outburst of public feeling.

Considering the flood of news, propaganda and literature published on the uprising during 1831, it is not surprising that the

¹⁹⁵ Dornès to the Polish legation, n.d. B.P. 359 no. 1540.

¹⁹⁶ M. Brisac, *Lyon et l'insurrection polonaise* (Lyon, 1909).

public should have become obsessed with the course of the war. The campaign of the Polish committee had helped to make the Polish question into a national issue, yet from the beginning sympathy for the Poles had been closely bound up with popular fears for the economic and political safety of France. Economic depression and the threat of an international war had formed the essential background to the spontaneous reaction to the news of the uprising,¹⁹⁷ and, although the Polish war eased French fears about a possible Russian invasion, the situation remained substantially unchanged during 1831. In Paris, despite the closing of several *ateliers de secours* at the beginning of the year, unemployment remained high¹⁹⁸ and the small workshops were plagued by the malaise which continued to depress the consumption economy of the capital. The summer of 1831 brought no real improvement. At the beginning of August the price of bread rose and on 27 August the police reported that the artisans were complaining bitterly about the lack of work and the failure of the government to open new workshops, '*ils envisagent avec effroi l'hiver qui approche et malheureusement leurs craintes ne sont que trop fondées*'.¹⁹⁹ At the beginning of September the price of bread again rose and the police reported that the artisans would probably have to sell their possessions to survive the winter. Random demonstrations and disturbances continued to take place in Paris and on 14 September the police reported that for the first time since July the artisans were comparing their situation unfavourably with their position before the Revolution.

Popular discontent, however, often took on a political form. In February 1831 the anticlericalism of the mob was reaffirmed in the sack of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois, which was accompanied with cries of *mort aux jésuites* and the singing of the *Parisienne* and the *Marseillaise*.²⁰⁰ From March it was the international situation which dominated public thinking, for, when it became clear that the Poles were going to be locked in a desperate battle with the Russian army, the course of the war in Poland became a matter of great concern. Fears of a Russian invasion were still strong and the appearance of *Associations Nationales*, pledged to defend France and prevent the return of the Bourbons, was an indication of the seriousness with

¹⁹⁷ See above, pp. 114-115.

¹⁹⁸ The police reports for 1831 are full of the miseries of the workers of the capital in their search for work and each day the number of *ouvriers* who did not find a day's hire was recorded. On 7 March it was reported that only 60 of the 500 workers who had assembled at Châtelet had found work, on 19 April only 90 out of 730, on 2 July 20 out of 300. A.N. F7 3885. Daily reports of the Prefect of Police for 1831.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.* Report of 27 Aug. 1831.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.* Report of 15 Feb. 1831.

which the idea was taken.²⁰¹ National security was closely identified with national prestige and it was still popularly supposed that a war of liberation for all the nations of Europe would follow a victory in Poland, but it was also recognised that the uncertainty of the political position of France in Europe was one of the chief causes of the continuing commercial crisis in the capital. It was not difficult, therefore, for the leaders of the Polish campaign to convince the French public that the cause of France's old ally was of crucial importance to the material and political security of the new *régime* and that the defeat of the Polish army would be the prelude to foreign invasion and the return of the Bourbons.

The Polish committees organised fund raising functions all over France and banquets, concerts and memorial services were the scenes of enthusiastic support for the Poles.²⁰² Public demonstrations, however, were largely spontaneous. On 9 March, for example, a large crowd distressed by the news of a Polish defeat at Grochów, gathered on the Boulevard de la Madeleine and the following day a large demonstration was staged by the students of the Latin Quarter. Wearing black armbands and red and white ribbons as a sign of mourning and vengeance for the Poles, they marched down from the Panthéon, through the Faubourg St. Germain, to the house of Lafayette in the rue St. Honoré, where they delivered an address regretting the recent defeat. Then they moved on to the house of the Russian ambassador and thence to the Quai d'Orsay, where they met the police with cries of *Vengeance aux Polonais* and *Mort aux Russes*. They were then dispersed, for a section of the crowd attempted to march on Ste. Pélagie to free the political prisoners, but although the Prefect expressed his concern at the event, the attempt by the students to rouse the population of St. Antoine and St. Marcel was a failure.²⁰³ On 14 March, however, the entry of Austrian troops into Italy again roused the resentment of the population and it was reported that war was being discussed everywhere. In the view of the Prefect only prompt government action could calm the agitation in the capital and restore economic confidence.²⁰⁴

With the crisis in Italy, rumours of war continued throughout

²⁰¹ P. M. Pilbeam, "The emergence of opposition to the Orleanist monarchy, August 1830-April 1831," *English Historical Review*, 85 (1970), 12-28.

²⁰² Among those organised by the central committee was the memorial service for Kościuszko, held in a private house in the rue St. Honoré, at which a large number of political figures and ordinary people were present. *Revue Encyclopédique*, xlix (1831), 746-754.

²⁰³ A.N. F7 3885 Daily reports. . . Report for 10 Mar. 1831.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.* Report for 14 Mar. 1831.

March. On 19 April, however, the situation improved with the arrival of news of a Polish victory:

Cette nouvelle a produit la plus vive sensation: elle a satisfait les nombreux amis de la cause polonaise et donné de nouveaux gages de sécurité aux partisans de la paix.²⁰⁵

As a result trade began to improve. May was a particularly quiet month and on 7 June, the day before the news of the Polish defeat at Ostrołęka reached Paris, the workers of the capital were reported to be peaceful, although still worried about the threat of unemployment.²⁰⁶ The following day there were a series of incidents at Châtelet, where the *Marseillaise* was sung and cries of *vive Napoléon* were heard, but the agitation was soon calmed. On 26 June, after renewed warnings about the state of public opinion, the Prefect reported that the international situation was once again giving cause for concern and that '*la sympathie publique pour la cause polonaise est toujours la même, et se révèle avec énergie à chaque occasion qui lui en est offert*'.²⁰⁷ It was with relief, therefore, that three days afterwards he was able to report the calming effect produced by the news of a Polish victory:

Jamais peut-être la cause d'aucun peuple n'a excité une sympathie aussi vive que celle qui fait palpiter pour ainsi dire la France entière à tout ce qui intéresse à la Pologne.²⁰⁸

On 4 August France declared war on Holland and this had an equally beneficial effect. Four days later the Prefect reported that the public were very enthusiastic about the new campaign and that there were many who hoped that the strong line adopted by France would have some effect on the course of the war in Poland. By this time the popularity of the Polish cause was such that spontaneous demonstrations of public feeling had become quite common. Patriotic *chansons* in honour of the Poles were frequently demanded in the theatres and on 4 July a crowd gathered outside a Parisian hotel where a colonel in the Polish army was believed to be staying and called for him to appear on the balcony with cries of *vivent les Polonais* and the singing of the *Marseillaise*.²⁰⁹ The resentment of the crowd was already beginning to turn against the government. On 19 July cries of *A bas Sébastiani* were heard at the Nouveautés theatre and on 14 September the Prefect informed

²⁰⁵ Ibid. Report for 19 April 1831.

²⁰⁶ Ibid. Report for 7 June.

²⁰⁷ Ibid. Report for 26 June. On 20 June the Prefect remarked '*il est bien à désirer que la question toute française de la Pologne reçoive enfin une solution à laquelle semblent se rattacher les intérêts les plus chers*'.

²⁰⁸ Ibid. Report for 29 June 1831.

²⁰⁹ Ibid. Report for 4 July 1831.

government that there were many people who were comparing the new *régime* unfavourably with the old.²¹⁰

The news of the fall of Warsaw, therefore, which reached Paris on 15 September, caused the police authorities enormous concern. The news was held back while preparations were made to contain the expected rioting and when the report of the Russian success appeared in the newspapers on 17 September it produced an explosive effect. The economic difficulties which had continued throughout the spring and summer were showing signs of becoming worse, the political popularity won by the government as a result of the intervention in Belgium in August had evaporated and the defeat of the national uprising, whose struggle had come to epitomise the very security of France's revolution, resulted in several days of rioting. The report of Sébastiani's supposed declaration that *'l'ordre régne à Varsovie'* incensed the crowd which had gathered in the Palais Royal gardens and the windows of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were broken before the crowd were dispersed by the National Guard. The following day there were raids on gunsmiths and the erection of barricades began; crowds gathered at the Palais Royal and the Place Vendôme and in the evening, after continual interruptions, the theatres were closed by popular demand. On 19 September there were further assemblies near the Chamber of Deputies, although the crowds were easily dispersed, but on 21 September the Prefect of Police was able to report that order had been re-established and that *'l'émeute n'est pas détruite, elle se repose'*.²¹¹ The end of the Polish uprising had deeply affected the population, but the Prefect noted that these agitations were *'sans but et sans chef'*. Economic grievances had easily become identified with political resentment, and, as the Prefect remarked in his report for 20 September, *'C'est de la politique qu'il faut faire avec l'émeute plus que de la police'*.²¹²

Similar disorders, though on a lesser scale, took place in other French towns. In July a demonstration on behalf of the Poles was organised in Metz during the tour by Louis Philippe of the eastern provinces and both the municipal council and the National Guard had demanded that the government should intervene in support of the Poles.²¹³ In Metz, Lyon and several other towns petitions were drawn up and all over France concerts, spectacles and plays ended with the singing of the *Varsoviennne*. During March it was reported that the whole department of Isère was concerned by the news of

²¹⁰ Ibid. Report for 14 Sep. 1831.

²¹¹ Ibid. Report for 21 Sep. 1831.

²¹² Ibid. Report for 20 Sep. 1831.

²¹³ Dornès to the Polish legation, n.d. B.P. 359 no. 1538.

a Polish defeat: '*Un vif sentiment d'indignation contre la Russie et tous les ennemis avoués au nom de notre nouvel ordre de choses*'.²¹⁴ Rumours of war were rife even among the most politically educated classes of society and in the Jura the arrival of the news of the fall of the capital to the Russians was reported to have deeply saddened the population who believed that the policies of the French government were in some way to blame for the defeat.²¹⁵ For the leaders of the radicals in the localities the Polish cause was an obvious issue on which to focus anti-government propaganda and in towns like Metz, Dijon and Lyon popular demonstrations were often openly hostile to the Orleans government. The widespread sympathy with which the cause was greeted in most parts of France, however, helped to give it a universal appeal and in Lyon the radical papers spoke enthusiastically in support of the Poles while fund-raising was in the hands of the respectable, liberal leaders of the Polish Bazaar.

* * *

The propaganda campaign, therefore, did have some important results. By the skilful orchestration of the spontaneous upsurge of sympathy which had greeted the news of the uprising in December 1830, the leaders of the Polish committee and their Polish friends had helped to organise a mass movement in favour of the Poles. Most political groups gave at least tacit support to the cause, efforts had been made all over France to collect funds, and the newspapers, pamphleteers and *chansonniers* had given Poland a special place in French affections. Although the Polish committee did not succeed in persuading the government to give open diplomatic or material aid to the Poles, some tentative moves were made during the spring and summer of 1831 to ease the diplomatic position of the National Government. After the news of the Polish defeat at Grochów in March, an approach was made to Metternich with the idea of guaranteeing Poland's rights under the Vienna treaties and during June and July negotiations were begun in London and Berlin in the hope of arranging mediation between the Russians and the Poles.²¹⁶ Further efforts were also made in August, when the French occupation of Belgium strengthened France's military influence in Europe, but the very success of the campaign merely helped to raise the suspicions of the other Powers. All efforts to interest the Russian government in any form of compromise were, in any case, doomed to failure. The deposition of the Tsar and the decree annexing the lost Lithuanian provinces were insuperable

²¹⁴ A.N. F7 6780 Report of the Gendarmerie at Grenoble, 14 Mar. 1831.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.* Report of the Gendarmerie of Poligny, 24 Sep. 1831.

²¹⁶ For these initiatives see Betley, pp. 113 ff., pp. 130 ff., and pp. 163 ff.

difficulties in the way of any negotiations and the only condition for peace acceptable to the Tsar was unconditional surrender. For the most trenchant supporters of the Polish cause, however, government policy was no less than a betrayal of the ideals of July and by the second half of 1831 there was already talk of Louis Philippe as '*l'homme de la Sainte-Alliance*'. For this section of opinion the end of the uprising brought an end to hopes for a war of European liberation, but for the leaders of the Polish movement it opened a new phase in the campaign. Having failed to force the government to intervene in support of the uprising, they now concentrated their attention on organising help for the expected exodus of political refugees.

CHAPTER THREE

THE GREAT POLISH EMIGRATION

1. *The Great Emigration*

The fall of Warsaw and the appointment of the conciliatory general Rybiński as the new commander in chief on 9 September effectively marked the end of the uprising. The attempt by general Umiński and Bonawentura Niemojowski, the last head of the National Government, to rally the debris of the Polish army was foiled by the opposition of the majority of the officers. The capitulation was signed and the remaining Polish forces crossed the Prussian frontier to seek refuge in East Prussia. On 18 October Nicholas I announced the formal end of hostilities and at the beginning of November the Russian authorities declared a partial amnesty for those who had been involved in the insurrection.¹

By 1 November, however, most of those most closely implicated in the insurrection as well as the whole of the Polish army had already left the Kingdom. Rybiński's corps of 20,000 men was, in fact, the last battalion to leave Poland. In April Dwernicki's force of 3,300 men had been forced to cross into Galicia by a Russian sortie and in July Gielgud had crossed into Prussia with 7,000 men for the same reason. With the decision of Ramorino to lead the remnants of his army into Austria on 17 September, there were in all some 55,000 officers and men who had escaped the need to surrender to the Tsar. The leading members of the government had already begun to make their way into exile. Czartoryski had taken refuge in the free city of Cracow on 26 September, but on the following day the invasion of the city by Russian troops forced him to cross into Galicia and subsequently he moved to Leipzig and then London. On 24 October Bonawentura Niemojowski and Teodor Morawski arrived in Paris, closely followed by the deputies Tymowski and Wołowski and then on 29 October by Lelewel. On 2 November the Mochmacki brothers arrived in the French capital.² The generals, too, quickly sought refuge abroad. Skrzynecki had escaped to Cracow before the siege of Warsaw; Dembiński,

¹ For the end of the uprising see Leslie, pp. 253 ff.

² The Mochmacki brothers were leading radical journalists. L. Gadon, *Emigracja Polska: pierwsze lata po upadku powstania listopadowego* Paris, 1960, p. 85 ff.

Małachowski and Rybiński fled to Dresden and were later followed into exile by seven other generals, most of whom settled in Paris.

The arrival of the leading participants in the insurrection in Paris marked the beginning of what came to be known as the Great Polish Emigration, a movement of some 8,000 or 9,000 refugees, most of whom decided to come to France.³ In fact, there were two emigrations. One was the spontaneous movement westward of the military and political leaders of the uprising. This was the political emigration, a movement which included the leading figures in the National Government, eight senators, 45 deputies and 13 generals, the leaders of the November *coup*, Zaliwski and Wysocki, and a host of lesser figures, mainly writers and journalists. They joined or were to be joined by a group of prominent Polish literary figures, including the poets Mickiewicz, Słowacki and Krasiński and the composer Chopin.⁴ Although these political leaders had formed part of a small, closely knit group which had emerged to take control of the government during the early months of the uprising, they had become alienated from one another by the intrigues, disagreements and disasters of the previous year. The diplomatic approach of Czartoryski and Morawski had been increasingly criticised and then villified by the radicals led by Lelewel. The liberal constitutionalists associated with the Niemojowski brothers had also been sharply criticised while the actions of the military Commanders, particularly Skrzynecki and Ramorino, had always brought criticism from their opponents. After the riots of 15 August, certain members of the *Patriotic Society* had been arrested, and, although they had been quickly released, the bitterness of their supporters against the National Government intensified.⁵ By the time the *émigrés* reached Paris, these groups had already begun to crystallise into political 'parties', although as yet they appeared to be no more than political cliques.

The second emigration consisted of those parts of the Polish army who could not, or would not, take up the offer of the Russian

³ See below, p. 168.

⁴ Słowacki left Poland in January 1831 as a courier for the government, but both Mickiewicz and Krasiński were abroad at the time of the uprising. Mickiewicz made his way to Poznań, not arriving until August 1831, by which time the uprising was almost over; Krasiński was forbidden to return by his father. Chopin, too, was already abroad.

⁵ On 15 August, when the Russian army was approaching Warsaw, a riot broke out during which a number of prisoners were dragged from their prisons and suspected spies hanged. As the riot coincided with the sending of a deputation by the *Patriotic Society* to the government, its leaders were suspected of being implicated in the affair. Leslie, pp. 242-47.

amnesty.⁶ Both Austria and Prussia were reluctant to give refuge to the Polish forces, but although the French had been unable to give diplomatic or material support to the uprising, the government at once accepted that France would offer sanctuary to those for whom return to Poland would certainly mean persecution. In September 1831 there were already 5,375 refugees officially resident in France, most of whom were from Spain or Italy.⁷ Some were victims of the insurrections which had followed the July Revolution in France, but many of the Spanish refugees had been in the country since 1824, when the Restoration government had given sanctuary to the liberal revolutionaries whom it had helped to defeat. As soon as the French government received news of the fall of Warsaw, it sent 300,000 frs. to its representatives in Austria and Germany, who were told to aid those excluded by the amnesty to reach France.⁸ However, at the same time, the government appealed to the Tsar to extend the provisions of the amnesty to include those officers still marooned in Prussia and Austria. The French had just successfully negotiated an amnesty for those Italian refugees implicated in the revolt in the Papal States and it was hoped that the expense of a large-scale emigration from Poland could be reduced by similar means.⁹

For those Poles excluded by the amnesty from returning to Poland, the decision to seek refuge in France was one dictated by sentiment as well as necessity. The military links between the two countries during the Napoleonic wars were remembered with nostalgia by both veterans and young cadets and throughout the uprising many had continued to hope that the French would come to Poland's aid. Moreover the growing divergence of political opinions between the different factions had been constantly sharpened by reference to French political ideas and the radicals

⁶ The amnesty published on 1 November excluded all those involved in the November coup, the instigators of the riot on 15 August, the deputies who had voted for the deposition of the Tsar in January and those members of the government who had not made their submission by 13 September. It also excluded those officers who had crossed into Austria and Prussia, although those from the Congress Kingdom itself were later allowed to return. Leslie, pp. 258-59.

⁷ According to the statement made by Casimir Périer in the Chamber of Deputies on 30 September, there were 2,867 Spaniards, 1,534 Italians, 964 Portuguese, six Poles and one Prussian who were receiving government support. *Arch. parl.* lxx, 243.

⁸ Gadon, pp. 87-88.

⁹ Casimir Périer was anxious to emphasise that it was on humanitarian and not on political grounds that the government had agreed to make grants to the refugees: 'Evitons que personne voie dans ces subsides la solde, en apparence régulière, d'une armée propagandiste, composée de soldats de toutes les langues, répandue sur tous les territoires, et ralliée non pas à un drapeau national, toujours sacré pour le patriotisme, mais à la bannière cosmopolite des révolutions.' *Arch. parl.* lxx, 241.

in particular had come to see their programme of reform as part of a European movement of emancipation led by France. These historical and political feelings were enhanced by practical considerations. Neither Prussia, Austria nor the small German courts could offer any real security for the Poles — the colony at Dresden was soon dispersed under Russian pressure — and hopes for French, and, to a more limited extent British, intervention in support of Poland's rights were slow to fade in the minds of many *émigrés*. The Austrian and Prussian governments would guarantee the safety of the troops, but they were unwilling to displease the Tsar by allowing them to travel to France. The army was kept in quarantine for the whole of October, but when news of the Russian amnesty arrived from St. Petersburg, the Prussian government made every effort to encourage the Polish troops to return. Persuasion was sometimes accompanied by force and by the end of November there were only some 20,000 men left. Much of the money sent by the French government was, in fact, used to help these soldiers return to Poland. A mass emigration of soldiers was not envisaged by the French authorities and until December was not even considered as a realistic idea by the Polish leaders in Paris.¹⁰

The exception was the young general Bem. While most of the generals made indecent haste to secure their own safety, his hopes turned to the idea of forming a new Polish legion in the service of France. The memory of Dąbrowski, Kniaziewicz and the feats of the revolutionary legions made the idea popular with the disheartened Polish troops and Bem made appeals and personal visits to the French authorities in order to win support for his plan. The opposition of the Prussians and the French government's unwillingness to alienate the Tsar still further brought his scheme to nothing. The Prussian government did finally agree to authorise the departure of those officers excluded by the amnesty, but it would not allow any others to leave. Consequently it was impossible for Bem to raise the 10,000 to 15,000 men needed to form the corps and it was the officers and under-officers who formed the majority of the military refugees. On 27 January 1832, when the first column of refugees crossed into France it consisted of 102 officers and 32 under-officers and men, a ratio which was repeated in the following columns.¹¹ By March, when the last column had arrived from Germany, there were only about 4,000 soldiers left in Prussia, most of whom were infantrymen unwilling to leave the security of their

¹⁰ For the fate of the Polish soldiers in Prussia see M. Sokolnicki, *Les Origines de l'émigration polonaise en France* (Paris, 1910), pp. 141 ff.

¹¹ Gadon, pp. 203-208.

camp. At the beginning of 1831 a further 2,000 were returned to Poland, and, of the remaining 2,000, only 600 finally managed to reach France.¹² Those who had taken refuge in Cracow fared slightly better, for it was not until 1836 that the 5,000 Poles who had settled in Galicia were forced to leave.¹³

Although some of the refugees chose to go to Britain or the United States, over two thirds came to France, in all perhaps 6,000 *émigrés*.¹⁴ The French government viewed the arrival of such a large number of refugees without enthusiasm, but it at once took measures to grant them financial aid. Grants to foreign refugees had begun in 1813, when the imperial government had set aside one million francs for aid to the 3,000 soldiers and 12,000 civilians who had followed the French armies out of Spain, and, although only a third of the money was in fact used for this purpose, payments continued under the succeeding *régime*.¹⁵ The government made grants to both the military and civilian *émigrés* on the basis of their status and material condition, the amounts of money granted being the equivalent to the payments made to prisoners of war, and in 1824 the budget estimates included 610,000 frs. for the foreign refugees.¹⁶ By 1829, when many of the Spanish refugees had either returned to Spain or had become financially independent of the government, this figure had dwindled to 350,000 frs.,¹⁷ but within twelve months the steady stream of refugees seeking safety after the defeat of the insurrections which had followed the July Revolution forced the government to raise its estimates to one-and-a-half million francs.¹⁸ At this time, there was no mention of a large Polish emigration. Six Poles were receiving grants and fifteen

¹² In 1833 the Prussian government decided to send the remaining contingent of soldiers to the United States, but on the way, the refugees landed in England. A group decided to seek refuge there, but others moved across to Le Havre, from where they were finally allowed to enter France. The Austrians also sent a group of Poles to America from Trieste.

¹³ Under the provisions of the Vienna settlement, Cracow was a free city, but in 1836 it was occupied by Austrian troops, supposedly to protect the inhabitants from the Polish radicals who had settled there; after the Galician uprising in 1846 it was formally annexed by Austria.

¹⁴ Gadon estimated 9,000 to 10,000 for the whole emigration, Sokolnicki 10,000 in France alone. For the most part French statistics are no longer available, but a manuscript in the Polish Library in Paris, dated 29 Sep. 1835, lists 4,657 Poles in France and Algeria: B.P. 537 no. 315. In 1839 a commission appointed to examine a projected law on the foreign refugees estimated the number of Poles, including dependents, as 4,974. *Arch. parl.* cxxvi, 29. By 1835 several Poles had been expelled from France, some had returned to Poland and others were serving abroad in Belgium or Portugal, but it seems likely that Sokolnicki's figure is exaggerated.

¹⁵ In October 1814 a commission appointed to look into the plight of the refugees reported that the government had undertaken to pay subsidies to both the military and civilian refugees. *Arch. parl.* xiii, 210-211.

¹⁶ *Arch. parl.* lxx, 241.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

were requesting support, but the government hoped that the new amnesty granted to the Roman revolutionaries by the Pope would reduce its overall expenditure on supporting refugees.¹⁹

With the arrival of the Polish troops, however, the government saw its costs rise dramatically. In March 1832 Casimir Périer had to report a deficit in the refugee account and to request an extraordinary grant of two million francs for the Poles in addition to the 1,600,000 frs. needed for the refugees as a whole.²⁰ The special grant was to cover the cost of transporting the Poles across Germany, but in accordance with past practice they were also offered subsidies. In 1830, with the exception of the members of the Cortes, ministers and generals, the government had paid two francs a day to officers above the rank of captain, 1.50 frs. to those of captain and below and 75 centimes to under-officers and soldiers, but in February 1832 the subsidy was lowered to give under-officers only 30 centimes a day and soldiers 15 centimes a day plus a bread ration.²¹ Nevertheless, the government found itself forced to shoulder an increasing burden of expenditure and various methods were used to reduce costs. Foreign governments were approached with requests for further amnesties, but, although the Tsar agreed to extend the provision of his original amnesty, few Poles were prepared to believe promises of Russian clemency and the stories of the cruel treatment inflicted on the returning army during 1831-1832 did little to quieten these fears.²² More successfully, the government encouraged the *émigrés* to become less dependent on government funds. The reduction of the refugee grants forced many Poles to seek some form of employment, a task which became much easier once the large concentrations of refugees had begun to be broken up.²³ By 1839 the process had proceeded so far that less than half of the total number of registered political refugee, 6,583 out of 13,812, were still receiving government grants, and, although generous payments were always made to the leaders of the Polish community in Paris, only 1,970 out of

¹⁹ On 30 September Casimir Périer was able to report that 60 Roman refugees had already accepted the amnesty and that 20 had just left France. *Ibid.*, p. 242.

²⁰ At that time the government was still not sure how many new refugees might arrive, but in the hope of some easing of the situation the estimate was reduced to three million francs. *Arch. parl.* lxxvii, 113-115. Despite the expense, however, the government made it clear that it fully accepted France's obligations towards the Poles.

²¹ Gadon, p. 209.

²² Those officers who came from the eastern provinces, an area regarded as an integral part of Russia by the Tsar, were particularly concerned for their safety, a factor which accounts for the large numbers of Lithuanian Poles in the emigration.

²³ See below, p. 171.

the 4,974 Polish refugees were receiving grants.²⁴ Of these, 874 were registered as unemployed but able to work and among those who had found some form of employment there were 279 labourers, 125 printers and typesetters, 92 tailors, 72 cabinet makers, seven bakers, four sculptors and one plumber.²⁵ Despite these measures, however, government expenditure remained high and even in 1845 the budget estimates included 2,475,000 frs. for the support of the political refugees.²⁶

Like its predecessors, the government believed that for the security of France it was necessary to supervise the arriving refugees very carefully, and strict control was exercised over the columns of troops. The Polish forces were placed under the command of the Minister of War, and, as they arrived, the columns were met at the frontier by army battalions who escorted them to selected towns where *dépôts* had been formed to accommodate them.²⁷ Similar *dépôts* had been formed by previous governments to settle the Spanish and Portuguese troops, and in 1814 *dépôts* had been established in Nîmes, Rhodéz, Cahors, Mont-de-Marsan, Libourne, Arles and Montauban for the Spaniards and Bourges and Moulins for the Portuguese.²⁸ In November 1831 the government selected two *dépôts* for the Polish, Avignon for the military refugees and Chateauroux for the civilians, but in January 1832 new centres had to be opened to accommodate the new influx of *émigrés*. The first of these was at Besançon, but during 1832-1833 others were formed at Lunel, Bourges, Le Puy, Dax, Salins, Mont-de-Marsan, Lons-le-Saulnier, Poitiers and several other towns.²⁹ No *émigré* could receive government aid unless he remained in one of these *dépôts*, a measure taken to prevent the congregation of large numbers of foreign troops in the politically volatile atmosphere of the capital. Nevertheless, the government could not prevent the influx of civilian refugees into Paris and the number of the *émigrés* in the city continued to rise, from 127 in December 1831 to 256 in February 1832.³⁰

It was soon obvious, therefore, that financial controls were insufficient and in the spring of 1832 new legislation dealing with the

²⁴ *Arch. parl.* cxxvi, 28.

²⁵ In all 144 trades or professions were noted and the Polish community as a whole appeared to be much more settled than the other refugee groups. Only 443 out of 1,058 Spaniards were employed and only 289 out of 543 Italians. *Ibid.* pp. 27-9.

²⁶ *Bulletin des lois*, 9ème série, no. 11,992 14 May 1845.

²⁷ Strict instructions were given to the commander in charge of the operation to ensure that the Polish flag did not appear in the columns. Minister of War to the Commander in charge of the Polish refugees, Jan. 1831. A.G. E5 24.

²⁸ *Arch. parl.* xiii, 210.

²⁹ Gadon, pp. 211-212.

³⁰ Sokolnicki, p. 167.

status of the foreign refugees was introduced. Until then the laws governing the rights of foreigners in France remained those of 26 vendémiaire Year IV, article seven of which gave the government the right to expel any refugee whose presence was believed to be dangerous, and of 22 messidor Year VII, which placed all refugees under the surveillance of the police.³¹ In February 1832, in connection with the request for an extraordinary grant of two million frs. for the Poles, the government introduced a measure to regularise its control over the refugees. The law, promulgated on 21 April, gave the authorities the right to direct all refugees to designated centres, obliged them to obey official directives and made them liable to expulsion if they refused or if the government judged them to be a danger to public order.³² It was the government's view that this law merely strengthened the powers contained in the earlier decrees and even made them more flexible, but the opposition to the proposals in the Chamber of Deputies forced the authorities to accept a series of amendments which provided that the law should be implemented only by a signed order of the minister and that it should be renewed annually. Proposals that those *émigrés* not receiving government aid should be exempted from the provisions were, however, rejected,³³ for the government wanted to ensure that satisfactory surveillance could be kept over the whole foreign community in France. Nevertheless, the large concentrations of refugees in the *dépôts* still caused concern and the large military camps were gradually dispersed. By 1839 no French *département* with the exception of Seine had more than 166 Polish refugees,³⁴ and, although Paris still to a certain extent remained a forbidden city for the Poles, the government was prepared to allow students to attend educational establishments in the capital and to allow any law-abiding refugee with his own means of support to settle there.³⁵

2. *The émigrés and the Polish committee*

By 1839 the Poles had become completely dependent upon government aid, but in 1831 the government was not the only agency to organise a relief programme for the refugees. On 6 November,

³¹ *Arch. parl.* lxxvii, 115.

³² *Bulletin des lois*, 9ème série, xc, no. 165.

³³ For the debate see *Arch. parl.* lxxvii, 115 ff.

³⁴ The highest concentration of refugees were in the *départements* of Cher (166), Indre et Loire (153), Lot (150), Aude (145), Haute-Garonne (134), Gironde (137) and Vienne (131). Lozère had the smallest number (2), there were only three Poles in both Hautes-Alpes and Morbihan and four in Basses-Alpes and Tarn-et-Garonne. There were no Poles at all in Ain, Corsica and Pyrénées-Orientales. *Arch. parl.* cxxvi, 30-31.

³⁵ There were 465 Poles in the *département* of Seine in 1839. *Ibid.*

when only 26 refugees had arrived in Paris, a *Temporary Polish Committee (Komitet Emigracji Tymczasowy)* was formed under the presidency of Bonawentura Niemojowski and contact was immediately established with Lafayette's committee to launch a campaign to help the arriving *émigrés*. At the beginning of the month agents were sent to the main crossing points on the frontier to welcome the refugees. Podczaszyński went to Metz, Konstanty Zaleski to Strasbourg and Ludwik Tarszeński to Valenciennes with instructions to establish contact with the local Polish committees, provide information about the needs of the *émigrés* and help to arrange for their journey to Paris or any other town of their choice.³⁶ Money was provided, but in Metz and Valenciennes there were active local committees able to provide the necessary funds and on 22 November a Polish committee was formed at Strasbourg.³⁷ In less than a week the new committee had collected over 4,000 frs., established contacts with committees on both sides of the frontier and began to draw up plans for welcoming the refugees. Between January and March 1832, 14 columns of Polish troops as well as numerous individual refugees passed through Strasbourg and by the end of March the Strasbourg committee had spent 30,394.50 frs. on their behalf. The government provided 4,500 frs., but the balance came from the departmental committees, the central committee providing only 2,500 frs.³⁸

The central committee's funds, however, were freely used elsewhere. Hearing of the plight of the Polish troops in Prussia, the committee sent an emissary, a German named Klein, to general Bem with 30,000 frs.³⁹ In France the committee undertook to pay grants to the refugees who wished to stay in Paris and who thereby became ineligible for official subsidies. First of all, a commission was set up to organise the distribution of funds. The committee was anxious to ensure that payments were made only to those refugees who had taken an active part in the insurrection and the commission, which consisted of Cassin, Corcelles, Chodźko and Lelewel, as president of the *Polish National Committee*, was in constant contact with the leaders of the *émigré* community to verify the status of all applicants. The French organisation always remained in full control of its own funds, but the presence of Lelewel

³⁶ The letter of recommendation given by the central committee to Zaleski appears in A. Lewak, *General M.R. Lafayette o Polsce — listy — mowy — dokumenty* (Warsaw, 1934), no. 74.

³⁷ F. Ponteil, *L'Opposition politique à Strasbourg sous la monarchie de juillet* (Paris, 1932), pp. 229 ff.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

³⁹ *Całoroczne trudy Komitetu Narodowego Polskiego: zdanie sprawy z czynności Komitetu Narodowego 8 Dec. 1831-15 Feb. 1832*. B.P. S 395 p. 13.

and Chodźko on the commission ensured the closest possible relations between the two committees.⁴⁰ For its part the *Polish National Committee* also undertook its own programme of relief. For funds, it relied on money sent by the Polish committees in Germany, England and provincial France. During 1831-1832 the committee at Vitry-le-Français forwarded 1,300 frs. to the committee, the Lyon Bazaar sent 5,000 frs. to Strasbourg and a similar amount to Metz on the advice of the Polish organisation, and the committee in Metz itself sent several donations totalling 17,000 frs.⁴¹ Contact was also established with the organisations in Besançon, Strasbourg, Avignon and Colmar, but all the money sent to the committee was specifically donated for the support of the refugees and in the accounts published by the *National Committee* all the money was shown to have been paid to the troops in the *dépôts* or in Prussia.⁴²

This relief programme, however, placed a large burden on the financial resources of Lafayette's committee and by the beginning of 1832 it was in financial trouble. Most of the half a million francs collected during the 1831 campaign had been spent, either on propaganda, relief or the purchase of arms and supplies, and by the end of 1831 funds were no longer pouring in. In December Lafayette approached the Masonic Lodges in Paris to discuss new ways of raising money for the refugees, a loan was organised by the members of the committee and negotiations were started to try and sell the arms which the legation had purchased with the committee's funds at the end of the uprising.⁴³ Unfortunately little extra revenue appeared and on 25 January Lafayette reported that because no more funds could be expected from Lyon and the sale of arms to the government had been delayed, the committee was having to rely on loans to meet its commitments.⁴⁴ On 20 February he informed Lelewel that there would have to be economies for with some 180 refugees in Paris the payments of 15 frs. a month plus two francs a day living expenses, originally begun in the autumn, could not continue. Lafayette suggested that the Polish leaders might consider plans for billeting refugees with French families

⁴⁰ Ibid. pp. 17-18.

⁴¹ Ibid. The accounts of the committee's relief programme were published at the end of each edition.

⁴² In the account of its activities between April and September 1832 the committee detailed expenditure of 3,263.70 frs.

⁴³ See above, p. 61. On 16 Dec. 1831 the committee published a circular announcing the opening of a subscription of 100 frs. from each of its members to finance outstanding commitments. Lewak, no. 83.

⁴⁴ Lafayette to L. Chodźko, 25 Jan. 1832. Lewak, no. 92.

or arranging for those most pressed financially to move to the *dépôts*, where they would qualify for government aid.⁴⁵ Lelewel, however, did not like either of these schemes and the commission was forced to refuse aid to new applicants, and then from 20 April 1832 to cease all regular payments.⁴⁶ By this time only individuals with special recommendations could receive funds and the committee was having to rely on a loan from an American Polish committee established by Fenimore Cooper during the previous year.⁴⁷ Many of the local Polish committees were closing down, though the Metz committee continued to forward money direct to the *dépôts*, and with the winding up of the American committee itself, funds for the French committee ceased. When the sale of arms did finally take place there was only sufficient money to pay its outstanding debts and on 15 June all expenditure ceased, the small remaining balance later being transferred to Lelewel at the time of his expulsion from France.⁴⁸

By the summer of 1832, therefore, the Polish committee had virtually ceased to function. The organisations in Metz and Lyon continued to send funds to the *dépôts* for some time, but the central committee had been forced to suspend its activities, leaving the Poles totally dependent on government aid. Nevertheless individual members of the committee continued to support the interests of the Poles in France. Lafayette made regular speeches in the Chamber of Deputies requesting official help for the refugees, demanding the repeal of the *loi d'exception* on the status of foreign exiles, and suggesting government intervention in support of Poland's rights under the Vienna settlement.⁴⁹ Both he and a number of other members of the committee organised the opposition to the government's law on the foreign refugees and each year introduced an amendment to the address affirming France's belief that the principle of Polish nationality would never perish, but increasingly they became involved with the problems of individual refugees. Lafayette made several appeals on behalf of Lelewel at the time of his expulsion from France and in January 1833 he approached the government on behalf of Zaliwski, who was requesting payment of an outstanding allowance.⁵⁰ Odilon Barrot, too, took

⁴⁵ Lafayette to Lelewel, 20 Feb. 1832. Lewak, no. 94.

⁴⁶ *Caloroczne trudy* . . . pp. 71-72.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p. 20.

⁴⁸ See below, p. 183.

⁴⁹ Most of Lafayette's Polish speeches were published separately as pamphlets and copies appeared of speeches made on 26 Oct. 1831, 1 Feb. 1832, 3 Mar. 1832, 9 Apr. 1832, 3 Dec. 1832 and 30 Mar. 1833.

⁵⁰ Lafayette to general Baradère, 8 Jan. 1833. Lewak, no. 174.

up several cases of hardship with the administrative authorities⁵¹ and contacts were always maintained with the leaders of the *émigré* community in Paris, but by 1834, when Lasteyrie was appointed president of the Polish committee following Lafayette's death, the committee itself was only a shadowy reminder of France's sympathy for the uprising.

The efforts of the committee, however, had helped to sustain popular enthusiasm for the Poles during the first months of the emigration. The arrival of the refugee columns and their journey through France aroused great excitement all over the country. In Strasbourg the arrival of several Polish generals in December 1831 was greeted with a series of banquets and receptions, which lasted a week and in the January the *Marseillaise*, the *Parisienne* and the *Vasovienne* were sung in the streets as the first column of refugees made its way out of the town.⁵² At Dijon, where they arrived on 10 February, they were welcomed by the National Guard, given billets with local families and taken to a number of banquets and plays at one of which the *chant du départ* was sung as well as the *Varsovienne*.⁵³ In Lyon the arrival of the column caused a ferment. A welcoming committee was formed and the Poles were greeted with the singing of the *Varsovienne* and a series of banquets at which toasts were raised to their heroism and patriotism. During their stay, an anti-Russian drama was staged in one of the town's theatres and the strength of popular feeling was such that the government gave orders that future columns were to avoid the city altogether.⁵⁴ Once settled in the *dépôts*, however, the Poles often found their reception less than friendly and their political views suspect, and in July 1833 it was reported that presence of a large number of Poles at Chateauroux, their political activities and their debts made them unpopular in the area.⁵⁵

Elsewhere, however, support for the Poles continued to be expressed at functions of all kinds. In Paris the bonds between the two peoples were remembered each year at the reception given on 29 November to commemorate the anniversary of the uprising, but in the provinces there were also little ceremonies in honour of the

⁵¹ Odilon Barrot was approached by a number of Poles with requests for his help in presenting petitions against the withdrawal of official subsidies or other harassments. In 1837, for example, he became involved in the case of two brothers who had settled in Bordeaux and who had lost their subsidies because of a rumour that one of them had made an advantageous marriage. A.N. 271 AP 4 C10 10 Correspondence of Odilon Barrot.

⁵² Ponteil, pp. 236 ff.

⁵³ A.N. F7 6779(20). Report of the Gendarmerie at Dijon for 14 Feb. 1832.

⁵⁴ Brisac, pp. 30 ff.

⁵⁵ A.N. BB18 1217 (9290). Report of the *procureur général* at Bourges, July 1833.

Poles. In August 1832, for example, a *fête* at Dijon attracted about a hundred people, who marched around the town with cries of *Vive la république* to the strains of *La Marseillaise*, *La Parisienne* and *le chant du départ*.⁵⁶ Several Polish officers were treated to a similar welcome at Montargis in May 1833,⁵⁷ a banquet in honour of the Poles was given at Chatellerault in August 1833⁵⁸ and at Argentan in Orne a dinner was given for the Poles by the *Société des droits de l'homme* on 29 November of the same year.⁵⁹ A ceremony was also held in Dijon to commemorate the martyrs of the uprising and at Mont-de-Marsan the local community of refugees took part in a little procession which was favourably received by the local population, who in the following year sent two petitions to Paris requesting the relaxation of the laws governing the legal status of the refugees.⁶⁰ Such ceremonies, unimportant in themselves, helped to keep alive the sympathy aroused for the Poles at the time of the uprising, and when in 1833 a new appeal was made for funds to help the Poles marooned in Switzerland, the people of Metz once again raised 1,000 francs for the fund.

3. *The political life of the emigration*

The Poles, like the refugees from central and southern Europe, saw France not only as a refuge from persecution but a base from which they could continue the struggle for independence, and almost immediately they began to plan for their return. At first hopes were focused on the idea of a legion to be organised from the remnants of the army and having its own uniforms, colours and officers, but the unwillingness of the French government to allow an independent army on French soil and the disproportionate number of officers to men in the *dépôts* made the plan impracticable.⁶¹ Many of the officers, however, continued to hope that they could pursue their military careers abroad and some went to Algeria where a Polish division was raised for the foreign legion.⁶² Both

⁵⁶ A.N. F7 6779 (20). Report of the gendarmerie at Dijon for 21 Aug. 1832.

⁵⁷ A.N. BB18 1216(9040).

⁵⁸ A.N. BB18 1218(9536).

⁵⁹ A.N. BB18 1220(10003).

⁶⁰ A.N. F7 6781. Report of the gendarmerie at Mont-de-Marsan for 28 May 1833.

⁶¹ See above, p. 167 ff.

⁶² The French government's plans for a Polish division in the Algerian legion aroused great suspicion within the Polish community, for it was widely believed that the Poles were to be forcibly enlisted. Lafayette made public representations against the schemes in the Chamber of Deputies and comparatively few of the *émigrés* took the opportunity to serve in Africa. See S. Kieniewicz, *The Polish Emigrés in Algeria (1832-1856)*, *Acta Poloniae Historica*, xi (1965), 43-70, and A.H. Kasznik, *Między Francją a Algérią. Z dziejów Emigracji Polskiej 1832-1856* (Cracow, 1977).

the Belgian and the Portuguese government and the constitutional party in Spain also expressed interest in recruiting Polish troops for their armies, but, although the idea of fighting for liberty abroad was politically attractive to a section of the officers, the reluctance of the French authorities to sanction their departure and the bad treatment suffered by the forces in Spain and Portugal undermined support for many of the schemes. Some officers served faithfully in the Belgian army for some years and for a short time Polish forces went to Egypt to instruct Mehemet Ali's army, but, although the idea of the legion was supported by a large number of *émigrés*, the officers involved in recruitment for foreign armies were bitterly attacked by those who believed that it was the duty of the army to preserve its military cohesion in preparation for its eventual return.⁶³ Despite considerable efforts on the part of the generals, however, only a very small number of Polish officers were successful in gaining places in French military academies and there was little opportunity for the Poles to improve their military expertise.⁶⁴

The failure of these early plans and the break up of the provincial *dépôts* gradually diluted the specifically military character of the emigration and the attention of the community turned increasingly to the question of political organisation. Although, however, the Poles agreed about the necessity to organise themselves in exile, the personal rivalries and political disagreements which had developed during the uprising had created sharp divisions of opinion within the community. In their passion for organisation the Poles established numerous societies and associations in France, some secret and revolutionary, some charitable, others political or literary, but the vitality of these initiatives was always sapped by the tendency towards factious propaganda and polemic which all sides shared in their struggle to win political support. Nevertheless the Poles achieved a high degree of political organisation, and, although the French public was often bewildered by the constant bickering between the different parties, they soon discovered that the Polish community formed an articulate lobby anxious to promote understanding of their cause in France.

The first *émigré* organisation was the *Temporary Polish Committee*, whose main aim was to give help to the arriving refugees, but at the time of its creation it was agreed that when 100 Poles

⁶³ The bitter memory of the use made of the Polish troops by Napoleon in San Domingo was another reason for the unpopularity of these plans. In May 1833 Bem raised a number of volunteers to serve in Dona Maria's army in Portugal, but the legion never left France. Gadon, ii, 288 ff.

⁶⁴ For the efforts of the Polish Polytechnical Society to place members of the *émigré* community in French educational establishments see below, p. 181.

had arrived in Paris a permanent committee would be formed, and on 15 December the *Polish National Committee (Komitet Narodowy Polski)* was established under the presidency of Joachim Lelewel. Although this organisation, too, was involved in relief work for the refugees,⁶⁵ its character was much more political. There had already been an uneasy balance of forces in the *Temporary Committee*, where the president, Niemojowski, had little in common with the radicals, who in turn had little sympathy with the ideas of diplomats like Teodor Morawski and Ludwik Plater, but the formation of the new committee represented the triumph of the radicals, who at once began to issue a series of declarations and manifestos.⁶⁶ On 25 December its first manifesto declared the committee's belief that Poland had been betrayed and misdirected during the recent insurrection and that her people would continue their struggle for freedom and full independence within the pre-partition frontiers, a claim which the National Government had always felt it better not to make.⁶⁷ Then on 29 January 1832 the leaders of the committee addressed a petition to the Chamber of Deputies protesting against the government's behaviour towards the refugees and demanding the formation of a Polish legion, and two days later, this was followed by the first of many appeals to the nations of Europe, a manifesto to the Hungarians printed in Hungarian, Latin and Polish, which spoke of their common struggle against the tyranny of the Vienna settlement.⁶⁸ It was followed by further manifestos to the Jews, the Germans, the Spaniards, the Italians, the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine and the president of the United States, but in December 1832 the committee made its most dramatic appeal, the manifesto to the Russian people calling upon them to resist the tyranny of the Tsar and return to their primitive Slav ideals.⁶⁹ It was the publication of this manifesto which brought violent protests from the Russian authorities and which forced the French government to take measures against the committee.

By March 1832, however, the unity of the committee had already begun to dissolve. Lelewel's brand of international radicalism was opposed both from the right and the left, for, while the left wing of the old radical group felt that the committee's declarations did

⁶⁵ See below, p. 172.

⁶⁶ The new committee consisted of Lelewel, Chodźko, Gurowski, Krepowiecki, Zwierkowski, Sołtyk, K. Kraitsir, Przekiszewski, Hłuszniewicz, Pietkiewicz and Wodziński, most of whom had been members of the old *Patriotic Society*. For the formation of the committee see Gadon, I, 126-133.

⁶⁷ See above, p. 110.

⁶⁸ The addresses issued by the committee are listed in Sokolnicki, p. 139 n. 1.

⁶⁹ *Le comité national polonais au peuple russe* (Paris, 1832).

not go far enough, the conservatives were alienated by its outspoken attacks on the leaders of the National Government. For that section of conservative opinion which still hoped that some form of diplomatic compromise might still be possible with the Tsar, the arrival of Czartoryski in Paris in the summer of 1833 was the signal for a rallying of their forces. In exile, Czartoryski continued to hope that the Poles could take advantage of the diplomatic rivalries between the European Powers to revive their fortunes, and he cultivated the friendship of a number of influential politicians in England and France, drew up petitions and addresses to the parliaments of both countries and provided information about the situation in Eastern Europe for foreign diplomats.⁷⁰ For a section of the refugees he became the *de facto* leader of the nation in exile, but his conservative approach to the problem of raising support for a new insurrection made him the object of vitriolic attacks from his opponents, who referred to the conservatives as 'aristocrats' because of their gradualist approach to the question of social reform. The conservatives believed that only a long period of education could prepare the peasantry for the exercise of their political rights and that the gentry in Poland had to be convinced of the necessity of social reform before they would give their support to the revolutionary movement, and their own organisation, the *Monarchical and Insurrectionary Society of 3 May (Towarzystwo Trzeciego Maja)*, tried to spread progressive social ideas among the Polish gentry. They were opposed, however, by those Poles who saw the conservative programme as a defence of traditional privileges and who believed that Poland's future lay in a mass movement which would secure independence for the nation as a whole. Their quarrel with the committee stemmed from Lelewel's refusal to sanction a vigorous campaign to enlist the support of the European revolutionary movement for the Poles and out of this quarrel a new organisation emerged, the *Polish Democratic Society (Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie)*, which espoused a doctrine of peasant emancipation and social egalitarianism.⁷¹ With the formation of this society, political opinions within the community began to harden and the leaders of the *National Committee* found themselves increasingly isolated.

With the formation of the political organisations the character

⁷⁰ See M. Kukiel, *Czartoryski and European Unity 1770-1861* (Princeton, 1955).

⁷¹ The leaders of the new society, founded on 16 March 1832, were Gurowski, Krepowiecki, Janowski, Płuzański and Pułaski. For the history of the organisation see S. Kalembka, *Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie 1832-1846* (Toruń, 1966).

of the emigration began to change. Each organisation hoped to win recruits in the provinces, and the *dépôts*, where local councils and associations had already been formed to deal with the day-to-day business of the members, there was a great deal of political discussion.⁷² In September 1832 representatives from the different *dépôts* met at Bourges to elect their own committee, the *National Committee of the Polish Emigration (Komitet Narodowy Emigracji Polskiej)* under general Dwernicki, whose aim was to unite the efforts of the *émigrés* in a common programme of national defence.⁷³ The new organisation finally deprived Lelewel's committee of its right to speak for the whole community, but it was opposed by the *Democratic Society*, whose response to the gradual dispersion of the refugees around France was to organise itself into a corresponding society, which had individual sections in the localities linked to a central executive committee in Paris. In 1834, however, the controlling influence in the organisation passed from Paris to the section in Poitiers, and during the late 1830s and early 1840s the association devoted its attention to the formulation of a detailed political programme, whose form was decided by democratic decision, each section voting for clauses or parts of clauses in accordance with group decisions. By July 1836 the society had 1,017 members in 53 affiliated sections and had shed some of its political radicalism in favour of a union of all classes in support of reforming legislation and social emancipation.⁷⁴ Its chief rival, the conservative *Society of 3 May*, had a membership of over 1,500, but its political centre always remained Paris, where Czartoryski held his unofficial 'court' at the Hôtel Lambert.⁷⁵ From 1837 there was yet another political organisation, the *Union of the Polish Emigration (Zjednoczenie Emigracji Polskiej)*, which was founded in the hope of reconciling the democratic party within the community, but, like its rivals, it was often torn by internal quarrels.⁷⁶ Its existence, however, like that of the other organisations, did help to sustain interest in the need to draw up programmes of social and political reform and to keep alive the idea of a single political community in exile.

⁷² The Polish council at Besançon, for example, distributed literature and organised discussions as well as maintaining contact with both French and Polish organisations. Rada Polaków w Besançon, B.P. 550.

⁷³ Gadon, chs. XIV-XVII.

⁷⁴ Kalembka, pp. 66-97.

⁷⁵ Some of his more enthusiastic supporters regarded Czartoryski as the uncrowned 'king' of Poland, an idea, which, although never acknowledged by the Prince himself, helped to increase his unpopularity with the radicals.

⁷⁶ See B. Cygler, *Zjednoczenie Emigracji Polskiej 1837-1846* (Gdańsk, 1961).

In addition to their political organisations, however, the Poles also set up many charitable and philanthropic societies. In 1834 Princess Czartoryska set up the *Charitable Society of Polish Women* (*Towarzystwo Dobroczyńści Dam Polskich*), which distributed over 18,000 frs. to the widows and orphans of the refugee community in its first year of activities; the education of *émigré* children was encouraged by the *Society of Education* (*Towarzystwo Pomocy Naukowej*) and a Polish school was founded at Batignolles.⁷⁷ In the *dépôts* educational associations existed to promote knowledge and understanding of Polish history and in Paris an organisation called the *Polish Literary Society* (*Towarzystwo Literackie Polskie*) arranged discussions on a wide variety of topic, collected documents and manuscripts, and administered a Polish Library.⁷⁸ In 1835 general Bem set up a *Polytechnical Society* under the patronage of a group of influential figures, who for nearly two years helped to arrange for young Poles to enter such institutions as the Ecole Polytechnique, the School of Agriculture, the Forest School at Nancy and the Artillery School at Metz, and, although the society floundered after only two years of activity, the numbers of Poles registering for educational courses continued rise.⁷⁹ By 1839, there were 202 medical students, 61 law students, 22 pharmacy students, 20 in mathematics, 31 in French and 18 in the mining school at St. Etienne, and in all some 449 Poles were engaged in some form of education.⁸⁰ The Poles wanted to use their stay in France to best possible advantage and behind many of these schemes to improve the educational standing of the community lay a general desire to widen their knowledge and contribute to the creation of a more efficient army and an experienced *corps* of administrators able to take control in an independent Poland.

The attitude of the French government towards the political and philanthropic activities of the Poles was one of suspicious tolerance. Where possible, the authorities were willing to support any effort at self-help, and Bem's *Polytechnical Society* enjoyed good relations with the ministries in Paris. The government also relied upon the leaders of the community for the verification of military ranks and the suitability of applicants who were requesting official

⁷⁷ Gadon, p. 464 ff.

⁷⁸ The papers of the Literary Society are in the Polish Library in Paris, B.P. 489-493 (old numbering). The library, was established in collaboration with the French *Société universelle de civilisation* and an appeal for books and manuscripts was made in December 1833. For the political activities of the Literary Society see below, p. 194 ff.

⁷⁹ Akta Towarzystwa Politechnicznego, B.P. 575.

⁸⁰ *Arch. parl.* cxxvi, 27-28.

subsidies, and, although the authorities were unwilling to show any favouritism towards the Poles, they did allow students to settle in Paris to pursue their studies. However, the government was not prepared to allow the *émigrés* to use France as a centre for revolutionary plots nor was it prepared to countenance fraternisation between the Poles and the radicals in France. It was this concern which led the government to restrict the right of the refugees to settle in the capital and to introduce the legislation of April 1832.⁸¹ Czartoryski was a European statesman of some renown and his diplomatic initiatives were greeted with sympathy in official circles, but in the first few years of their exile many of the radicals were seduced by hopes of a new revolutionary war in Europe and several became involved in the activities of the secret societies. At the house in the rue Taranne, which the committee used for its meetings, the members of the *National Committee* came into contact with the leaders of several other Parisian organisations who shared the premises, and the enthusiasm with which the Polish cause had been greeted by the French radicals during 1831, ensured all the Poles a warm welcome in all the political clubs, especially those in which the radicals on Lafayette's committee were involved.⁸² While Lelewel and his colleagues maintained close contacts with the leaders of the political opposition in France, those to the left of the *National Committee* established links with such associations as the *Société des amis du peuple* and the *Société des droits de l'homme*, both of whom welcomed Polish members. In return, the *Democratic Society* encouraged its French friends to become corresponding members of their sister organisation, and, although the Poles seem to have played little part in the activities of these societies, the founders of the *Democratic Society* did become involved in the republican masonic lodge, the *Indivisible Trinity*, through which they entered the twilight world of Buonarroti and the reformed Carbonari.⁸³ The Poles had representatives on the *vente suprême*, which included revolutionaries from all over Europe, and, although its actual programme of activities was obscure, several Polish lodges established in the *dépôts* were affiliated to the *vente*.⁸⁴

The French government regarded such developments without enthusiasm. The continuing economic crisis in Paris aroused fears

⁸¹ See above, p. 171.

⁸² For example Lasteyrie's *Société constitutionnelle*. Gadon, i, 134-135.

⁸³ See W. Łukaszewicz, *Wpływ masonerii, karbonaryzmu i Józefa Mazziniego na polską myśl rewolucyjną w latach poprzedzających Wiosnę Ludów* in *W Stulecie Wiosny Ludów* (Warsaw, 1951), iii, 210 ff.

⁸⁴ The significance of the Carbonari was often overrated, see E.L. Eisenstein, *Buonarroti, the First Professional Revolutionary* (Harvard, 1959).

that radical agitators might exploit popular discontent for their own purposes, and in January 1832 the police warned the government that the Polish question was being exploited to good effect by the Bonapartists.⁸⁵ In June of the same year, the reguerees were suspected of being involved in the *émeute* which took place during the funeral of general Lamarque, a fierce supporter of the Polish cause and member of Lafayette's committee, but although several groups of foreign refugees took part in the procession, only two Poles were arrested during the rioting and they seemed to have been the victims of circumstances.⁸⁶ During the following two years, however, the government did take action against several Polish refugees under the new legislation. In December 1832, following the publication of the *National Committee's* manifesto to the Russian peoples, which called upon them to revolt against the Tsar, Thiers took the opportunity to demand the departure of the committee's leaders from Paris, dispersing them to several provincial towns, notably Tours, Arras and Fontainebleau.⁸⁷

Lelewel himself moved to Lafayette's chateau at La Grange in Marne, but in March 1833 he was forcibly removed to Tours after reports that he had been seen in Paris, and in July he was expelled altogether from France for publishing several articles in the local press. His colleague Chodźko was transferred from Tours to Montauban and later he decided to move to England, but Lelewel himself went to Brussels.⁸⁸ He was soon joined by a number of other Polish radicals, for in July 1833 the government took action against those Poles whom it had long suspected of being involved in the republican associations of the capital. The appearance of several Poles at the meeting of the *Indivisible Trinity* held to commemorate an abortive insurrection in Poland led the government to issue exclusion orders against Worcell, Januszkiewicz, Jan Czyński, Gurowski and Zakrzewski, who were expelled from Paris and then France.⁸⁹ They were accompanied abroad by one of the most outspoken of all the Polish radicals, Krępowiecki, supposed

⁸⁵ A.N. FIC I 32-33. Report of the political police, 5 Jan. 1832.

⁸⁶ Gadon, p. 278 ff.

⁸⁷ It was reported that Thiers' decision had been prompted by the anger of the Russian ambassador, who had protested against the French government's toleration of Polish intrigues. On 1 Jan. 1833 the left-wing paper *La Tribune* published the committee's manifesto, on 4 Jan, the address of the leaders at the time of their expulsion and on 20 Jan. a protest about the government's action by the people of Rouen.

⁸⁸ For Lelewel's career in emigration see B. Cygler. *Działalność polityczno-społeczna Joachima Lelewela na emigracji 1831-1861* (Gdańsk, 1969).

⁸⁹ All were members of the *Polish Democratic Society* and Czyński, Worcell and Gurowski were leading radical polemicists.

head of the Polish section of the *haute vente*, Rettel, Pułaski, Zwierkowski, Franciszek Saniewski, Przeciszewski and several others. Most of those expelled from France went to Belgium or England and by the end of 1833 there were some 100 Poles in Belgium, 20 of whom had settled in Brussels and the rest in Ostend, Ypres, Huy and Nieuport. The Belgian police were also concerned about the political activities of the refugees and in 1834 Worcell and several other Poles were in turn banished from Belgium.⁹⁰

The removal of the most important radicals and the gradual dispersion of the refugees within France helped to quieten the government's fears, yet by the mid-1830s Polish hopes in a new international movement of revolution had also begun to fade. In 1832 a group of Polish radicals had appeared at a banquet held in Hamburg by a group of German revolutionaries and in April 1833 a force of some 500 men had crossed the Swiss frontier from Besançon to march in support of an insurrection which was planned to take place in Frankfurt, but nothing came of the Polish involvement in German affairs. The Poles found themselves marooned in Switzerland, and, although a section went on to take part in Mazzini's abortive expedition to Savoy in the following year, the disastrous failure of that enterprise helped to turn many Polish radicals against further involvement in foreign schemes.⁹¹ Although the Poles still remained loyal to the idea of the common struggle of all the nations of Europe for liberty and independence, their attentions increasingly turned to the need to organise a network of conspiracy in Poland. Despite the indifference of the gentry in Poland to most radical schemes for land reform, several secret or semi-secret organisations were established in Poznań and Galicia in order to win support for a revolutionary conspiracy, but from 1840 the work was directed by the *Democratic Society* itself, which in that year moved its headquarters from Poitiers to Versailles.⁹² On the opposite side of the political spectrum, the conservative *League of National Unity* (*Stowarzyszenie Jedności Narodowej*) tried to interest the gentry in gradual forms of land reform and there were also a number of other secret, conspiratorial organisa-

⁹⁰ Cygler, *Działalność...* p. 104. Krępowiecki had already aroused the anger of the French government by an inflammatory speech which had had made at the second anniversary ceremony of the November uprising on 29 November 1832, in which he attacked the leaders of the National Government.

⁹¹ For the plight of the refugees in Switzerland see N.A. Kubalski, *Mémoires sur l'expédition des réfugiés polonais en Suisse et en Savoie dans les années 1833-1834* (Paris, 1836); also Łukaszewicz, p. 290 ff. and A. Lewak, *Od Związków węglarskich do Młodej Polski: dzieje emigracji i legionu polskiego w Szwajcarii* (Warsaw, 1930).

⁹² See below, pp. 233 ff.

tions like Lelewel's *Association of the Children of the Polish People* (*Związek Dzieci Ludu Polskiego*), Dwernicki's *Confederation of the Polish Nation* (*Konfederacja Narodu Polskiego*) and *Young Poland* (*Młoda Polska*), founded in Switzerland in 1834 and affiliated to Mazzini's international organisation.⁹³ Many of these organisations remained almost totally inactive and personalities often played as big a part in their rivalries as ideology, but their existence represented a definite move away from the early international phase of emigration politics.

The French government was not interested in the internal quarrels of the *émigré* parties and the authorities were no doubt happy to see the political energies of the Poles absorbed in what must have seemed to be futile debates. The police still remained suspicious of individuals and there were periodic expulsions, but in 1834 when the papers of the Parisian republican associations were seized by the police, no evidence was found of collaboration between the Polish community and the French radicals.⁹⁴ The following year the *Democratic Society* once again attracted official attention in connexion with the measures taken against the republican associations, but in the October of the same year its leaders prepared an open statement of the membership and political programme of the organisation and the police decided that it posed no threat to public security.⁹⁵ Although the Poles were known to have contacts with other underground organisations in France, the government felt sufficiently secure not to invoke its right under the legislation passed in 1835 to disband any subversive organisation.⁹⁶ By 1839, when moves were made to relax the laws introduced in 1832, the police were able to report that the Poles had not been involved in any political troubles for five years and that they appeared to be settled in a variety of professions.⁹⁷ As a result, in the July of that year legislation was introduced to relax the restrictions on the foreign refugees. With the exception of the *département* of Seine and the areas around the Spanish frontier, any refugee who had been resident in France for five years without committing a criminal

⁹³ For a list of all *émigré* organisations see Gadon, p. 456 ff.

⁹⁴ The papers seized are in A.N. CC 585-620. On 16 May 1835 the procureur général at Troyes reported the existence of a branch of the *Democratic Society* in the town, but he was informed that the police had found nothing compromising in its papers and that its energies were chiefly absorbed in internal struggles. A.N. BB18 1231.

⁹⁵ Kalemka, pp. 90-92. On 17 Nov. the tribunal for Seine released several members of the Batignolles section of the Society, who had been arrested on suspicion of complicity in radical plots.

⁹⁶ See G. Perreux, *Au temps des sociétés secrètes: la propagande républicaine au début de la monarchie de juillet 1830-1835* (Paris, 1931).

⁹⁷ *Arch. parl.* cxxvi, 24-34.

offence was allowed to change his place of residence without prior authority.⁹⁸ Naturally the careful surveillance of the refugee community continued, but the legislation reflected the government's satisfaction with the political behaviour of the Poles and during the next few years several of those who had been expelled during the early 1830s were allowed to return.⁹⁹ Ironically the new legislation permitted the leaders of the *Democratic Society* to establish their new headquarters in Versailles, from where they could maintain closer contacts with events in Paris.

By 1839 the quarrels which had for long formed an integral part of the life of the emigration had not disappeared, but the growing realisation that there would be no immediate resumption of the national struggle had done much to reduce the bitterness between the parties. The failure of Czartoryski's diplomatic initiatives and of radical hopes in an international revolutionary movement convinced the leaders of all the *émigré* organisations that they should concentrate their attentions on the formulation of long-term programmes of political and social reform. On the conservative side, hopes centred on a new rising led by the gentry in the name of social justice and national unity and supported diplomatically by the Western Powers. Efforts were made to enlist the support of the Turkish government and plans were made to take advantage of any confrontation between Russia and Great Britain over the Eastern Question.¹⁰⁰ The democrats in turn had passed from extreme hopes in the revolutionary movements of Europe and the republicans in France to the idea of social revolution, either in the form of peasant democracy and utopian socialism as preached by the extreme left, or the creed of egalitarianism and agrarian reform contained in the manifesto issued by the *Democratic Society* in 1836. The idea of a common revolutionary struggle between the

⁹⁸ The law was promulgated on 24 July 1839, *Bulletin des lois*, cxxi, no. 8038. The legislation stipulated, however, that a refugee would have to inform the local prefect of his intention to move. The number of Poles who had been allowed to change their place of residence had been increasing for some time and in 1838 1,158 refugees had been authorised to move, 234 of them to Paris. *Arch. parl.* cxxvi, 34.

⁹⁹ In Aug. 1839, for example, Antoni Ostrowski felt sufficiently encouraged by the change in the political climate to approach Odilon Barrot with a request for his intervention with the minister of the interior on behalf of several exiles in Belgium who wished to return to France. A. Ostrowski to Odilon Barrot, 1 Aug. 1839: A.N. Correspondence of Odilon Barrot, 271 A.P.4 C10 8. Chodźko had returned in 1835, having given an understanding that he would take no part in extreme political activities. Others preferred to remain abroad; Worcell did not return to France until 1847 and Lelewel remained in Brussels.

¹⁰⁰ Kukiel, pp. 229-250. This policy seemed nearest to success during the Mehemet Ali crisis in 1839 and during the Crimean War, when Napoleon 111 made some effort to interest the European Powers in the Polish question.

nations of Europe remained popular in the ranks of *Young Poland* and for a time the links between the revolutionary movements in Italy and Poland were particularly strong, but when in 1846 the *Union of the Polish Emigration* merged with the *Polish Democratic Society*, it was to support a national rather than an international cause. While on the surface, therefore, the French authorities saw nothing suspicious in the activities of the Polish community, the leaders of the *émigré* parties were still actively engaged in drawing up plans for a resumption of the national struggle and in 1846, when a new insurrection broke out in Galicia, the Poles did their best to organise support for the insurgents.

4. *The Polish publicists in France*

The political vitality of *émigré* life was accompanied by a great ferment in the spheres of literature and journalism. The presence in France of a large number of literary figures who had been closely involved with the new movement in Polish letters before the November uprising produced a great flowering of Polish culture. The poets, Mickiewicz, Słowacki and Krasiński as well as a number of lesser writers produced a series of significant works, Chopin played impromptus at the Hôtel Lambert and Lelewel published several important studies on history and numismatics. The writing of memoirs and popular history became especially popular and all over France printing presses were equipped with Polish type to cater for the needs of the *émigrés*. Naturally most of this published work was directly or indirectly political, for the *émigré* were living in the shadow of political events which they were trying to comprehend and they saw their cultural leaders as prophets as much as *littérateurs*. It was with such an idea in mind that Mickiewicz published his *Books of the Polish Nation and the Polish Pilgrimage* (*Księgi narodu i pielgrzymstwa polskiego*) in December 1832 to act as a political gospel for the refugees and to soften their feelings of bitterness and grief. Mickiewicz's *Books* represented the emigration as a Christian pilgrimage, and, like many of his contemporaries, he linked the Christian ideas of suffering, martyrdom and redemption to the Promethean myth and working of Destiny in the world, but while there was a section of the community who saw in these pseudo-religious ideas a source of comfort, there was also a large body of opinion which rejected such transcendentalism. The poets always retained a position of esteem, and even reverence, within the community, but for the majority of the refugees politics remained a matter demanding more realistic ideas.

The arrival in France of so many talented journalists and *lit-*

térateurs and the fierce debates which raged between the different political groups brought a flood of propaganda representing all points of view. The dominant political question for the Poles, the significance of the uprising and the reasons for its failure, was discussed and debated in articles, memoirs, pamphlets and popular histories, which all tended to take a slightly different view of events as each party attempted to win support for its views in the community. It was not long before *émigré* newspapers began to appear. In July 1832 Podczaszyński and Maurycy Mochnecki, one of the leaders of the radicals in 1831, founded *The Emigration Diary* (*Pamiętnik Emigracji*) which was moderate in tone and lasted for 36 issues despite the difficulty of avoiding the French system of caution money.¹⁰¹ It was soon followed by *The Polish Pilgrim* (*Pielgrzym Polski*), which from November 1832 to March 1833 was edited by a friend of Lelewel, E. Januszkiewicz, and by *New Poland* (*Nowa Polska*), which under the editorship of Józefat Bolesław Ostrowski, one of the most critical and polemical of the *émigré* journalists, survived until 1845. In the next few years most of the parties founded similar journals. *The Journal of the Polish Emigration* (*Tygodnik Emigracji Polskiej*) 1834-1837 supported Dwernicki, *Progress* (*Postęp*) 1834 the programme of the *Democratic Society* (later also represented by *The Polish Democrat*, (*Demokrata Polski*) 1837-1849) and from 1833 *The Third of May* (*Trzeci Maj*) that of the conservatives.¹⁰² As well as promoting the political ideas of the different groups, the journals provided information about events in Poland, developments within the *émigré* community and reviews of current literature, and their existence, although often short-lived, helped to create a sense of unity within the community as a whole.

The journals were not the only form of propaganda published by the *émigré* parties. Their political ideas were defended in manifestos and pamphlets which were circulated in all the provincial *dépôts*, numerous accounts of the uprising appeared and the generals defended their actions in articles and pamphlets.¹⁰³ Writers like Lelewel, Czyński and Mochnecki were involved in many different projects and during his exile in France and Belgium Lelewel wrote articles and pamphlets, drafted several manifestos and completed several works on history and numismatics. Although, however, the

¹⁰¹ See I. Collins, *The Government and the Newspaper Press in France 1814-1881* (Oxford, 1959). The editors of the *Pamiętnik Emigracji* avoided the necessity to pay caution money by publishing their journal under a series of titles, in their case a succession of Polish kings.

¹⁰² See the list in Gadon, pp. 542-544.

¹⁰³ See below, pp. 201 ff.

energies of the leading members of the Polish community were absorbed in these political and intellectual debates, they also published an enormous volume of propaganda in French. For most of the *émigré* parties the support of France was still a vital asset in the future struggle for independence and the need to prepare public opinion for the eventual resurgence of the national movement remained an important consideration. Initially most of the propaganda appearing in French was factious and partisan, for the most part reflecting the bitter disputes between the *émigré* parties, but as the Poles became more interested in the historical traditions and political ideas which underpinned their interpretation of the future, the scope of their propaganda also widened. By 1846 information on a wide variety of topics had reached the French public through articles, journals, pamphlets and books and less was heard of the divisions between the different factions and more of the fundamental cultural and historical experiences which had created the unique character of Polish nationality.

Although this interest in publishing propaganda in French was quite widespread within the *émigré* community, the movement was dominated by a number of influential individuals. The most important of all was Leonard Chodźko, who was already established as the leading publicist for the Polish cause in France.¹⁰⁴ As a close associate of Lelewel on the National Committee, he took an active part in the early quarrels which beset the Polish community and in 1832 he was banished from Paris to Tours for his part in the publication of the Manifesto to the Russian People, but after a period in exile in England he returned to Paris in 1835 to devote his energies to literary and scientific works.¹⁰⁵ Although he had already published a number of political articles in the French press, his main interest after 1835 became the publication of a series of books which were designed to form an encyclopaedia of information about Poland. Between 1835 and 1838 he published *La Pologne Historique, Littéraire, Monumentale et Pittoresque* with illustrations by the artists Antoni Oleszczyński and Adam Piliński, which traced the political and cultural development of Poland up until the death of Sobieski in 1696, and the enterprise was so successful that in 1840 he published a sequel entitled *La Pologne Illustrée contenant l'histoire de Pologne et des Polonais au XVIII et XIX siècle*. He also became involved with the work of a number of literary and scientific societies and from 1845 was the sub-librarian of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, but he still found time to publish new works and the fol-

¹⁰⁴ See above, pp. 101 ff.

¹⁰⁵ See the article in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, iii, 386-388.

lowing year he produced two pieces at the time of the Galician uprising, *Les Nobles et les paysans*, which discussed the efforts made by the Polish gentry to emancipate the peasantry, and a collection of documents entitled *Le Mémorial polonais*.¹⁰⁶

Chodźko's missionary zeal was shared by several other Polish writers, though few could equal his success. On the conservative side of the emigration, the most active propagandists were Ludwik Plater, Karol Hoffman, Teodor Morawski, the brothers Cezary and Władysław Plater and general Bem while among their political opponents Lelewel and Jan Czyński were particularly active.¹⁰⁷ Czyński, whose career as a propagandist for the cause of socialism and Jewish emancipation lasted until his death in 1867, wrote articles for a number of papers, including *La Tribune*, *Le Réformateur*, *Le Peuple* and *Le Constitutionnel*, and a large number of pamphlets. In 1832 he published a defence of the radical party under the title *La Nuit du 15 août 1831 à Varsovie*, in 1833 *La Question des juifs polonais envisagée comme question européenne*, in 1834 *Le Système pénitentiaire des prisons russes en Pologne*. *La Révolte des Circassiens* followed in 1837 and in the same year Czyński took part in a collaborative project, *La Russie pittoresque*, while from 1839 he began to publish a series of works on the theme of utopian socialism, *L'Avenir des ouvriers* in 1839, *La Colonisation d'Alger d'après la théorie de Charles Fourier* and *L'Avenir des femmes* in 1841. The national cause, however, was not forgotten and in 1839 he published a history of Poland, in 1847 a study of Copernicus and in 1848 a number of pamphlets on both Poland and the Jews.¹⁰⁸ Czyński's career was typical of many of the other publicists. Having attended one of the Polish universities, in his case Warsaw, and made a career in the administrative service, he took an active part in the uprising and gained valuable experience as the editor of the radical newspaper *The Polish Courier (Kurier Polski)*. Like many of his contemporaries, too, his propaganda reflected the gradual deepening of political and social thought which took place within the Polish community, and his early attacks on the conservative leaders of the uprising gave way to more sophisticated works designed to explore historical and social ideas. He was also a man of letters and among his literary works were a novel

¹⁰⁶ Chodźko was a member of the *Société royale des sciences de Nancy*, *Société de géographie et de statistique universelle*, *Société philotechnique* and the *Société des gens de lettres*.

¹⁰⁷ All the conservative propagandists were members of the *Polish Literary Society*, see below, p. 192.

¹⁰⁸ For Czyński's career see the article in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, iv, 375-378.

entitled *Le Czarowitz Constantin et Jeanette Grudzinska* (1834) and a comedy vaudeville *La Choix d'une Czarine* (1842).

The sustained impetus of Czyński's publishing activities, however, was not matched by any other radical polemicist. After 1834 Lelewel largely confined his efforts to publishing works on numismatics and history, and another great radical journalist, Adam Gurowski, changed his political allegiance in 1834 to become a leading spokesman for the Tsarist cause.¹⁰⁹ Much of the initiative in the work of publishing propaganda in French, therefore, lay with the conservative wing of the community, who not only had more funds at their disposal but were also more successful at organising. In the early years of the emigration, The Poles founded several societies to organise the publication of suitable literary and political works in French, but only the *Polish Literary Society* (*Towarzystwo Literackie Polskie*), which was dominated by a group of journalists and writers associated with Czartoryski, was at all successful. In December 1831 a group of Poles had founded an association called *The Polish Exiles' Scientific Society* (*Towarzystwo Naukowe Polaków Tułaczów*) with the aim of publishing translations of Polish literary, historical and scientific works into foreign languages. A number of commissions were set up to review the work and their functions divided according to language and areas of study, the society wishing to consider works in the spheres of poetry, the plastic arts, literature and biography, ancient history and the recent uprising for translation into French, German and English. The programme, which brought together the talents of Chodźko, Słowacki, Gurowski, Mochnecki, Podczaszyński, Czyński and the Oleszczyńscy brothers, was to include many of Lelewel's historical works, maps, prints engravings, a large cross-section of literature and several scientific works. Particular interest was shown in the publication of works felt likely to appeal to French subscribers, but these plans floundered as a result of financial difficulties and the expulsion of several of the leaders of the society from the capital.¹¹⁰ A similar fate befell another *émigré* organisation, *The Society for Lithuania and the Ruthenian Territories* (*Towarzystwo Litewskie i Ziemi Ruskich*) founded by the brothers Cezary and Władysław

¹⁰⁹ See *ibid.*, ix, 162-166. Gurowski's defection was so spectacular that it led to rumours that he had been an agent of the Russian government since before the uprising. After his defection he wrote a number of books and pamphlets defending the Russian concept of Pan Slavism, many of which were published in French in St. Petersburg.

¹¹⁰ Straszewska, pp. 93-95. For the programme of the society see Do Towarzystwa Naukowego Polaków Tułaczów w Paryżu, 12 Dec. 1831 in J. Lelewel, *Listy Emigracyjne* (ed. H. Więckowska) (Warszawa, 1948-1954), I, 2-11.

Plater to unite the efforts of all the publicists from the Lithuanian territories in the hope of keeping alive the unique traditions of that area of the Polish kingdom. Its programme was seriously undermined by internal dissensions and the forced absence of several of its leading members from Paris, and it ceased to meet after 1834¹¹¹

The Polish Literary Society, on the other hand, survived in various forms until the time of Napoleon III. Founded in the spring of 1832, its aim, as agreed during the meeting on 29 April was:

recueillir et publier des matériaux concernant l'ancien royaume Pologne et tout ce qui est relatif à la situation présente, à son bien-être futur, dans la vue de conserver et d'alimenter dans l'opinion des nations civilisées, l'intérêt qu'elles ont témoigné pour la Pologne.¹¹²

There were to be three kinds of membership, collaborators, initially limited to 30 and obliged to present a piece of work conforming to the aims of the association, associates, who could be present at meetings and help with its ventures, and correspondents, whose duty was to forward information and news. Prince Czartoryski was to be president and among the founding members were the generals Bem and Umiński, Ludwik Plater, Teodor Morawski, Stanisław Kunatt, former professor, political economy, at Warsaw, Ludwick Jelski, an economist, Wojciech Grzymała, at one time an emissary to France during the uprising, and Franciszek and Ludwik Wołowski, Franciszek, the father, a lawyer and Ludwik, the son, the professor of political economy at the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers.¹¹³

Initially the chief concern of the society was the need to publish favourable articles in the French press,¹¹⁴ but as the scope of its activities began to broaden, members were encouraged to submit articles and pamphlets which could be of general use to the editorial commission and in December 1832 each member was allotted a specific area of interest and required to produce an article at regular intervals. Although the scheme was supported by a group of active enthusiasts, it broke down under the pressure of constant absenteeism and the unwillingness of individuals to fulfil their obligations. In 1836, however, the society established another study group with two divisions, one for history and the other for statistics,

¹¹¹ Straszewska, pp. 95-101.

¹¹² Rèlements de la Société Littéraire Polonaise, 29 Apr. 1832 B.P. 489 (Old numbering).

¹¹³ Czartoryski was elected president in his absence at the first official meeting on 3 May 1832. Ludwik Plater was to be vice-president and editor in chief, Jelski secretary, Morawski and Alphonse d'Herbelot, an old friend of the Poles, editorial assistants.

¹¹⁴ See below, pp. 194 ff.

and this scheme was much more successful.¹¹⁵ The Historical Section collected manuscripts, furnished the Polish Library with material and conducted correspondence with members in Italy, England, Spain and Portugal while the Statistical Section prepared maps and topographical surveys, and attempted to collect a comprehensive library of works on geography and statistics. By the early 1840s these activities had come to overshadow the original aims of the society, but the enthusiasm of individuals like Plater, Morawski, Hoffman, Morozewicz, Barzykowski and F. Wołowski ensured that articles and pamphlets continued to appear under the auspices of the society, although by that time they were becoming difficult to publish.

The Literary Society was the most effective of the collaborative enterprises launched by the Poles and was an important factor in the encouragement of individual efforts to publish propaganda in French. With Czyński, Lelewel and Chodźko, its members were the most influential publicists for the Polish cause in France, but there were also many other *émigrés* who contributed to the movement and there were a host of lesser personalities who published a single pamphlet or memoir. Wojciech Sowiński, who had worked with Chodźko before the uprising, contributed *Un Coup d'oeil historique sur la langue, la littérature, la civilisation, les sciences et les arts en Pologne*, Xavier Bronikowski a pamphlet entitled *Griefs nouveaux des cabinets européens contre le cabinet russe* while in the same year, 1832, a group of Polish officers in the *dépôt* at Avignon published a series of pamphlets entitled *Scènes historiques de la révolution de la Pologne*. As the years passed, however, and the Polish question become less and less topical in France, the work of informing and influencing French opinion became correspondingly more difficult. From the mid-1830s the interest in these publishing ventures was maintained by a comparatively small group of propagandists and it was these men, headed by Chodźko, who kept interest in Polish affairs alive during the following decade and who prepared the way for the revival of French enthusiasm for the Polish cause in 1846.

¹¹⁵ The society published an account of its work each year.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE POLISH PROPAGANDA MOVEMENT IN FRANCE

The arrival of the emigration brought new stimulus to the Polish propaganda movement in France. In the early years of the July Monarchy there was a steady stream of articles and pamphlets which tried to keep the Polish question before the public mind, but the propagandists also published more substantial works designed to interest the public in every aspect of Polish history and national life. As the Polish struggle for independence ceased to be such a topical issue and the emigration itself became absorbed in its own debates, the more transitory forms of propaganda became less important and during the late 1830s and 1840s the Polish publicists tried to focus French attention on Poland's historic identity and her relationship with the other Slav peoples. The aim of the propagandists, however, remained the same and they used every form of publicity then available in France to further their cause. They placed articles in the press, founded journals, published pamphlets and declarations, addressed petitions and addresses to the Chamber of Deputies, organised public functions and used their influence with their supporters in France, but in their serious work they hoped to defend the idea of a distinct Polish nationality and to justify its existence. There was no distinction made between the two aspects of their work, for most of the leading publicists produced both serious and polemical pieces. Their aim was to aid the national cause and it was only through the widest possible publicity that opinion in France could be successfully won over to the cause.

1. *The techniques of propaganda*

(a) *The Polish émigrés and the press*

The interest of the French press in the Polish question was already well established by the time the main body of the emigration reached France and the *émigré* publicists found that a network of contacts had already been established by Chodźko and his colleagues.¹ All the parties within the *émigré* community were anxious to use the press as a means of propaganda, but the most organised attempt to place articles, reviews and letters in the French papers was made by the *Polish Literary Society*.² At its first meeting it

¹ See above, pp. 106 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 192.

was agreed that four sections should be set up to read the leading European newspapers and report any articles on Poland which appeared. A broad cross-section of French, German, English and Polish papers were taken and the members of the society discussed the reports and then decided whether some form of reply might be necessary.³ Any reports of Russian activity in Poland were carefully scrutinised, for the members of the society were particularly anxious to publicise news of Russian persecutions and to correct inaccuracies in press reporting.⁴ In providing information about the situation in Poland, much of which was taken from the Polish and Russian newspapers to which the society subscribed at considerable expense, the members tried to be as apolitical and non-partisan as possible, articles and comments usually being placed anonymously, sometimes in the form of letters to the editor. Articles were sent most frequently to *Le Courrier Français*, *Le Temps*, *Le Messager des Chambres*, *Le Journal des Débats* and *Le Constitutionnel*, although the other newspapers were also approached periodically, and during its first year of existence the society was responsible for 43 political articles submitted to the press.⁵

Although the chief aim of the founders of the society was to provide accurate information about the Polish question in France, it soon became clear that one of the organisation's major tasks

³ On 23 Aug. 1832 the work was divided between the four sections as follows: (1) *Le Temps*, *Le Courrier Français*, *Le National*, *La Gazette des Tribunaux* and the French periodicals; (2) *Le Constitutionnel*, *Le Messager des Chambres*, *Le Journal de Commerce*, *La Tribune*, *Le Cabinet de Lecture* and French pamphlets; (3) The government papers, *Le Moniteur*, *Le Journal des Débats*, *La France*, *La Nouvelliste* and a number of German papers, pamphlets and periodicals; (4) The legitimist papers, *Dziennik Powszechny*, and a number of English pamphlets and periodicals. Later, other papers and periodicals were included and new members were immediately elected to serve on a section where their linguistic talents could be used to greatest advantage. B.P.489 (old numbering), minutes of the meeting on 23 Aug. 1832.

⁴ On 7 June 1832, for example, it was announced that Morawski and L. Wołowski had sent articles to the French papers, that Niemojowski had written from Brussels to say that he could easily place articles in the press there and the L. Wołowski was also preparing an article in reply to the account of forced conscription in Poland which had recently appeared in several papers. A report was received of an article defending Russian policy which had appeared in one of the Warsaw papers, Umiński had written a reply to a letter which had been published in *Le Constitutionnel* accusing the Poles of being involved in recent rioting in Paris and a translation was being prepared of the address of the Friends of Poland to the English People. On 21 June 1832 it was reported that Wołowski's article had appeared in the paper *Le Journal de Commerce*.

⁵ B.P. 489 (old numbering), *compte rendu* for the first year of the Polish Literary Society. By 1841-1842 the total number of political articles had risen to 305, although not all of these would have been published, and among the other papers to which the society had sent its pieces were *Le National*, *Le Siècle*, *L'Univers Religieux*, *Le Moniteur*, *Charivari* and *La Quotidienne: Actes de la société littéraire polonaise*, B.P. 493 (old numbering).

would be the refutation of the claims made by the democratic wing of the emigration in the radical press. The succession of manifestos issued by Lelewel's committee were all printed in the opposition papers and in December 1832 the society decided to take action after the publication of the Manifesto to the Russian People.⁶ Although the Polish radicals were not as organised as the *Literary Society*, they too found considerable support in the press. Czyński published articles in *Le Réformateur*, *La Tribune*, *Le Peuple* and *Le Constitutionnel*, Jan Nepomucen Janowski, a founder member of the *Democratic Society*, in *Le National*, *Le Messager des Chambres* and *La Tribune* and Krępowiecki in *Le Populaire* and *La Tribune*, which on 3 December printed the full text of his speech attacking Czartoryski and the National Government made at the commemorative service held on 29 November.⁷ On 9 December the *Literary Society* met to consider a reply to the speech and on 20 December the members discussed a plan to translate it into English and Polish and issue it as a pamphlet.⁸ The expulsion of the most outspoken radicals from France and the measures taken by the government against the opposition press restricted the effectiveness of the democratic campaign in the newspapers,⁹ and the removal of the leadership of the *Democratic Society* to Poitiers and the growing interest in discussing the association's political and social programme also had a limiting effects on democratic propaganda.

By the mid-1830s, when the *émigré* publicists had become more experienced in the work of publishing propaganda in French, there was an increasing interest in the idea of publishing a French language journal. The idea was not new, for during the uprising the Polish government had issued a journal entitled *L'Echo de la Pologne*, which they hoped would help to inform the public about Poland's grievances, and during 1832 several attempts were made

⁶ General Umiński prepared a letter refuting the committee's claim to represent the Polish community and it was discussed at the meeting held by the society on 20 Dec. 1832.

⁷ *La Tribune* was particularly friendly to the radicals. On 2 Oct. 1832 it published a letter from Janowski denouncing the plan for an Algerian legion and on 12 another from the Poles at Le Puy complaining of the anti-Polish attitude of the local prefect. On 1 Jan. 1833 it published the Manifesto to the Russian People, on 4 Jan. the address of the *National Committee* at the time of its expulsion and on 20 Jan. a protest in their favour by the inhabitants of Rouen.

⁸ B.P. 489 (old numbering), minutes for 20 Dec. 1832.

⁹ See Collins, pp. 62-3. In 1835 it became illegal to mention the name of the king in discussions of government policy, the libel laws were again strengthened and the caution money raised from 24,000 to 100,000 francs. *Ibid.* p. 83.

to establish new journals devoted to Polish affairs.¹⁰ Mickiewicz and Niemcewicz had discussed a project to interest a French paper in accepting Polish propaganda as part of its editorial policy, but Mickiewicz himself had favoured an independent journal and the only Polish periodical to appear during the year was *Scènes politiques de la révolution polonaise*, which was published at Avignon for six months under the editorship of Stanisław Bratkowski.¹¹ In March 1833, however, the *Literary Society* discussed two projects for a journal, the first from general Umiński which envisaged a periodical to be published by the society, and the second from Władysław Plater whose plan was for an independent journal which would be apolitical and above party strife.¹² A scheme worked out by another member, Karol Hoffman, provided for the creation of 25 shares at 250 francs each to finance the project and support for the idea came from Jullien, Montalembert and Mickiewicz, who expressed the hope that the journal could be made to appeal to the cause of European liberty in general. In the event, the periodical appeared under the title of *Le Polonais: journal des intérêts de la Pologne*, not as the organ of the *Literary Society*, but as an independent journal under the direction of Władysław Plater and his brother Cezary. The members of the society were invited to support it on an individual basis and articles were welcomed from all sources.¹³

Le Polonais, whose editorial policy was decided by the Plater brothers and Karol Hoffman, was published monthly, though latterly irregularly, from July 1833 to the end of 1836. Nominally it appeared under the auspices of the directing committee, which consisted of six French peers and 17 deputies, including Montalembert, Lafayette, Lafitte, Cormenin and the respected philanthropist the comte de Sade, but none of them had any direct contact with editorial policy. Willingness to take shares in the enterprise did not always reflect complete agreement with the articles

¹⁰ The first four editions of the journal were reviewed in the *Revue Encyclopédique*, xlix (1831), 641-50, but there is no evidence that it circulated in France.

¹¹ Six numbers appeared, three in Lyon and three in Avignon, and among the scenes described were the interview between Constantine and the leaders of the insurrection and the heroic exploits of the women of the uprising.

¹² The projects were discussed at the 39, 40 and 41 meetings of the society. For the background to the plan see K. J. Sell, "Le Polonais," *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, v (1958), 171-176. The original idea for a journal discussed by Mickiewicz and Niemcewicz involved an arrangement with a Parisian newspaper, but *Le Temps*, the paper approached, declined the project on the grounds that the Russian ambassador might finance a rival.

¹³ A society was established to fund the journal and shares were offered at 500 frs. a member. A subscription for six months was to cost six francs, later raised to ten francs a year.

printed in the journal and as early as March 1834 Lafayette informed Plater that several shareholders felt that, in view of the increasingly polemical content of many articles, it would be better if the names of the shareholders did not appear at the head of each edition.¹⁴ Nevertheless the journal did attract the support of some influential writers and among the regular contributors were Montalembert, Lamennais, Jullien, Ballanche, Sainte-Beuve, Czartoryski, Mickiewicz, F. Wołowski and the Platers.¹⁵

In the introduction to the first number of *Le Polonais* the editors declared:

la couleur politique de notre journal sera, comme nous l'avons annoncé, essentiellement et uniquement nationale. Nous n'avons en vue que la Pologne et son rétablissement comme nation indépendante. . . Arracher la Pologne à la domination étrangère, tel est notre but principal. Quelle est la nuance politique que ce vœu pourrait contrarier? Il n'en est aucune. Nous appelons donc toutes les opinions à nous prêter l'appui de leur zèle et celui de leurs influences actives.¹⁶

To this end the journal published articles on a wide variety of historical, literary, political and geographical subjects, carried reviews of new works on Poland, news from the Kingdom and the emigration, but after the withdrawal of Montalembert and Mickiewicz from the journal, *Le Polonais* became very much the propaganda tool of Władysław Plater and from 1835 its Polish character was gradually diluted. Plater's attacks on both the left and right wings of the emigration alienated support, and, as the subscriptions declined, the caution money for the journal became more difficult to find and in June 1836 publication was suspended.

The failure of *Le Polonais*, which initially had attracted so much important financial and editorial support, revealed some of the difficulties which were to blight similar future projects. During 1833-1834 a group of publicists including Hoffman, Bronikowski and Grzymała published *Souvenirs de la Pologne historique, statistique et littéraire* which also appeared in periodical form and in 1839 Bronikowski launched his *La Revue Slave*, only one issue of which appeared, but with exception of the two numbers of Czyński's

¹⁴ Lafayette to Władysław Plater, 17 March 1834 in Lewak, no. 234 Lafayette told Plater that his views were shared by Odilon Barrot, Dupont de l'Eure and Lasteyrie and he also wrote to Lelewel emphasising that he and his colleagues had no influence over the subjects chosen for the articles. Lafayette to Lelewel, 5 Feb. 1834, *ibid.*, no. 232.

¹⁵ The names of the contributors are taken from the inventory of the documents destroyed in the Rapperswil Archive. A. Lewak and H. Więckowska, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Narodowej: zbiory Biblioteki Rapperswilskiej* (Warsaw, 1928-38), i, no. 1012.

¹⁶ *Le Polonais*, 1 (1833), p. 3.

Le Réveil d'Israel, which appeared in 1847, no other journals were published until 1848, when a series of periodicals once again appeared.¹⁷ The financial difficulties of raising the caution money and winning an adequate number of subscriptions remained the greatest impediments to the success of such schemes. By the end of the 1830s, too, it was becoming obvious that popular interest in Poland was declining and it was more and more difficult to place articles in the press. As early as 1836 the *Democratic Society* reported that its leaders found it almost impossible to place most of their articles in the papers, and though *Le Bon Sens* still accepted them, a protest against the invasion of Cracow in that year had not been accepted in full by any of the papers.¹⁸ The *Literary Society* fared slightly better, but by the early 1840s there was no more than a small trickle of political articles from the still active members and in March the editors reported that, with the French public less interested in the Polish question, recent attempts to publicise news of the situation in Poland had been largely unsuccessful.¹⁹ The only paper still consistently friendly to the Poles was *L'Univers Religieux*, the liberal Catholic paper, which was always willing to print stories of religious persecution. In 1845 French attention was again turned towards Poland when a Mother Mieczysławska arrived in Rome with news of Russian persecution of the nuns of Minsk, but, although the controversy over her claims lasted some months, such opportunities were increasingly rare and public interest in the affair was already waning when news of the rising in Cracow reached Paris.²⁰

By this time the *Literary Society* had begun to devote most of its historical and statistical work and the collection of documents for the library. By 1836 there were only 11 collaborators who attended regularly and the decision by Ludwik Plater to take up the offer of an amnesty from the Prussian authorities removed one of its staunchest supporters.²¹ Individuals like Hoffman, Janowski, Czyński Chodźko, Morawski and Wołowski continued to be active in the work of Polish propaganda, but the campaign to use the press as a means of publicising Polish ideas had lost much of its original *Récit des événements militaires de la bataille d'Ostroleka* and momentum. While the Polish question had remained topical, the

¹⁷ For a list of the journals about Poland published in France during this period see Lorentowicz, ii, 67-72.

¹⁸ *Okólniki Towarzystwa Demokratycznego Polskiego*, 12 March 1846.

¹⁹ B.P. 495 (old numbering), ix, 454. In their report the editors expressed their regret that the recent atrocities committed by the Russians had gone unnoticed in the press.

²⁰ The issue was also taken up by a number of other newspapers, including the artisan journal, *L'Atelier*.

²¹ He died in 1846. B.P. §10 Correspondence of Ludwik Plater, Curriculum vitae.

newspaper editors had looked to the *émigrés* for information about Poland and were prepared to publish articles on many aspects of Polish political and social life, but as the importance of the Polish question as a topical issue declined, the papers inevitably became increasingly indifferent to the Polish cause. The press always remained an important and influential supporter of the Poles, but it was not until 1846, when the abortive uprising in Cracow once again focused French public opinion on Poland, that the editors of the French newspapers launched a new, full-scale campaign in their favour.

(b) *Pamphlets, petitions and addresses*

The press was only one means of influencing public opinion which was used by the *émigré* parties. The Poles were enthusiastic pamphleteers and from the time of the uprising a constant stream of pamphlets appeared in France dealing with a large number of different subjects. Many were published anonymously, but all the leading members of the emigration took an active interest in the work. Hoffman published a *Coup d'oeil sur l'état politique du royaume de Pologne sous la domination russe* and *Nouvelles de la Pologne* in 1832 and *Quelques mots sur l'état des paysans en Pologne* and *Débate de la Chambre des Communes du 9 juillet sur le mot de Cutlar Fergusson* in 1833. Ludwik Plater published *La Pologne province russe* in 1832, Morawski *Sur les intentions de la dernière révolution polonaise à l'égard des paysans* in the same year and in 1836 Morozewicz, one of the pillars of the *Literary Society*, published his *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la république de Cracovie*. The democratic wing of the emigration was no less active. Krępowiecki's speech at the 29 November ceremony was reprinted as a pamphlet, Czyński produced *La Nuit du 15 août 1831 à Varsovie* in 1832, *La Question des juifs polonais envisagée comme question européenne* in 1833 and *Système pénitentiaire des prisons russes en Pologne* in 1834. In addition, however, there were many lesser figures in the community who felt moved to express feelings or grievances in pamphlets and they appeared not only in Paris, but in Besançon, Avignon, Strasbourg, Poitiers and Bordeaux.

In the period immediately following the uprising, most of the pamphlets published by the *émigrés* were naturally concerned with the insurrection and the reasons for its failure. The Polish generals were particularly eager defenders of the role of the army in the uprising. Dembiński published a *Mémoire sur la campagne de Lithuanie*, Umiński a *Relation de l'attaque de Varsovie* and a *Récit des événemens militaires de la bataille d'Ostrolaka* and Chłapowski a *Lettre sur les événemens militaires en Pologne et*

Lithuanie, all in 1832, while their record was attacked in several pamphlets including one by a W. Zawierzowski entitled *Trahisons en Pologne, réponse au général Chlapowski*. The social policy of the National Government was vigorously attacked and defended. Krępowiecki demanded immediate peasant emancipation and a social insurrection, a policy which, in his view, should have been followed in 1831, while Morawski emphasised the need for gradual change and popular education to allow the peasantry time to learn to exercise their political rights.²² Czyński defended the rioting of 15 August as the act of a noble people against spies and traitors, the heroism of the women of the insurrection was remembered in the first number of *Scènes politiques de la révolution polonaise*, published by Stanisław Bratkowski at Lyon in 1832, and Lelewel gave his own version of the negotiations which had proceeded the withdrawal of the Grand Duke Constantine from Warsaw in *Entrevue diplomatique le 2 décembre 1830 à Wierzbno aux environs de Varsovie*.²³ Each group in the community was anxious to defend its own role in the insurrection, but their pamphlets helped to give the French public a full, if confusing, picture of events during the uprising.²⁴

From the beginning, however, all sides emphasised common themes and all, for example, agreed about the treachery and inhumanity of the Tsar. The pamphleteers spoke of deportations, executions, the dispossessing of all supporters of the uprising, forced enlistment and cultural and educational persecution.²⁵ Hatred of

²² Morawski's pamphlet was originally published in *La Tribune* and was re-issued under the title *Sur les intentions de la dernière révolution polonaise à l'égard des paysans* (Paris, 1833). Like many conservatives, he claimed that the 1791 constitution had been the first step towards peasant emancipation and that the Napoleonic constitution had given equality of rights to all citizens before the law. The ignorance and misery of the peasants, however, made them unable to exercise their new rights and before their part in the representative system could be realised, there would have to be a long period of education and social amelioration. He also pointed out that the government had abolished two of the heaviest taxes on the peasantry, broken up Crown Lands and encouraged the extension of primary education.

²³ See above, p. 109.

²⁴ One of the most influential histories of the uprising to be published in France was by a German, Otto Spazier, *Histoire politique et militaire de la révolution polonaise 1830-1831* (Paris, 1834), an account, which did not win the favour of many of the émigrés.

²⁵ These included *La Pologne, La Prusse et La Russie ou l'ordre de Virtuti Militari* (Paris, 1832), published by Lelewel's committee *L'Empereur Nicholas et la constitution polonaise de 1815* (Paris, n.d.); *La Pologne, province russe* (Paris, n.d.); *Le Dernier mot sur le statut organique imposé à la Pologne* (Paris, 1832); *Quelques mots sur la conduite de la Russie à l'égard de la Pologne* (Paris, 1835); *Système pénitentiaire des prisons russes en Pologne* (Paris, 1834) and *Le Czar Nicholas et la Pologne ou discours de l'autocrate russe à la municipalité de Varsovie* (Paris, 1835).

the Russian oppressor forged a common bond between the *émigré* community, but by the mid-1830s this way of arousing popular resentment was already losing its effectiveness and the number of pamphlets published on the Polish question began to decline. A number of publicists still continued to hope that the international situation would offer the Poles an opportunity to revive their fortunes and the developments in the Middle East were discussed in such pamphlets as *Un Projet de démembrement de la Turquie européenne et du rétablissement de l'indépendance de la Pologne*, which envisaged Poland as a barrier state between Europe and an enlarged Russia. Attacks on Nicholas continued into the 1840s and events in Cracow also attracted attention from time to time, but, like the newspaper articles, the pamphlets depended on topicality for their effect and it was not until 1846 that events in Galicia once again focused attention on the Poles.²⁶

The *émigrés* also made use of two other propaganda devices, the address and the petition. Despite the failure of the old Polish committee in its efforts to persuade the Chamber of Deputies to express its support for the uprising, there were many *émigrés* who continued to hope that they could use their influence with a number of leading deputies to present Polish claims and remind the government of their grievances.²⁷ This approach was particularly favoured by the moderate wing of the emigration, who published extracts from a series of debates in both the French and British Parliaments throughout the early 1830s, but most political groups drew up addresses and petitions of their own for publication.²⁸ There were two kinds of appeal. Firstly there were those which requested action by the government to admit further refugees or listen to Polish grievances and secondly there were those which encouraged the Chamber of Deputies to make declarations of support for the Polish cause. There were several appeals against the government's legislation dealing with the status of foreign refugees, one in April 1832 from a group of refugees including Lelewel, Morawski, general Soltyk and the Plater brothers, and a second in January 1834 from Dwernicki's committee, which printed numerous letters from

²⁶ See below, pp. 233 ff.

²⁷ Many of the most effective measures taken by the Poles were the result of personal contacts. Lafayette appealed personally to the government on behalf of Lelewel, and, although he and Odilon Barrot, who was approached by a number of Poles for help in presenting their cases to the authorities, were not always successful, their stolid support was appreciated.

²⁸ The publication of the speeches of Cutlar Fergusson in the British House of Commons was the work of the *Literary Society* who received money from the *Association of the Friends of Poland* in England for the work. They appeared in *Lettre d'un polonais à M.M. les Pairs et les députés de la France*. (Paris, 1833).

government officials confirming the claim that the Poles were quiet, law-abiding citizens.²⁹ Several others were made on behalf of the Poles who landed at Le Havre in 1833, in support of the project for the formation of a legion and for the refugees who wished to return from Algeria, for, despite the government's intransigence over the question of the refugee legislation, it was known to be willing to consider any request which would not involve the authorities in an embarrassing decision.

The Poles, however, also appealed to the Chamber of Deputies for political support and great importance was attached to the clause voted each year in the address to the throne which affirmed France's hope that Polish nationality would never perish. The clause, which had first been voted as a result of the efforts of Lafayette and the Polish Committee in the 1831 campaign, carried no real political commitment, but it was symbolic of French sympathy for the Polish cause and each year the Poles reminded the Chamber of its obligation. During 1832 addresses reminding the deputies of Poland's past services to France and of her plight since the uprising were sent by both Lelewel's committee and Karol Hoffman, who on behalf of the conservative wing of the emigration published an appeal to the deputies and the peers accompanied with an account of recent Russian persecutions in Poland. The following year Hoffman made a renewed appeal, but the idea was soon taken over by the *Literary Society*, which each year addressed an appeal to the Chamber reminding the deputies of Poland's legal and diplomatic case against Russia and presenting a catalogue of the persecutions conducted by the Russian authorities during the previous twelve months.³⁰ From 1845 its efforts were supported by general Rybiński, who published an address to the Chamber appealing for support for the Polish cause, but the *Literary Society* also sent a copy of its address to each deputy and by 1846 the voting of the Polish clause in the address had become almost routine. Nevertheless, the *émigrés* had helped to highlight the continuing state of misery in Poland and to ensure that this last vestige of official sympathy for the Poles was not allowed to fade away.³¹

²⁹ In *Adresse du comité polonais à la Chambre des députés* (Paris, 1834), a protest against the refugee laws, Dwernicki advised his compatriots that petitions could be addressed to Lafayette, Tracy, Garnier-Pagès, Cabet or Larabit, who were all willing to present them in the Chamber.

³⁰ The addresses published by the *Literary Society* between 1837-1848 are in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, M 13416.

³¹ All these addresses were issued as pamphlets and in 1843 the cost of publication of the address was 383.40 frs. B.P. 491. (old numbering), iii, no. 5(a). Like the *Polish Democratic Society*, the *Literary Society* relied on subscriptions for its funds and in its fourth year of activities (1838-1839) its incomes was 1,561.60 frs.

(c) *Books, maps and prints*

At first much of the activity of the Polish publicists was devoted to the publication of articles and pamphlets, but many also produced more substantial works of propaganda. Chodźko and his colleagues had tried not only to inform the French public of the situation in Poland, but to bring them to a deeper understanding of the unique character and historical importance of the Poles.³² After the arrival of the emigration this programme was greatly expanded and works on all facets of Polish history, literature, politics and culture appeared.³³ The most comprehensive surveys were those published by Chodźko, *La Pologne Pittoresque* and *La Pologne Illustrée*, and a similar work on Russia, *Russie Pittoresque*, which was published by a group of writers headed by Czyński, but there were many less comprehensive projects as well. Histories of the uprising were published by Zaliwski, one of the original conspirators, in 1833, a J. J. Zaleski at Toulouse in 1834 and Mierosławski in 1835. Rykaczewski published a translation of Lelewel's history of Spain and Poland in 1835 and the latter's History of Poland in 1844; other histories of Poland appeared by Maleszewski in 1832, Czyński in 1839 and a group of publicists including Chodźko and Podczaszyński in 1834, while in 1839 Karol Forster published *La Vieille Pologne*, an album of poems and legends originally collected by Niemcewicz.³⁴ Even minor figures in Polish history attracted attention and in 1834 H. Krasieński published a biography of Vitold, a Grand Duke of Lithuania, complete with notes on the history of Samogitia, an ancient province regarded by the Poles as part of Polish territory.³⁵ The Napoleonic period was also popular and on the cultural side Sowiński published an edition of Polish national ballads,³⁶ and another *émigré*, Czajkowski, produced a study of the influence of the Cossacks on European literature and arts.³⁷ The work of translating Polish literature, begun by Chodźko and Podczaszyński before the uprising, also continued and among the more significant works to appear was the French edition of Mickiewicz's *Books of the Polish Nation and the Polish Pilgrimage* by Montalembert in 1834.³⁸

³² See above, pp. 105 ff.

³³ See the bibliography in Lorentowicz.

³⁴ Straszewska, pp. 282-284. The idea for the book was put forward by Forster and the work included legends from all periods of Polish history.

³⁵ H. Krasiński, *Le célèbre Vitold, grand duc de Lithuanie* (Paris, 1834).

³⁶ W. Sowiński, *Chants polonais nationaux et populaires avec accompagnement de piano et de la harpe* (Paris, 1830).

³⁷ The book was entitled *Quelle a été l'influence des Kossaks sur la littérature, les sciences, les arts et la civilisation en général dans le nord et l'orient*.

³⁸ Straszewska, pp. 311-321.

In addition, articles on various aspects of Polish literature and culture continued to appear in the literary periodicals.³⁹

Many of these books were illustrated with maps and prints. *La Pologne pittoresque* included a large number of engravings by Adam Piliński, who with his son ran a lithographic business in Clermont-Ferrand, but the most important of the Polish engravers was Antoni Oleszczyński, a member of the pre-1830 emigration and friend of Chodźko. In a series of prints entitled *Variétés polonaises*, Oleszczyński included engravings of famous Poles, historical scenes, landscapes, townscapes and allegorical subjects. By 1832 over 90 had appeared in the series and most were available at reasonable prices, the most popular subjects, like Poniatowski and Kościuszko, being priced at 75 cs., the *femmes polonaises* at 1.50 frs. and such allegorical subjects as *New Poland beseeching Heaven* at 2 frs.⁴⁰ Several political maps were also published. In 1830 Chodźko collaborated with a M. Dufour in the publication of a *Carte générale routière historique et statistique des états de l'ancienne république de Pologne*, which illustrated the changes in Poland's frontiers from 1764 to 1815 and which was republished, with corrections, in 1840, 1842, 1846 and 1850. Others followed: Poland's boundaries in 1815, her frontiers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the territory held by the Polish Slavs in the eighth and ninth centuries before the invasions of Rurik and the Germans, while from 1831 Chodźko with his friend Jarry de Mancy, a republican journalist, produced a series of illustrated maps showing the course of the national uprising and its relation to earlier insurrections.⁴¹ The Poles collaborated with several engravers in these enterprises and in addition to Dufour and de Mancy, maps were produced by a M. Thierry, a M. Dionnet and a M. Clerot.

The Poles were always fortunate in enjoying close contacts with a number of publishing firms, who became specialists in handling the publication of Polish propaganda. Through Chodźko, contacts had already been established before the uprising with the firms of Barbezat and Pinard, and, although Barbezat went bankrupt in 1830, relations with Pinard, who became the official publisher to the *Polish Committee*, remained close. In a catalogue published

³⁹ The *Revue Encyclopédique* was taken over by the Saint-Simonians in 1833 and ceased publication in 1835, but interest in Polish literature was shown by *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, *Le Cabinet de Lecture*, *La France Littéraire* and *La Revue Indépendante*. See Straszewska, pp. 340-356.

⁴⁰ Over 90 were offered by the publisher Pinard in his *Ouvrages relatifs à la Pologne publiés en France depuis 1826* (Paris, n.d.).

⁴¹ See the bibliography of Chodźko's works in Estreicher, iii, 149-155.

in 1832, Pinard offered the public 58 works on Polish subjects in French, acting as an *entrepôt* for most of the pamphlets and books published since 1826, and among the books handled by the firm were the first Polish edition of Mickiewicz's *Books* and *Pan Tadeusz* as well as the early numbers of the *Polish Pilgrim*.⁴² The popularity of the Polish cause, however, soon interested other firms in the publication of Polish propaganda, and, as many *émigrés* took up employment as printers and typographers in Paris and the provinces, many more printers were able to undertake the work.⁴³ From 1833 an added encouragement was given to the publication and distribution of Polish works by the establishment of a Polish bookshop under the direction of Eustachy Januszkiewicz, a former member of the staff of the *Wilno Daily* (*Dziennik Wileński*), and the Parisian firm of Hector Bossange. In 1835 the enterprise produced a 16-page catalogue of books available on Polish subjects in France, which was also published simultaneously by Pinard, and which included works of all kinds on all aspects of Polish politics and culture.

Despite these efforts, however, the propaganda movement in France was frustrated by a number of factors. The fickleness of public opinion brought major difficulties, but the greatest problem for the publicists was their lack of finance. Much of the work published by the Poles had to be financed from personal funds and after several years of exile these became more and more difficult to find. Some of the larger works, like *La Pologne pittoresque* were published as subscription periodicals, but the success of *La Pologne pittoresque*, whose circulation reached 15,000 copies, was rarely equalled by other works and it was often hard to find funds for new projects. Before the uprising Chodźko had obtained financial support from aristocratic figures like Clementina Ostrowska and after 1831 it was the aristocratic wing of the emigration who were best able to produce funds for publishing enterprises. The resources of the *Literary Society* rested on a monthly contribution of 2 frs. from each member with a provision for extraordinary contributions as necessary, but this income generally covered only administrative costs, newspaper subscriptions and minor printing costs. In 1836-37 the Society paid subscriptions of 140 frs. for the *Warsaw Gazette*, 100 frs. for the *Petersburg Weekly* and 52.50 frs. for the *Warsaw Courier*, a total of 292.50 frs., and in 1843 the cost of printing the address to the Chamber of Deputies was 382.40 frs.⁴⁴ Pamphlets

⁴² For the links between the *émigrés* and Pinard see Straszewska, pp. 158-159.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 159-162.

⁴⁴ Annual account of the Polish Literary Society for 1836-37, B.P. 491 (old numbering), iii, no. 5(a).

had to be published by members themselves and in December 1833 Plater paid Pinard 150 frs. towards the cost of publishing the translation of the speech of Cutlar Fergusson in the House of Commons.⁴⁵ By the 1840s, however, Ludwik Plater himself was in financial difficulties and the success of Chodźko, who usually managed to find financial support for his projects, was becoming unusual.

Funds were also a major cause of the failure of the radical wing of the emigration to rival their opponents in the publication of propaganda. Lelewel's *National Committee* was in continual difficulties, and, as much of the financial aid sent by the French committees like those in Metz and Lyon specifically excluded its use for inter-party propaganda, the funds for the publication of circulars and the manifestos were very limited, and at the time of his expulsion from France, Lelewel was in considerable debt.⁴⁶ Similar difficulties prevented the publication of the historian's more serious works, too. In a letter to his friend Wodziński written in June 1832, Lelewel outlined a programme for the translation of several of his books, but, although there was some difficulty over the availability of manuscripts, the chief problem was money. He reported that Chodźko had already translated the study of Stanisław August, but there was no money to print it and it was not until 1835 that his *Parallel History of Spain and Poland* appeared in a translation by Rykaczewski.⁴⁷ *The Democratic Society* was slightly more fortunate. By 1847-48, its income from subscriptions stood at 86,832.42 frs., but its main commitments were to its own political programme and its expenditure on publications for 1847 was mostly absorbed by the costs of printing periodic circulars.⁴⁸

The movement, too, was affected by the growing concentration of the *émigré* community on its own affairs. Disillusioned in their hopes of an early resumption of the national struggle, the failure of the Carbonari plots and the apparent indifference of the government to the Polish campaign, the Poles grew increasingly uncertain about the value of their propaganda campaign in France. Although individuals like Chodźko continued to be actively involved in publishing ventures of different kinds, the political and literary organisations had to abandon many of their earlier programmes. The *Literary Society* became involved with its historical and statistical

⁴⁵ Accounts of Ludwik Platter, B.P. 510:401. Correspondence of Ludwik Plater.

⁴⁶ Cygler, *Działalność*, pp. 107-108.

⁴⁷ Only the generosity of Chodźko had made possible the publication of his work comparing the Polish constitutions of 1791, 1807 and 1815. Lelewel to E. Wodziński, 16 June 1832, *Listy Emigracyjne*, i, 59-62.

16 June 1832, *Listy Emigracyjne*, i, 59-62.

⁴⁸ *Zdanie sprawy Towarzystwa Demokratycznego Polskiego*, 1 Dec. 1848.

studies, and with the administration of the Polish Library, much of its activity was absorbed by the collection of archives and books, while in the *Democratic Society*, the discussion of a political programme and moves for the unification of the emigration absorbed a lot of energy. The *émigrés* did not lose the will to publicise their cause in France, but they were unable to sustain the impetus of the early campaign, and, as the scope for arousing French indignation lessened, they placed greater emphasis on more fundamental questions, Poland's unique nationality, her relationship with the other Slav nations and her role in the European system. These questions had been posed by Chodźko before the November uprising and had been implicit in much of the propaganda published during the early years of the emigration, but by the 1840s they had become the dominant themes.

2. *The Poles and the Polish question*

Despite all their rivalries and disagreements, all the political groups in the Polish community agreed that the fundamental issue for the Polish propagandists was that of national independence. Although the National Government had always maintained a strict, diplomatic interpretation of the Poles' right to self-determination, no party in the emigration accepted that the real justification for this claim rested on the *de facto* legality of the Vienna settlement. The idea of national independence was the political expression of a people's unique national identity, an identity based on natural topography, cultural conditioning and the shared historical experiences which moulded the character of each nation. In support of their claim, the Polish propagandists turned to history, for, only through the study of the past, it was believed, could the present be understood and the vital spark of Polish nationality be kept alive. History established the European importance of the Polish state, it revealed the fundamental principles which had created the strange social and political character of the old republic and explained the moral relationship between the Poles and the other Slav nations. The very bonds which linked the different sections of the Polish nation together as one people were historical, and as such indestructible, greater than the political institutions which circumstances, and the greed of Poland's neighbours, had combined to destroy. For some writers, the unique political and moral character of the Poles was believed to have given them a special *rôle* in European history and a unique mission to mankind. In its most extreme form, this idea was expressed in the spiritual messianism of Mickiewicz's later lectures at the Collège de France, but as a political con-

cept it retained its appeal for even the most realistic of *émigré* politicians.

This idea that a society's development could only be explained in terms of its natural, historical evolution had been popular in Europe since the eighteenth century. Montesquieu had related social institutions to climatic, racial and historical influences and in Germany Herder had put forward the idea that each nation possessed a unique quality and character of its own. In the early nineteenth century such views were often advanced by individual theorists in many countries to justify their claims to national self-determinations, but in Poland any discussion of history began with the ideas of Lelewel. Although the historian himself pursued an active and often factious *rôle* in *émigré* politics which won him many enemies on both sides of the emigration, his intellectual predominance was unassailable. His political pamphlets might provoke sharp criticism from his opponents, but his social and political interpretation of the shifting fortunes of the old republic lay at the heart of many of their own ideas. The radicals, with whom he had less than good relations, based most of their fundamental doctrine on his idea of the primitive democracy and equality of the Slavs, while on the other side of the political spectrum, one of the contributors to *Le Polonais* paid tribute to his unique place among Polish scholars by speaking of, '*A une érudition peu commune dans l'histoire, Lelewel joignait le talent d'un grand critique.*'⁴⁹ Although, therefore, few of his major works were ever translated into French, his ideas pervaded most of the propaganda published by the Poles.⁵⁰

For his contemporaries, Lelewel's history provided the definitive account of the rise and fall of the Polish state. It traced the evolution of Poland's social and political institutions in terms of the historical factors which had moulded them, and, although the different groups in the emigration often disagreed about the significance of the social and constitutional changes which had taken place throughout the life of the old gentry republic, many of Lelewel's more important conclusions, such as the origin of social distinctions in military obligations or the absence of feudalism in medieval Poland, were generally accepted. His history, however, was also philosophical, for within the diversity of a nation's political development, Lelewel believed, lay fundamental principles which not only expressed the unique identity of that nation but revealed the universal factors which explained the progress of human society as a whole.

⁴⁹ "L'Université de Wilna," *Le Polonais*, xiv (1834), 71.

⁵⁰ See the bibliography of Lelewel's works by H. Hleb-Koszańska and M. Kotwiczówna, *Bibliografia utworów Joachima Lelewela* (Wrocław, 1952).

For Lelewel, the art of the historian involved not only the establishment of a critical account of events, but the interpretation of those events to give both a sociological and moral view of history. Lelewel believed that the fundamental principles which had created the particular characteristics of Polish society had been revealed in the course of the nation's social and political evolution and it was only by returning to these principles that a national movement of regeneration could succeed.

The dominant characteristic of *émigré* propaganda, therefore, was its historicism. History not only supported the Polish claim to a distinct national identity, it justified the ideas of the *émigré* parties and discredited the Russian claim to Slav hegemony. History, too, was seen as a powerful propaganda weapon. Before the uprising Chodźko had believed that it was necessary to identify the Polish question with the revolutionary tradition in France and after 1830, when the special relationship between the two nations had once again been revived, the Polish publicists placed great emphasis on the historical links between France and Poland. They reminded the French public of the bonds forged between the two peoples during the Middle Ages and strengthened by the triumphs and defeats of the Napoleonic wars, they encouraged the ideas of Poland's loyalty and sacrifice in support of her sister-nation and they reproved the government for abandoning the Poles to their fate. However, behind this emotional appeal lay a more serious purpose, for the *émigrés* wanted to bring about a greater understanding of the quality and importance of their national achievements. They wanted to prepare the French public for the time when circumstances would once again make active French intervention a vital factor in their national struggle. Ultimately, they wished to claim, the Polish question was not a question of diplomatic self-interest or the balance of power, but a question of nationality, morality and self-determination.

(a) *The Polish Republic*

For the Poles, nationality was a historical, cultural and moral idea with its origins in the primitive society of the Slavs. Following Lelewel Polish writers saw this primitive community as a communal society based on agriculture and in which there was complete equality and liberty: *'L'égalité complète et un travail commun, varié et attrayant y formaient l'ensemble de l'existence sociale.'*⁵¹

⁵¹ A. Mickiewicz, *Les Slaves, édités et publiés d'après des notes sténographiées* (Paris, 1849), i, 84.

The ancient Slavs had no superstitions and therefore no aristocracy, for:

l'aristocratie de tout temps, s'est fondée, s'est appuyée sur la tradition d'une origine supérieure à celle du peuple; partout et toujours l'aristocratie a prétendue une origine divine. Les Slaves sont donc restés sans noblesse et sans sacerdoce, ils n'ont eu ni prêtres, ni seigneurs, ni rois.⁵²

Although social change modified and then destroyed the natural equality of this society, its fundamental ethical idea, the ideal of liberty and equality, survived and was retained in its purest form in the traditions, language and political institutions of the Poles. For Mickiewicz, and for most of the Polish propagandists, the idea of liberty was not a new concept, revealed to Europe by the French Revolution, but a moral idea inherent in Polish society.

The history of the Polish state was the history of a struggle between these fundamental ideas and the force of circumstances. The break up of the unified kingdom of Bolesław I in the 12th century and the introduction of Christianity and Roman and Teutonic law helped to create a new kind of society, but the fundamental traditions of the Slavs survived. The principle of equality was reflected in the much abused institutions of medieval Poland, the elective monarchy, the Diet and the increasing control exercised by the gentry in political affairs, and, although the introduction of Roman Christianity had contributed to the final destruction of the idea of communal property, it also brought vitality to the idea of a single political community, acting as '*une représentation de la Pologne morale*'.⁵³ From this time, Polish nationality became distinctly Christian. There was little anti-clericalism among the *émigrés*, for the Polish Church, unlike its French counterpart, was both orthodox and liberal, patriotic and truly national:

. . . cette religion à laquelle on doit l'abolition de l'esclavage, est encore l'appui naturel des droits des peuples. Chez nous, l'autel n'a point d'encens pour un trône injuste et tyrannique: il est l'asile des opprimés.⁵⁴

Because restraints were put on the power of the clergy, the Polish Church became a national Church, upholding the traditions of the Republic and of national unity, while still maintaining the true ideals of Christianity:

⁵² Ibid., i, 66.

⁵³ Ibid., i, 364.

⁵⁴ "Aperçus sur le clergé polonais," *Esquisses polonaises ou fragmens et traits détachés pour servir à l'histoire de la révolution polonaise actuelle* (Paris, 1831), p. 112.

L'Eglise fut envisagée selon sa véritable mission, mission grande, mission de conservation, de propagation, mission civilisatrice, mais nulle comme pouvoir absolue et dominant.⁵⁵

As a result, Polish Christianity became the outpost of Western civilisation in the east and in contradistinction to the sterile servile state religion of Russia, it united the Poles, the Lithuanians and the Uniates of the *terres russiennes* in a single faith.⁵⁶ Catholicism in Poland had always been tolerant, for the Polish love of liberty had prevented the Inquisition from taking root on Polish soil:

. . . il résulte de ces faits que la Pologne sut empreindre ses décrets d'un esprit de sagesse, et la première, c'est-à-dire des autres nations de l'Europe, elle reconnut solennellement la liberté des croyances civiles et politiques.⁵⁷

This attachment to the principles of religion, liberty, patriotism and tolerance lay at the centre of the *émigrés'* idea of the Polish character. The struggle of the Confederation of Bar against the Russians was a struggle for religious freedom as well as national independence and the close links between Church and people had been confirmed during the recent uprising, when the clergy, fired by enthusiasm for the national cause, had donated two-thirds of their revenues to the National Government.⁵⁸ The ideals of Christianity and the primitive traditions of the Slavs had helped to foster those traits which, it was claimed, were the essence of the Polish character, simplicity, generosity, perseverance, courage and above all sacrifice, an idea which was sometimes, as in Mickiewicz's lectures at the Collège de France, elevated to the level of a mystical ideal.

The Poles saw political and cultural developments as aspects of a single process which had created their nationality. The social values and moral ideas which were at the heart of the Polish character were automatically reflected in Polish cultural life, for as Podczaszynski had written before the uprising:

. . . sa civilisation intellectuelle, dans les cinq derniers siècles, n'est que le résultat de la civilisation politique de cinq autres qui les avaient précédés: et celle-ci encore avait pour base la

⁵⁵ "Cultes religieux: de l'influence de l'Eglise," *La Pologne Historique, littéraire, monumentale et pittoresque* (Paris, 1835-1842), i, 406.

⁵⁶ Despite its Greek liturgy, the Uniate Catholics of the Ukraine were in communion with Rome.

⁵⁷ "Cultes religieux. . .," i, 408.

⁵⁸ "Le Culte des autels et celui de la patrie n'ont jamais été séparés," in "De l'esprit religieux en Pologne," *Le Polonais*, xiii (1834), 21.

civilisation ou la vie morale, telle qu'elle existait au milieu des anciens Slaves.⁵⁹

The Polish language, it was emphasised, had retained more of the purity of the ancient Slav dialect than Russian or Bohemian, which had become debased by foreign influences. It was the most poetical of the Slavonic languages and it retained some of the lyrical and spontaneous quality of the other Slav language, Serbian, but it was also a language of religion and liberty and this gave Polish a moral significance which made its poets, according to Mickiewicz, '*des échos de la grande voix des peuples dans laquelle tout le monde reconnaît la voix de Dieu*'.⁶⁰ Language was also a repository of social and ethical values. The differences between Polish and Russian were held to typify the differences between the social systems of the two countries and the decline of Polish literature, which, it was pointed out, was one of the richest of all European literatures in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was identified with the decline of the Polish republican virtues and the introduction of foreign models. The sterility of Classical literature in Poland was linked to the decadence of eighteenth century Polish society while the strength of the new Romantic movement lay precisely in its national and patriotic quality. Language and culture formed one of the most important of all Polish claims to a separate nationality, but for the Polish publicists, literature, politics and society all formed aspects of a single historical experience.⁶¹

The idea that Polish nationality was a historical and ethical concept was a belief common to all the propagandists. They saw a nation as a moral rather than a territorial entity, able to survive despite the destruction of the state, for, as Mickiewicz put it '*la patrie pour eux, la patrie pour tout polonais est, elle vit partout où bat le coeur fidèle de ses enfans*'.⁶² The Polish nation could not be defined by the decisions of diplomatic treaties. It had been formed by '*la réunion volontaire de plusieurs provinces par un servient d'aide et de protection, par un partage égal de droits et de charges, puisque les représentants de ces provinces avaient même le droit de veto*'.⁶³ In their definition of Poland, the Polish publicists included the provinces of Podolia, Wolynia, Ukraine, White Russia, Red Russia (Galicia), Black Russia and Courland and one of their

⁵⁹ Malte-Brun, *Tableau de la Pologne ancienne et moderne*, new edition edited by L. Chodźko (Paris, 1830), ii, 332.

⁶⁰ Mickiewicz, *Les Slaves*, iv, 7.

⁶¹ Mickiewicz once said that a great literature must be 'tout ensemble religion et politique, force et action.' *Les Slaves*, v, 220.

⁶² *Ibid.*, i, 30.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, iii, 118.

most persistent claims was that Lithuania and the *terres russiennes* formed an inalienable part of the Polish nation.

The claim made by the Poles to the areas annexed by Russia in 1772 had been one of the main stumbling blocks in the negotiations which had taken place during the uprising and the large numbers of Poles from the Eastern territories in the emigration ensured that the question of their status was never forgotten. It was always stressed that the union between Poland and Lithuania had been a natural one, forged by the mutual consent of the two peoples, and that Lithuania had always played a full, though autonomous, part in the life of the Polish state. There was no historical or cultural link, it was emphasised, between the *terres russiennes* and the Moscovite Principality. Their language was a dialect of Polish, their religion, the Uniate faith, was orthodox and Catholic, and their institutions essentially Polish:

l'esprit du gouvernement, la religion et la langue, en un mot le caractère général, faisaient distinguer de plus en plus la domination polonaise de la domination moscovite dans les terres russes. La démarcation, commencée depuis des siècles, devenait chaque jour plus tranchante.⁶⁴

The Polish Republic, in its period of greatness, had stretched from the Oder to the Baltic, from the Black Sea to the Dnieper, and had been a society bound by common laws and traditions. The Eastern territories had been alienated, it was admitted, by the religious intolerance of Sigismund III and the despotic treatment of the peasants by the gentry, but the years of union had left an indelible mark upon the population of these lands, who possessed a tradition of liberty and civilisation which was essentially Polish.⁶⁵

While, however, most of the Polish propagandists agreed about the central importance of the question of nationality, they differed considerably over their interpretation of the history of the old Republic. Lelewel had placed great emphasis on the decay in Poland's moral values, the abandonment of her *fond moral*, in the gradual destruction of the constitution. The anarchical power of the gentry had developed as a result of a series of historical events, the extinction of the Jagellon dynasty, the disastrous reign of

⁶⁴ 'Les Terres russiennes considérées dans leurs rapports avec la Russie et la Pologne,' *Le Polonais*, xi (1834), 193-205.

⁶⁵ '... le peuple slavo-russien apprend qu'il n'est le patrimoine ni des Habsbourgs ni des Holstein-Gottorpes, on verra dans ces contrées une liberté et une civilisation dignes au plus haut point de la sympathie et de l'appui de toute l'Europe chrétienne.' 'Géographie et statistique: notice géographique, statistique et historique sur les terres russiennes,' *La Pologne Historique*, ii, 89.

Sigismund III, the Swedish wars, the growth of political factions and the final recognition of the principle of legal opposition to the crown, but behind this historical process he saw a moral corruption which had in the end sapped the strength of Polish society and fatally weakened it. Lelewel struck a careful balance between historical fact and political moralising in his interpretation of Polish history, but such an attempt was rarely made in most *émigré* propaganda. The conservative propagandists tended to see in Polish history the vindication of the principles of liberty and self-determination for which they believed they had fought in the uprising. The radicals, on the other hand, saw the treachery and self-interest of the gentry class and demanded a return to the ideal of equality derived from the ancient Slavs. For both sides in the emigration the part played by foreign intrigue and military interference in the final destruction of the Polish state was still important, but both, too, were convinced that it was within Polish society that they had to look for the causes of Poland's decadence and decline.

For conservative propagandists the legal privileges enjoyed by the gentry class within the Polish constitution represented the moral ideals of liberty and equality, which had formed the basis of Polish society, and, although these ideals had been betrayed by the decadence and corruption of that class during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the reform movement after the first Partition had begun a process of revitalisation. According to this school of thought the constitution of 3 May 1791 was to have been the harbinger of moral and social reform in Poland, the gentry willingly giving up their privileges to inaugurate a programme of social emancipation. Liberty was extended to the whole nation, the middle classes given representation in the Diet and moves made to begin the emancipation of the peasantry, but all hope for the implementation of this programme had been destroyed by the third Partition in 1795. During the Napoleonic period, the enlightened leaders of the nation had pursued a policy of educational and administrative reform and had given much help to peasantry, who were to be raised to the level of political maturity necessary for the exercise of civil rights. The aim, it was claimed, would have been realised after the 1830 uprising, when the landowners would have been won over to the idea of reform, although in reality Czartoryski's attempt to promote the idea of agrarian reforms was largely unsuccessful and the conservative side of the emigration had to be careful not to alienate gentry support.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ The most important defence of the National Government's policy towards the peasantry was made by Teodor Morawski, *Sur les intentions de la dernière révolution aux paysans* (Paris, 1832).

The radicals, however, saw the situation in a different light, For them the seeds of Poland's decay lay in the selfish class interest of the aristocracy, whom they blamed for the progressive degrading of the population and the primitive virtue of the Slavs. The gentry had debased the republican virtues of the medieval monarchy by their intrigues and self-interest, enserfing the free peasantry and weakening the power of the king. The radicals tended to see the spirit of republicanism, with its belief in liberty and complete social equality, as the fundamental principle of Polish history, and in their eyes the reform movement of the eighteenth century had been no more than an attempt to bolster up the privileged position of the gentry by extending their privileges to the more prosperous sections of the community. Czartoryski was frequently attacked, for his ancestors' involvement in the intrigues which had helped to undermine the Republic and for his own close collaboration with Alexander I, while the National Government was reviled for its attachment to the false idea of diplomatic compromise when the salvation of Poland had lain in extending the natural rights of the people to all as equal citizens in a republican state.

For the radicals the social gradualism of their opponents reflected their class interest. For the conservatives the radicals confused basic principles with political realities, misinterpreting events and forsaking national priorities for false hopes of international revolution. In the eyes of the conservatives, the great struggle was the struggle for liberty, the liberty of the individual from arbitrary government, the liberty of the nation from foreign domination and the liberty of the peasant from the feudal ties which depressed his efforts at self-improvement. They saw the re-establishment of an independent Poland as the only guarantee for these liberties and they believed Poland's salvation lay in the establishment of a national state with a constitutional monarchy which would unite the nation and continue the process of emancipation begun in 1791. For the radicals, on the other hand, the struggle was a struggle for equality, without which, they claimed, there could be no true freedom. The proclamation of equality of rights, guaranteed by a republican constitution, would mark a return to the basic principles of the Polish state and would create the necessary basis for a truly national movement in support of independence. The democrats saw the great battle as one between the ideas of absolutism and republicanism, the conservatives as one between national sovereignty and divine right, liberty and despotism. Yet, whatever their interpretation of Poland's future, most of the propagandists shared at

least some basic assumptions about the nature of Polish society.⁶⁷ This gave a certain degree of unity to the propaganda published in French, especially as the most comprehensive and influential studies of Polish history, the new edition of Malte-Brun and *La Pologne pittoresque*, both closely followed Lelewel's ideas, but as both democrats and conservatives wanted to appeal directly to the French public, their political views were often referred to simply as republican, democrat, monarchist or even *juste-millieu*. As a result the principles for which each side stood were often simplified by French commentators, who tended to emphasise those aspects of Polish propaganda which most easily fitted their own political positions, for the history popularised by the Poles allowed of most political, social or religious views.

(b) *Poland and Russia: the Slavs*

Although Poland had been partitioned between three of Poland's traditional enemies, it was Russia which aroused most hostility in the Poles. After the 1846 uprising the *émigrés* began to devote more attention to Austria, but in the early years of the emigration the Hapsburgs escaped comparatively lightly. *Emigré* propaganda made various references to the tradition of religious intolerance in Austria and was sharply critical of the so-called enlightened reforms of Joseph II, and, like Prussia, Austria was blamed for its policy of Germanisation in Poland. Galicia and Poznań, however, did seem to be in the hands of comparatively benevolent governments, but in the case of Russia the Poles spared no efforts to encourage the tradition of russophobia in France. For the Poles, Russia seemed to be at the source of all their misfortunes. It was Russia who had been most destructive in its interference in internal Polish affairs during the centuries before the Partitions, who had been the major motivating force behind the decision to partition Poland and who had prevented the re-establishment of the Kingdom in 1815.⁶⁸ After the Vienna settlement had given them control of most of Poland, the Russian authorities had disregarded the constitution, refused to

⁶⁷ Mickiewicz, for example, believed that the 1791 constitution had heralded the immediate emancipation of the peasantry while at the same time believing that the agrarian question could only be solved by a return to the communal structure of ancient Slav society. A similar ambiguity surrounded the discussion of the monarchical tradition in Poland; some writers tended to see the monarchy as an historical institution which could be strengthened by the introduction of the principles of hereditary succession and constitutional control, while others saw it simply as an early symbol of republican theory.

⁶⁸ It was always believed by the Poles that the European powers had wanted to re-establish the Polish Kingdom in 1815, but had been prevented from doing so by the opposition of the Tsar.

reunite the Eastern provinces with the Kingdom and had finally tried to use Polish forces in its invasion of Western Europe. Then having provoked the uprising, they proceeded to crush it with great brutality and their past crimes were now compounded by a deliberate policy of terror and cultural persecution.⁶⁹ There was no doubt in the minds of the Poles that Russia was their real enemy and in all their propaganda there was an undercurrent of bitterness against the Tsarist *régime*.

The Poles' obsession with Russia also had deeper causes. The propagandists were aware that they had to counter the claims of the Russian Slavophiles, whose interpretation of Slav history was diametrically opposed to their own. Rejecting all claims made by Russia to hegemony of the Slavs, they presented the social and political development of the Russian Empire as totally opposed to the traditions of the Slavs. This idea was not on the one hand entirely new, for Rulhière had made the same point in his *History of the Partitions* and the theme had been taken up by Chodźko and Podczaszyński in their propaganda, but the most striking thing about this view of Russia was its general acceptance among all the *émigré* groups. Articles and pamphlets on the historical evolution of Russia appeared continually. *Le Polonais* usually included at least one article on some aspect of Russian society and the historical basis of the Polish view of Russia was set out in detail in Mickiewicz's lectures at the Collège de France, but the movement was also helped by the appearance in 1839 of the marquis de Custine's *La Russie en 1839*. The conversion of this conservative aristocrat from his russophile views gave added strength to Polish claims and helped to popularise many of the ideas expounded in Polish propaganda.⁷⁰

For the Poles Russia was an alien, non-European, barbaric and tyrannical society. The surface culture of her educated class obscured a morass of ignorance and cruelty, which depraved her people and reduced them to the condition of slavery; '*le paysan russe est fourbe, sauvage, corrompu, superstitieux, ivrogne*.'⁷¹ Her historical development offered a striking contrast to that of Poland. Whereas Poland had retained the primitive principles of Slav society

⁶⁹ Details of Russian atrocities in Poland, religious persecution and harassment of Polish cultural and educational institutions were given in each edition of *Le Polonais*. Every year a documented account of the previous twelve months of Russian persecution was submitted to the Chamber of Deputies in the address made by the *Literary Society*. See above, p. 203.

⁷⁰ For a detailed examination of Custine's contribution to the French view of Russia see M. Cadot, *La Russie dans la vie intellectuelle française 1839-1856* (Paris, 1967).

⁷¹ I.M. 'Moeurs russes: les paysans,' *Le Polonais*, v (1833), 273.

in her political institutions, Russia's national characteristics were derived from a combination of the Norman spirit of conquest, introduced by Rurik, the first prince of Moscow, and the oriental tradition of despotism, which came from Constantinople with the introduction of Orthodox Christianity. The growth of Poland's territorial power had been based on the voluntary union of free peoples, that of Russia on force and conquest:

l'état de fédération de la Pologne se consolidait au milieu des luttes défensives tandis que la souveraineté russe fut le résultat de l'agression et de brigandage.⁷²

Moscow's power lay in the success of her princes in their efforts to expel the Tartars, but their power, already founded on the principle of despotism, was heightened by the trappings of the Khan's authority:

le seul rapport qui existait entre l'ancienne et la nouvelle Russie, c'est l'absolutisme illimité des princes et le despotisme qui brisait tout trace de nationalité . . . le Czarat de Moscovie ne fut point le développement organique de la nation, mais un échafaudage du trône des autocrates.⁷³

Whereas in Poland the throne depended on the nation, in Russia '*tout dépendait du trône.*'

This attack on national traditions continued under the Romanovs and their 'German' successors. Peter the Great was responsible for trying to destroy the last vestiges of the national character, '*la langue, les usages, les rites, tout s'improvisait comme par enchantement.*'⁷⁴ Peter's attempt to Europeanise Russia destroyed national institutions whereas in Poland the leaders of the reform movement ensured that their changes '*étaient conformes à la nature organique du pays.*'⁷⁵ Deprived of her natural traditions, Russia was no more than a monstrous amalgam of defeated provinces, '*qui ne forme ni un Etat, ni une nation:*' there was no common law, language, customs or even religion. The Orthodox Church helped to cover this despotism with the semblance of legality, but it could not unite the nation, being merely a department of State, an institutional body devoid of spiritual feeling and under the complete control of the government. There was no rule of law, only a number of mutually conflicting ordinances which had created a system which was unstable, unjust and arbitrary. This society formed the complete

⁷² 'La Pologne attaquée par les écrivains russes,' *Le Polonais*, xv (1834), 131.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁷⁵ 'Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit de la Russie,' *Le Polonais*, x (1834), 151.

antithesis to that of Poland. Two social systems, two religions, two alphabets and two political traditions symbolised two completely opposed ideas, on the one side the ancient traditions of the Slavs and on the other oriental despotism. The Poles still hoped that their Russian brothers might be led back to the path of liberty and the manifesto issued by Lelewel's committee to the Russian people called upon them to return to their ancient liberties, but *'il faudrait pour les convertir utilement, c'est-à-dire pour les convaincre, des siècles, des révolutions, et peut-être des catastrophes universelles.'*

Most Polish writers, however, made a distinction between the Russian government and the Russian people. Russian society had been degraded and brutalised, but like all other nations, its people had a right to independence and self-determination. Despite their political system and the centuries of tyranny, the Russians, so many Poles believed, had managed to retain some trace of their national tradition. In the past this tradition had been represented by the bold stand of the unfortunate Tsarevitch Alexis and the patriotic plot of the Decembrists, but their failure had served only to emphasise the threat which Russia posed to Europe. Her unifying force, her spirit of conquest, had been passed down from Peter and Catherine to Nicolas I, who was depicted as a man gripped by *'un tempérament sauvage retenu par la crainte, désir de la vengeance que ne maîtrisait aucun noble sentiment, médiocrité dans la conception et la pensée.'*⁷⁶ In comparison to Nicholas I, his brother Alexander fared comparatively well, but sooner or later it was claimed:

l'Europe et l'Asie doivent succomber et l'empire universal rêvé par tant de conquérans, par tant de grands rois, sera réalisé par le chef des barbares du nord.⁷⁷

According to the Poles, Moscow's sights were set on Greece, Constantinople, the Balkans, India, even China. Now the destruction of the Polish state had brought her closer to Europe and her conquests had been legalised by the Vienna settlement, Russia would advance further territorial claims. Her next objective was Turkey and it was there that the fate of Western civilisation would be decided:

cette question devient chaque jour plus pressante, car il s'agit de savoir si l'Europe sera libre d'accomplir sa transformation

⁷⁶ 'L'Empereur Nicholas ou le grand homme de la Russie,' *Le Polonais*, x (1834), 151.

⁷⁷ 'La Marche conquérante de la Russie,' *Le Polonais*, ix (1834), 97.

et elle ne peut l'accomplir qu'en excluant la Russie de toute espèce de patronage sur la Turquie expirante.⁷⁸

For the Poles Russia's threat to European civilisation was synonymous with her threat to the independence of the other Slav nations, for the most insidious of all Russian claims was to hegemony over the Slav peoples. The Russians claimed this right on the grounds of common racial origin, but for the Poles the essential element in being Slav was an ethical idea and the Russian dynasty, itself foreign and therefore non-Slav, had always attempted to corrupt it. Even the Russian language was a debased form of the Slav dialect and its literature lifeless and artificial. The Poles did give credit to the new generation of Russian writers, especially Pushkin, but they were greatly shocked by his ardent attachment to the Tsarist dynasty and they denied that any real cultural progress could emerge from such a social system. Russia could claim no cultural equality with the other Slav nations, for she had abandoned their basic moral values, love of liberty, a passionate feeling for justice, equality, piety and patriotism. The only true Slav union for the Poles would be founded on these values, unity being an expression of each nation's right to liberty, self-determination and independence and not the forced subjection of the Slav peoples to the tyranny of Russian despotism. Such a union could only be realised under Poland's leadership, for alone of the Slav peoples the Poles had retained the symbolic representation of the ancient values in their institutions, and, under the example, the Slavs could form a federation of equal states, each sharing common institutions and common principles of government.⁷⁹ Polish independence, therefore, was the only real guarantee for the freedom of all Slav peoples, for, without the influence of an independent Polish state to counterbalance the regressive policies of the Tsar, there could be no security in Central Europe. In its most extreme form, this idea reached a pitch of transcendentalism in Mickiewicz's lectures, but it also helped to revive European interest in the Slavs and to counterbalance the cruder claims of the Russian Slavophiles.

(c) *Poland and Europe*

For the *émigré* propagandists, the Polish question was not solely a political, diplomatic or moral question, it was all three. It raised issues of political practice, diplomatic propriety and general moral principle and until it had been satisfactorily resolved, there could

⁷⁸ 'L'Empereur . . .' p. 109.

⁷⁹ This idea was developed in several pamphlets and most notably by A. Ostrowski, *Sur le Panславisme moscovite* (Paris, 1842).

be no peace or stability in Europe. Poland, it was emphasised, had always played a vital role in European affairs, for it was Poland which had protected Europe from the invasions of the barbarians and pushed forward the frontiers of Christianity and civilisation. Her territorial expansion in the medieval period had created a strong barrier against the encroachments of the Tartars and had established the frontier between Western Christendom and the barbaric wastes of the Urals. It was Poland who had defeated the Teutonic Knights and nurtured the infant Prussian state, and it was Poland, too, who had saved Europe from the Turks in 1683.⁸⁰ Then in the eighteenth century the Republic had become the barrier between Europe and the encroachments of an acquisitive Russia and her increasing weakness and final partition had allowed the Tsars to extend their ambitions towards Constantinople. Russia now had a common frontier with Austria and Prussia, she was able to interfere in the Near East, oppose the natural interests of her neighbours and even consider an invasion of France.⁸¹

As a result of these constant efforts, the Poles had developed their unique ideal of sacrifice. Their struggle against Russia was made on behalf of all the nations of Europe and whereas in the Middle Ages Poland had protected Europe from the destructive power of the Tartars, now she defended the idea of freedom and progress from their spiritual successors:

Les Polonais ont prouvé de reste qu'ils étaient dignes d'être chargés de défendre les libertés de l'Europe sur les confins de la civilisation. . . . Voilà pourquoi nous travaillerons à la faire entrer comme partie intégrante et nécessaire dans un grand système fédéral européen, dont le double but sera d'assurer, au dehors, l'indépendance de chaque nation conférée, au dedans, la liberté sans laquelle il n'est pas de bonheur et l'ordre sans laquelle il n'est pas de liberté.⁸²

Inevitably, however, the different parties in the emigration had different views about the nature and significance of Poland's mission to the nations of Europe. The conservative propagandists tended to stress the importance of a restored Polish state for the balance of power in Europe, an idea already well established in French writing on Poland.⁸³ According to this theory, the Partitions had

⁸⁰ A detailed account of the siege, including maps and diagrams appeared in *La Pologne historique*, i, 437-440.

⁸¹ The spectre of a Russian invasion had been a favourite theme in the propaganda published by Lafayette's committee and appeared regularly in such pamphlets as X. Bronikowski, *Griefs nouveaux des cabinets européens contre le cabinet russe* (Paris, 1832).

⁸² *Le Polonais*, i (1833), 4.

²³ See above, pp. 97 ff.

upset the system of political stability created by the Treaty of Utrecht and had opened the way for the disruptions of the revolutionary period. The need to restore confidence in the force of international law and to protect the interests of the European powers demanded the restoration of the Polish state. Austria and Prussia needed a buffer state between Russia and themselves while England and France needed Poland as a counterweight to Russia's influence in Europe and the Near East.⁸⁴ The interests of the constitutional monarchies, it was claimed, were synonymous with the defence of liberty in Europe and it was hoped that the two powers would defend this principle wherever and whenever it was attacked, in Poland or elsewhere. For many conservative writers, however, the issue of Polish independence was not merely a question of diplomatic right, but a symbol of the conflict between the two opposing systems of freedom and despotism, which reflected in microcosm the ideological battle which was engaged in Europe as a whole.

For the radicals, on the other hand, the Polish revolutionary movement formed part of a European movement for emancipation and liberty, first initiated by France in 1789 and once again proclaimed by her in 1830. For this party, the struggle was for the establishment of a just, equal and free society throughout Europe, a struggle in which Poland had a full part to play. In the early years of the emigration hopes centred on an international revolution, but, with the failure of the plots in France, Germany and Italy, there was a growing emphasis on an internal programme of reform. It was always emphasised, however, that Poland's triumph would be triumph of all nations against the tyranny of the Vienna treaties. An independent Poland would remove the overbearing influence of Russia from Europe and encourage the other peoples of Europe to take up the challenge. Some commentators saw the future in terms of a European federation of equal states, others felt such an ideal to be a mere chimera, but all hoped that the Polish struggle would bring about a radical change in the political system. The radicals rejected the idea of diplomatic compromise, the conservatives the desirability of social revolution, but both agreed that the battle for independence was a struggle of great moral and political significance for the whole of Europe, for without Poland no nation could be safe from the tyranny of the absolutist powers.

⁸⁴ Until the 1846 uprising Austria remained the most respected of Poland's enemies and hopes were often entertained that she might support the restoration of a Polish state in central Europe, perhaps under a Habsburg prince.

(d) *National messianism: Mickiewicz at the Collège de France*

Although by the late 1830s some of the momentum had already gone out of the Polish propaganda movement, the new decade brought an important, new opportunity for the Poles. In 1830, Léon Faucher, editor of *Le Courrier Français*, polonophile and friend of Czartoryski, approached Victor Cousin, the Minister of Education, with a plan for the establishment of a chair of Slavonic Literature at the Collège de France.⁸⁵ His project, supported by Czartoryski, was favourably received by Cousin and on Faucher's recommendation Mickiewicz was approached with the offer of the post.⁸⁶ It was made clear that the government did not want the lectures to be in any way political,⁸⁷ but for Faucher, on the other hand, the appointment of Mickiewicz offered a great opportunity for the Poles:

Il s'agit de naturaliser la Pologne en France. C'est la mission qui vous est confiée. La chaire à laquelle on vous appelle, a un caractère politique. On veut créer un centre au moins littéraire à la nationalité polonaise dans l'exile. Un but aussi grand veut bien que vous vous prêtiez à associer dans votre personne le nom de la France à celui de la Pologne.⁸⁸

The French government was anxious not to annoy the Russian authorities by offering the Poles a platform for their propaganda, but the appointment of Mickiewicz as the first professor inevitably meant that it was the Polish view of the history and culture of the Slavs which was presented in the course.

Mickiewicz's lectures, *Les Slaves*, were given at the Collège de France between December 1840 and May 1844. Their aim was to explain and assess the significance of the cultural achievements of the Slavs and indicate their role in the future regeneration of Europe, but the lectures emerged as a medley of historical, philosophical and mystical ideas, which became increasingly opaque as Mickiewicz's belief in mystical revelation finally overcame his commitment to rational argument. His ideas were taken from several sources. He made a thorough study of the literature of all the Slav nations and tried to place their cultural achievements to

⁸⁵ The negotiations surrounding the establishment of the chair are discussed in Straszewska, pp. 362-368.

⁸⁶ Victor Cousin to Adam Mickiewicz, 10 April 1840, *Korespondencja Adama Mickiewicza* (Paris, 1872), ii, 165. At this time, Mickiewicz had ceased to write poetry and was professor of Latin Literature at the University of Lausanne.

⁸⁷ 'C'est une oeuvre de littérature que je me propose et rien de plus', Victor Cousin to Adam Mickiewicz, 10 April 1840, *Korespondencja . . .*, p. 166.

⁸⁸ Léon Faucher to Adam Mickiewicz, 11 April 1840, *Korespondencja . . .*, ii, 167.

their historical context. From Lelewel he took not only his view of primitive Slav society, his interpretation of the rise and fall of the Polish Republic and the development of Russian despotism, but the idea of progress in human society and the importance of the ideals of liberty and equality in the moral nature of the Slavs.⁸⁹ At the same time he was deeply influenced by the tradition of semi-Christian mystical thought, which had been popularised in the late eighteenth century by writers like St. Martin, the *Philosophe Inconnu*, and which had flourished in the Polish universities after 1815.⁹⁰ This tradition, which emphasised the power of individual spiritual revelation and man's eventual reintegration with God, embodied in its most extreme form a belief in the power of love in the world, a cosmic homogeneity resolved through members and the coming of the millennium, the Spirit of the World. Mickiewicz belonged to a vulgar tradition which had abandoned subjectivism and tried to explain and interpret events in the material world. In common with several other leading *émigrés*, including the poet Słowacki, he had fallen under the influence of a mystic sage, Towiański, whose transcendental insights seemed to offer hope for the regeneration of Poland. The idea of creative action, which for Towiański was derived from the intensity of man's feeling for the Creator, led Mickiewicz to the concept of a continuous human struggle for self-fulfilment with its symbolic manifestation in the man of destiny. In the later lectures, this millenarianism became confused with historical facts in a system which Mickiewicz called *L'Eglise de l'avenir*.

Like Lamennais and De Maistre, however, Mickiewicz linked the idea of the spiritual fulfilment of man's nature with a theory of society. He saw society not as a contractual system, but as an organic growth in the course of which many generations of men came to learn what they needed to know through tradition. For Lamennais this tradition rested in the people, the repository of a primitive idea revealed by God and embodied in national traditions, which he equated with the ideal of liberty, given by Christ and revived by the French Revolution. By contrast Mickiewicz linked the idea of Christian liberty with the ethical values of the Slavs, but he too saw the cataclysm of the Revolution as part of a pro-

⁸⁹ Like many of his contemporaries Mickiewicz had come under the influence of Lelewel while a student at the University of Wilno, and both before and after the November uprising he was in contact with the historian, though by the mid-1840s it was as the secretary of the Historical Section of the *Literary Society* that he mostly corresponded with him.

⁹⁰ See A. Viatte, *Les Sources occultes du romantisme, illuminisme, théosophie 1770-1820* (Paris, 1928).

vidential system which revealed the spiritual word of God.⁹¹ In his last lectures he foretold the appearance of a Messiah, who would lead the peoples of Europe to their true salvation, fulfilling the tradition of liberty and progress, which by its divine origin could alone bring peace to the world.

Mickiewicz's view of the Slavs was thus historical, moral and religious, and, although the mysticism of his later lectures led him into what Lamennais himself termed aberrations, he did not intend that it should deny the historical basis of his ideas but rather complete it. Following Lelewel he saw in the ancient society of the Slavs certain moral principles which formed the basis of the Slav character. These principles, liberty, equality, absence of private property, hierarchy and superstition, had disappeared as the society of the Slavs had been transformed, but it had left its monument, *leur tradition*, the ethical ideas upon which it had been founded. The introduction of Christianity had brought new vitality and the idea of progress to these concepts, but it also brought the ideas of goodness, sacrifice and the single religious community. In the middle of a still barbarous Central Europe there arose a gentry state, whose privileges represented the essential traditions of the Slavs and the Christian values of the faith, the Polish synod becoming '*une représentation de la Pologne morale, qui n'existait pas comme un gouvernement, mais dont le monde sentait l'existence comme d'une personne morale.*'⁹² For Mickiewicz, it was the abandonment of these ancient ideals which brought about Poland's decadence and decline. Foreign ideas and practices, encouraging the personal ambitions and civic irresponsibility of the gentry, gradually destroyed '*les liens mystérieux,*' which bound together Polish society. Foreign powers were able to interfere in the affairs of the Republic, false religious ideas were introduced undermining the unity of the faith, and Poland began to lose '*l'esprit,*' that element which governs all societies.⁹³

Any reform of Poland, according to Mickiewicz, had to be based on a return to the fundamental values of the Slavs. The failure of the eighteenth century reform movement could be traced to the enthusiasm of its leaders for foreign models, which had led them to abandon the principle of elective monarchy in favour of the alien concept of hereditary succession. Mickiewicz placed great

⁹¹ For the links between Lamennais and Mickiewicz see M. Kridl, 'Two Champions of a New Christianity: Lamennais and Mickiewicz,' *Comparative Literature*, iv (1952), 239-267.

⁹² *Les Slaves*, i, 364.

⁹³ Mickiewicz quoted Rulhière to the effect that 'ce ne sont pas les lois qui gouvernent ce pays, c'est l'esprit.' *Les Slaves*, iii, 36.

hopes in a return to the communalism of ancient Slav society, rejecting both the legal justifications for the enserfment of the peasantry in medieval Poland and the new theories of economic progress which had created a landless peasantry in Prussia. For the Slavs the great question was *'le rétablissement de la commune où elle a été détruite, et le développement des communes qui existait encore.'*⁹⁴ The peasant, with his patriotism, his faith in religion and his attachment to the soil, had most completely retained the moral virtues of the Slav peoples and social reform, like constitutional reform, was in reality a moral issue for only national traditions, embodied in modern institutions, could secure national cohesion and regeneration.

Like many of his contemporaries, Mickiewicz equated the moral society of the Slavs with Polish national traditions. In Bohemia the ethical values of the Slavs had been corrupted by feudalisation and Germanisation, which had encouraged anti-national ideas and religious heresies. In Serbia they had been submerged by centuries of Turkish domination, in Russia by the oriental despotism of the Tsars, but in Montenegro, like Poland, they had been preserved, *'ce pays offre l'image du règne absolu de la liberté, de la liberté et l'égalité.'*⁹⁵ Like Lelewel, Mickiewicz saw social realities reflected in literature and culture and he compared the lifeless, foreign conventions of Russian and Bohemian literature unfavourably with the originality of Polish and the vitality of the oral tradition in Serbia.⁹⁶ As the course proceeded, however, the ethical traditions of the Slavs were given broader significance. Politically they were the antithesis of the materialist and selfish philosophy which had dominated European relations in the eighteenth century. Mystically they heralded the revelation of a new morality, reflecting in their purity the divine plan for mankind. In this pseudo-religious context, the idea of nationality became both the concept of an ethical society and a means for the realisation of the spiritual purpose of man.

In common with many of his compatriots, Mickiewicz equated the fundamental principles which underlay Polish society with the ideals of the European revolutionary movement. France was given a special *rôle* in the Providential scheme. Paris, he informed his audience at the beginning of the course was:

la capitale de la parole . . . par l'intermédiaire de cette grande

⁹⁴ Ibid., iv, 396.

⁹⁵ Ibid., i, 264.

⁹⁶ The history and culture of the Serbs and Montenegrans was discussed in great detail by Mickiewicz's successor at the Collège de France, Cyprien Robert.

cité, les peuples de l'Europe parviennent à se connaître les uns et les autres, quelques fois à se connaître eux-mêmes.⁹⁷

France's position as '*filie aînée de l'Eglise, comme dépositaire de toutes les inspirations de la science et de l'art,*' had created a tradition of almost spiritual faith and morality, which, revived by the French Revolution, had attacked the materialism of European politics. Like Poland, whose Confederation of Bar had been the precursor of the French Revolution, France had applied the principle of Christian morality to her political and social life and the two nations had been united in their attachment to the principles of liberty and equality. In the Christian community France represented the idea of '*l'action*'. The Slavs, represented by Poland, had the idea, but not the force; France had the force, but had come to neglect the idea. In the Slavs France could find '*l'appui, l'encouragement et l'instrument,*' for:

il faut que la France sache que ce feu qui s'agite dans le coeur français, on en trouve des étincelles sur le Vistule et même sur le Don et même sur les nuages de la Moskova.⁹⁸

For Mickiewicz both the Slav ideals of freedom and equality and the French Revolution were part of a providential scheme for the regeneration of Europe. History was to be interpreted in a dynamic way for '*il est impossible de supposer un éternel status quo moral, littéraire et politique*'.⁹⁹ History was the movement of man towards his final goal and Christianity, the revelation of that goal, was expressed most completely in the Slav idea of '*duch*' or '*la personnalité développée et portée d'un degré plus haut . . . l'homme tout entier . . . le chair et l'esprit fondus ensemble par le feu divin qui réside dans l'homme*'.¹⁰⁰ Christianity had been betrayed by the institutional Church, but the true Church '*L'Eglise de l'avenir*' would help man to reach God. His aid in this task was Tradition, described by Mickiewicz as '*une vérité mise en circulation*',¹⁰¹ and expressed through the medium of the nation:

l'institution politique n'est autre chose que l'ensemble de secours données à l'homme pour lui faciliter l'application de la vérité, pour qu'il puisse faire dominer sur la terre cette vérité qu'il avait acquis dans le temple.¹⁰²

The nation was God's way of helping man for '*l'homme sans une nationalité est un homme incomplet: c'est un homme capable de*

⁹⁷ *Les Slaves*, i, 3.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, v, 229.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, iii, 307.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, iv, 448.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, iv, 252.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, iv, 462.

savoir, mais incapable d'agir'.¹⁰³ The nation was not only a natural phenomenon, it had a mission to fulfil in the divine plan of existence and of all the nations, God had chosen the Slavs, or more especially the Poles, to reveal to mankind the true ethical society for they alone had preserved:

un instinct religieux pur et profond . . . le sentiment de force et de vie, elle appliquait l'esprit chrétienne et la force catholique à la condition politique.¹⁰⁴

This mission to mankind was what Mickiewicz called messianism. Its values were sacrifice, true humanitarianism, resurrection, its instrument a Chosen People and its mission to save the other nations of Europe:

l'idée du messianisme, germée au sein des peuples slaves, sortie de l'intérieur moral de la nation polonaise franchit aujourd'hui ces premières limites, devient le besoin religieux et politique de la France et perçant le chaos de la philosophie allemande, devient l'idée européenne.¹⁰⁵

Messianism was not a system, but a word, but for its realisation it relied both on spiritual insight and creative force. This idea of force provided the link between messianism and the revolutionary movement in Europe. France and Poland had become the joint custodians of the word, but in his last lectures Mickiewicz also introduced the idea of a man of destiny, '*l'homme nation*', who could infuse the nation with the strength to continue the struggle. In the life of nations there appeared individuals who at decisive moments came to reveal the word of God, figures like Joan of Arc or Napoleon. It was Bonaparte who, like Christ, had embodied '*tout le passé du christianisme en le réalisant en son personne*',¹⁰⁶ but he had abandoned his mission to realise his own selfish ambitions. Nevertheless his career had heralded the dawn of a new era. He was:

le précurseur d'une fraternité future des peuples qu'il a lié dans une commune sympathie, d'une union morale dans une même idée, et cette union sera le commencement d'une évolution religieuse et politique. Napoléon commence une évolution du Christianisme.¹⁰⁷

His name, therefore, could still act as an inspiration to the peoples of France and Poland in their quest for the Kingdom of God on

¹⁰³ Ibid., iv, 462.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., iv, 365.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., i, iii.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., v, 107.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., iii, 260.

earth for he had embodied in himself all the ideals of 'L'Eglise de l'avenir'.

By this time the government felt impelled to intervene. Not only had Mickiewicz ignored the warning given by Cousin against using the lectures as a forum for Polish propaganda, but he had publicly given almost religious sanction to the dangerous Napoleonic cult. The lectures were suspended and the course was taken over by Cyprien Robert, whose political message was delivered more discreetly, but the lectures had been a great success with the students of the capital: '*Vous avez dans votre auditoire des jeunes gens qui vous appartiennent à la vie, à la mort*', Michelet wrote to Mickiewicz in 1843.¹⁰⁸ Despite his later messianistic obsessions, Mickiewicz had given a very detailed exposition of the Polish idea of the Slavs and their place in their future. Like the other *émigré* propagandists, he had stressed the idea that Polish nationality was a cultural, historical and ethical concept and had equated those particular traditions upon which this nationality had been founded with the primitive social ideals of the Slavs, but he had interpreted all these ideas in the wider context of a mystical Providence. His pseudo-religious ideas were often in conflict with his rational interpretation of history, but his idea of an organic, moral basis of society and the mission of each nation in history provided a link between Polish intellectual traditions and the wider currents of European thought.

(e) *Poland and France*

The idea of a unique relationship between Poland and France had been popular since the time of the Napoleonic wars and for the Polish publicists it was one of their most powerful weapons in the struggle to interest the French public in the future of their country. The tradition of myth and nostalgia associated with the wars in France had played an important role in the July Revolution and Chodźko and the leaders of the Polish committee had constantly emphasised Poland's part in that tradition as a means of increasing popular enthusiasm for the Polish cause.¹⁰⁹ Although some of the *émigré* publicists supported the revolutionary programme of the French republicans and others praised the democratic compromise epitomised by the Citizen King, all agreed on a number of basic ideas. They all emphasised the long established links between Poland and France which stretched back to the

¹⁰⁸ Michelet to Mickiewicz, 17 Jan. 1843: *Korespondencja Adama Mickiewicza* (Paris, 1872), ii, 206.

¹⁰⁹ See above, pp. 127 ff.

Middle Ages and had reached their fullest expression during the Napoleonic wars. Their propaganda reminded the public of the loyalty of Prince Joseph Poniatowski after the battle of Leipzig and of the devotion of the Polish troops who had stayed with the defeated French army after Waterloo; it reminded them, too, that Poland's struggle was a battle against France's own enemies and that Kościuszko had fought as a patriot and democrat for France as well as Poland. The 1791 constitution was often likened to 1789 and the war of independence to the French struggle for self-determination in 1793. Poland, it was always stressed, was France's oldest and greatest ally. The unswerving loyalty of the Polish troops on the battlefields of the Revolution had been proved over and over again and during the uprising the Poles had once again acted to save France from an imminent invasion. Like France, too, the Poles had always remained true to the ideals of liberty and self-determination:

leur intrépidité, leur discipline eussent été un glorieux exemple, un puissant stimulant au milieu de troupes moins braves que celles dont se composaient les armées françaises.¹¹⁰

The Poles closely identified their cause with that of the French Revolution, although their interpretations of the Revolution, in common with those of most French writers, differed widely. Their attitude towards Napoleon, however, was more ambiguous. For Chodźko Napoleon was *'l'homme unique pour hâter et accomplir le rétablissement de Pologne'* and among the Polish people there had been *'une foi mystérieuse, un espoir indéfinissable, une conviction inconnue, mais sympathique, que sert de précurseur aux grands événements'*.¹¹¹ Bonaparte was the leader of the French people and as such the custodian of their mission to the nations of Europe, but although the Poles had trusted him, they had been deceived. Despite many opportunities, he had failed to re-establish the Polish Kingdom, succumbing to the influence of foreign intrigues and his own false ambitions.¹¹² This ambiguous attitude, which often, as in the case of Mickiewicz, combined adulation for the man with bitter regret at his political decisions, did not change the conclusions which were to be drawn from that period of Polish

¹¹⁰ 'Napoléon et la Pologne en 1812 et 1815 par un officier supérieur de la grande armée,' *La Pologne historique*, i, 455.

¹¹¹ L. Chodźko, 'Napoléon et la question polonaise,' *ibid.*, ii, 185.

¹¹² In 1826 Ogiński described Kościuszko's attitude to Napoleon as follows: 'il rendait justice aux talents militaires de Napoléon, mais il voyait en lui un conquérant dévoré d'ambition, et un despote: ce qui répugnait à ses principes, et excluait tout sentiment de confiance.' M. Ogiński, *Mémoires sur la Pologne et les Polonais depuis 1788 jusqu'à la fin de 1815* (Paris, 1826-7), ii, 337.

history. Re-emphasising a common theme, the publicists stressed that the establishment of a strong, free, independent Poland was essential for the security of France, for the indifference of Louis XV to the Partitions had allowed Russia to intervene in the affairs of Western Europe and to threaten French interests. The different parties in the emigration naturally developed this idea in different ways, the radicals linking Poland's role to the revolutionary hopes of the French republicans whereas the conservatives stressed the threat posed to the balance of power in Europe by an over-mighty Russia, but both sides of the community agreed that the idea of the special relationship between the two nations was the cornerstone of all their propaganda.

The strength of the Polish propaganda movement, therefore, lay not only in the skill of its leaders in exploiting all the available means of influencing public opinion in France, but in their emphasis on a few central ideas. Despite the diversity of their political opinions and the piecemeal nature of much of the propaganda published by the Poles, there was a constant emphasis on the indestructible nature of Polish nationality, the right of the Poles to self-determination and their attachment to the ideals of liberty and social justice. These ideas were justified by constant reference to history, but they were also popularised by a more emotional appeal to public sympathy and nostalgia. The *idée fixe* of Polish propaganda had already been established by Chodźko and his associates before the November uprising, and, although after 1831 the propaganda movement was both broader and more divided than before, the basic themes in Polish writing remained unchanged. The Poles wanted to bring French opinion to a greater awareness of the nation's plight by stressing those ideas which they believed were most popular in France, and, although they certainly hoped to encourage a deeper appreciation of the cultural and historical achievement of Polish nationality, they knew that they had to tailor their propaganda to fit the prejudices and ideals of their audience. The aim of the propaganda movement was not merely to inform and convince for its own sake, but to arouse French indignation and harness it for the good of the cause, and, both before and after the uprising, the aim was to prepare public opinion for a time when French help could once again be important in creating an independent Poland.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE FRENCH REACTION TO THE
CRACOW UPRISING OF 1846

By the mid-1840s the Polish question had long ceased to be a topical issue in France. The great question of electoral reform had already begun to dominate opposition rhetoric, while in the sphere of foreign affairs concern over the situation in the Near East had been superseded by the burning issue of France's rights in Tahiti and the indemnity to Pritchard. There seemed little evidence that the Polish propaganda movement had been particularly successful. Nearly all the pamphlets and books on Poland which had been published since the uprising had been written by members of the *émigré* community, and, although Polish propaganda had been greatly helped by the appearance of the memoirs of the marquis de Custine and a steady flow of russophobic literature, few writers devoted specific attention to Poland itself. The significance of the Polish uprising for the security of the July Revolution was often mentioned in the histories of the insurrection, but only Raspail's *De la Pologne sur les bords de la Vistule et dans l'émigration*, published in 1839, offered any serious analysis of Polish society. As a radical, Raspail took many of his ideas from the propaganda of the democratic wing of the emigration and in the appendices to the book he published the texts of several of the manifestos of the *Polish Democratic Society*. He was careful to stress the importance of the democratic and republican traditions in Polish history, traditions which he equated with those of revolutionary France, and in the later chapters he became quite hostile to the aristocratic party in the emigration: '*Quand un peuple s'insurge, il doit mettre sa diplomatie au bout d'une baïonnette et aller en avant prendre d'assaut les tapis verts*'.¹ Raspail's understanding of some of the issues in the internal debates within the Polish community, however, was unusual and by 1846 the only issue which aroused popular interest in Poland was the news of religious persecution, an issue kept alive by the efforts of *L'Univers Religieux* and anonymous works like *Persécutions et souffrances de l'Eglise catholique en Russie* (1842) and *Vicissitudes de l'Eglise catholique des deux rites en Pologne en Russie* (1843).

Despite this decline in public interest, however, the leaders of

¹ F. V. Raspail, *De la Pologne sur les bords de la Vistule et dans l'émigration* (Paris, 1839), p. 74.

the *émigré* political factions did not lose their faith in the ultimate regeneration of Poland. In the conservative camp continual efforts were made to cultivate diplomatic contacts and to use Czartoryski's influence to represent Poland's interests to the European powers, but while the strategy of the conservative wing rested on hopes of a change in the balance of power in Europe, that of the democratic party rested on a new, national insurrection. Despite the development of a more self-reliant phase in *émigré* political thinking, Polish hopes in French support were still important. For the conservatives France, with Great Britain, would be the chief representatives of their interests in any diplomatic rearrangements negotiated with the other powers; for the democrats French intervention might still be possible in the event of a successful insurrection, but both groups, too, saw France as a base from which to direct their operations. Despite police efforts to remove the more obvious political agitators from the country, the *Democratic Society* had continued a conscious campaign to spread its propaganda, to decide its political programme and to liaise with the secret organisations within Poland with the aim of preparing the ground for the new insurrection. At first, efforts were made to construct a network of conspiracies in all three parts of Poland, but apathy and government surveillance in Galicia and Tsarist repression in Russian Poland led the Society to devote most of its attention after 1840 to the organisation of a network in the more liberal atmosphere of the Grand Duchy of Poznań. Various emissaries were sent out throughout the late 1830s and early 1840s, the most important of whom, Victor Heltman, remained a central figure in the conspiratorial network throughout the period, but efforts were also made to circulate the society's propaganda and bring the whole network under the control of the executive in Versailles. Representatives like T. Wiśniowski, W. Breański and J. Alcyato made several visits to Poland, reporting and liaising, funds were collected and plans were drawn up for a new constitution. In spite of continual disagreements and tensions within the different areas of the country, by the mid-1840s efforts were being devoted to the task of organising a new uprising and during 1845 Ludwik Mierosławski, the writer, propagandist and military tactician, arrived in Poznań to direct the arrangements as officially appointed 'dictator'. There were some arrests in Poznań during November 1845, but despite this setback plans were drawn up for an insurrection in February 1846. In January Mierosławski was again in Poland, this time in Galicia, liaising with the other groups, but his efforts were once again forestalled by a series of arrests in Prussian Poland. In Galicia, however, the conspirators

decided to go ahead, urged on by a kind of romantic optimism which took little account of realities, and on 20 February, despite the presence of Austrian troops in the city, an insurrection began in Cracow.²

The summation of over ten years planning, the Cracow insurrection was both ill-timed and ill-executed. On 22 February in the midst of general confusion brought about by contradictory orders and the apparent retreat of the Austrian troops from the city, the new National Government proclaimed the establishment of an independent Poland, full civil equality, the abolition of labour services and the establishment of a republic. Tyssowski, one of the members of the government, was appointed dictator, the death penalty was instituted for treason and a National Guard established. These Jacobin pretensions, however, were short lived. A large section of the landowners on whose support the conspirators hoped to rely were alienated by the extreme programme of agrarian reform, the peasantry, for long hostile to the local gentry, did not rally to the support of the insurrection, and the Austrians moved troops into the area, forcing the insurgents to evacuate the city and take refuge in the mountains. In central Galicia a violent peasant revolt followed, fanned by the Austrian officials and ultimately crushed by the Imperial government. In less than a month the uprising had been completely defeated and a few months later Cracow was formally annexed by Austria. There had been only minor incidents in Poznań and Russian Poland had remained quiet throughout the insurrection.

The confused aims and incompetent execution of the uprising made it an easy target for the Austrian government, but in France there was an immediate and spontaneous reaction to the news of a new rebellion in Poland. As news of the uprising began to filter through from Germany during March, the French newspapers devoted more and more space to developments in Galicia until, as the situation began to become clearer, the radical papers launched a public campaign in support of the Poles. Public subscriptions were again opened, petitions and articles appeared demanding French aid for the insurgents, a number of Polish committees were established in the provinces, interpellations made in the French Parliament and demonstrations took place in the streets. Although popular enthusiasm soon turned to despair, the movement suddenly revealed the depth of feeling for the Polish cause in France.

² For the background to the insurrection see Kalemka, S. *Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie w latach 1832-1846* (Toruń, 1966), pp. 130-256. For an account of events in Galicia see M. Żychowski, *Rok 1846 w Rzeczypospolitej Krakowskiej i Galicji* (Warsaw, 1956).

Pamphlets, articles and *chansons* proclaimed France's support for her sister nation, money poured in to a national collection and efforts were made to organise a new Polish campaign. The way in which the radical papers took up the Polish cause was not dictated by sentiment alone, for the editors saw in this emotive issue a rallying point for opposition to the government, but, although their motives may not have been straightforward, the speed with which their appeal was answered, revealed the latent sympathy which existed for the Poles in France.

1. *The press reaction*

Although, therefore, it might have been expected that the *émigré* community would take the lead in organising support for the new rising, it was the newspapers which lead the campaign. Since 1831 there had been both an increase in the number and circulation of the French papers. The idea of reducing the cost of subscriptions, pioneered by *Le Siècle* and *La Presse*, and the introduction of the serial had helped to extend the influence of the Parisian newspapers and between 1836 and 1845 the subscriptions to the major political dailies had doubled.³ To a certain extent, their success was reflected in the decline of old established journals like *Le Courier Français*, whose subscribers dropped from 6,400 in 1836 to 2,204 in 1846, or *La Gazette de France*, whose brand of national royalism cost it three quarters of its subscribers in the same period, but much of it, too, was due to the new policies which in 1844 saved *Le Constitutionnel* from virtual extinction.⁴ Important advances, too, had been made in the provinces and the influence of the Parisian press was such that in 1846, 3,147 of the 4,280 subscribers to *Le National* lived outside the capital. In terms of subscribers, the most important papers in 1846 were *Le Siècle*, the paper of Odilon Barrot and the dynastic left, with 32,855, *Le Constitutionnel*, the increasingly bland tool of Thiers with 24,771, *La Presse* with slightly less, and *L'Epoque*, the paper of Guizot, with 11,254, *Le Journal des Débats* with 9,305, *Le National*, by 1846 under the control of Marrast and Bastide, with 4,280 and *L'Univers religieux*, the liberal Catholic paper of Veillot, with 4,158.⁵ No other paper had more than 4,000 subscribers, but there were also a number of lesser papers which represented important political ideas. *La Réforme*

³ They rose from 73,000 to 148,000. C. Bellanger et al., *Histoire générale de la presse française* (Paris, 1969), ii, 114.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 120 *Le Constitutionnel* reduced its subscription to 40 frs., making it one of the cheapest papers, and introduced Eugene Sue's *Mystères de Paris* as its serial.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 146. The figures are for August 1846.

acted as a forum for the radical views of Ledru Rollin, Louis Blanc, Etienne Arago and Cavaignac, *Le Populaire* for those of Cabet and *La Démocratie Pacifique* for the socialist ideas of Victor Considérant. At the other end of the political spectrum there was *La Quotidienne*, royalist, *La Gazette de France*, national royalist, *La France*, ultra conservative and *L'Ami de la Religion*, conservative Catholic, but in addition there were also several newspapers run for and by artisans, *L'Atelier*, *L'Union* and *La Fraternité de 1845*, and two Bonapartist papers, *Le Commerce* and *La Calonne*. Although, therefore, the success of *Le Siècle* to some extent began to encourage a more popularist approach to journalism in France, the press remained very much a *presse de l'opinion* with each paper welcoming only those articles which reflected the particular political colour of its views.⁶

It was inevitable, therefore, that the French press would interpret the significance of the Galician uprising in a number of different ways. The conservative press was on the whole non-committal. On 9 March, *L'Epoque* stated that it was sympathetic to the plight of any nation which sought to regain its independence, but believed that an insurrection could only increase the hopelessness of its cause. *La France* reported the development of events with little comment, *Le Journal des Débats* with its usual detachment, but *La Presse* was openly hostile. On 6 March it claimed that the revolution had embraced not only a national cause but '*illusions fantastiques du socialisme le plus effréné . . . la réalisation complète des rêves d'un communisme exalté*',⁶ and in subsequent editorials the paper reported stories of forcible conscription, curfews and persecutions. All the conservative papers spoke frequently of the generosity of the Austrian government in Galicia and vigorously denied the claim that the peasant revolt in the area around Tarnów had been instigated by imperial officials. All, too, supported the French government's declared policy of non-intervention in Polish affairs. On 13 March *La Presse* judged France's role in Europe to be '*un rôle d'initiation presque passif*' in the interests of order and peaceful progress while *L'Epoque* interspersed its attacks on Thiers Odilon Barrot with a total rejection of the idea that France should feel obliged to support the Poles and on 19 March went so far as to include an article denying the idea of an indestructible nationality.

Further to the centre, both *Le Constitutionnel* and *Le Siècle* reflected the views of their political mentors. Although it reported that the National Government in Cracow was in favour of order

⁶ *La Presse*, 6 March 1846.

and stability and that all rumours of its communist ideas were unfounded, *Le Constitutionnel* was for some days content with repeating information printed in the German press. On 7 March, however, it launched an attack on the French government:

qui représentait sur le continent les idées libérales et modérées, et qui devait les défendre, a complètement abandonné sa mission. Il s'est fait conservateur, ultramontain, réacteur comme il est possible de l'être en France.⁷

During the following three weeks the paper ran a number of articles on the economic and political situation in Galicia, attacked the principle of despotism in Europe and supported the efforts of the revived Polish committee to raise funds for the victims of the insurrection,⁸ but it put forward no ideas for French intervention and contented itself with attacks on '*la politique sans entrailles de notre gouvernement.*' *Le Siècle*, too, concentrated its attention on attacking the government, but was much more outspoken in its support of the Poles. The Polish question, it claimed, was not merely a question of nationality:

assez grande déjà par elle-même pour mériter toutes les sympathies, mais encore de la cause de la liberté, de la civilisation et de la paix du monde. Que la Pologne reprenne son poste de sentinelle avancée de l'Europe et l'avenir pacifique des nations est assuré.⁹

The following day the paper launched an attack on the Guizot government, which cared nothing for the causes which kindled the hearts of the patriotic peoples of Europe; Guizot '*convie la France à une espèce de festin de Balthazar, sous la pointe d'un glaive qu'il ne voit pas, devant la prophétique menace d'une inscription qu'il ne sait pas comprendre.*'¹⁰ On 12 March the paper proclaimed that it was time the news of the insurrection was heeded in Paris and the hopes of the nation realised:

ils ne seront pas longtemps dédaignés si nous nous souvenons nous-mêmes des espérances légitimes qu'avait naitre la révolution de juillet et des devoirs que nous impose cette confiance des peuples. La vie morale n'est pas éteinte parmi nous.¹¹

For the papers of the constitutional opposition, the Polish question was yet another excuse to show how Guizot's government had lost its right to popular support by its abandonment of the principles

⁷ *Le Constitutionnel*, 7 March 1846.

⁸ See below, pp. 248 ff.

⁹ *Le Siècle*, 8 March 1846.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 9 March 1846.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 12 March 1846.

of the July Revolution. For the radical and legitimist press, on the other hand, it underlined the anti-national nature of the *régime* of Louis Philippe. For the radical papers, the Polish revolutionary movement was only the precursor of France's own struggle for liberty:

l'âme révolutionnaire de la France en tressaille: dès qu'un peuple s'agite pour reconquérir sa nationalité, dès qu'il combat pour échapper à l'oppression, dès qu'une idée démocratique soulève les bras, excite le courage, enflamme le dévouement et le pousse à l'héroïsme, le coeur de la France est avec les combattans et les héros.¹²

The following day *Le National* became even more explicit:

il n'y a qu'une opinion quand il s'agit d'humanité ou de gloire: il n'y en a que deux quand il s'agit de la politique, la révolution et la contre-révolution! Nous faisons, nous, un appel particulier à tous ceux qui croient aux principes de la révolution: à tous ceux qui veulent en Europe le triomphe des idées qu'elle a fondées: à tous ceux dont la foi sincère appelle l'alliance, la fraternité des peuples libres: à tous ceux qui voient partout les aristocraties crouler, se dissoudre, tomber en ruines et le vieux monde faire place à la démocratie européenne.¹³

On 18 March *La Réforme* spoke of France's rôle as '*la mère des nations*' in '*la cause sainte des peuples*' and '*la démocratie européenne,*' phrases used over and over again by the radical newspapers. Later in the year after the annexation of Cracow by the Austrians, a joint commission of the two papers proposed a holy war on those governments who attacked the liberty of Europe. '*La guerre, à ces conditions qui en font une guerre sainte, c'est pour nous la victoire . . . l'heure est venue pour chacun de remplir son devoir d'homme. Aujourd'hui le combat, demain le triomphe*'.¹⁴

While the republican press saw the Polish uprising in the context of France's revolutionary mission to the nations of Europe, the legitimist papers were keen to show that it was yet another example of the turmoil which had afflicted the continent as a result of the abandonment of the moral, organic principles of Christian society. *La Quotidienne*, the most traditional of the legitimist papers, spoke of the way '*la cause des peuples*' had been wrongly divorced from '*la cause des rois,*' of the abandonment of morality in favour of '*la force,*' and of the need to interest the masses in the preservation of order and liberty. Europe would have no need of violence and

¹² *Le National*, 7 March 1846.

¹³ *Le National*, 8 March 1846.

¹⁴ *La Réforme*, 27 Nov. 1846.

revolution, it declared on 8 March, if '*l'Europe était constituée sur des bases de droits publics conformes à l'équité, chaque nationalité aurait sa défense propre et légitime*'.¹⁵ The Partitions of Poland, it was careful to emphasise, were a great mistake. They had taken place because of '*la déchéance de la politique française sous l'action néfaste d'une philosophie de plaisirs et de débauchés,*' and the belief in the rule of force, which the Revolution had later epitomised. On 11 March it saluted Louis XVIII as the king who had helped to restore liberty and order, who had encouraged the European Powers to free Poland and to give support to the movement of independence in Greece. '*La légitimité,*' it went on to claim on 15 March, '*c'est la justice dans sa plénitude, la justice par rapport aux pouvoirs et par rapport aux peuples.*' *La Quotidienne's* sister paper, *La Gazette de France*, employed some even more tortuous logic to interpret the Polish question in legitimist terms. '*Rien n'est plus grand en effet que cette cause: c'est la cause des nations libres et du catholicisme,*' it proclaimed on 9 March, and once France was freed from her corrupt political system, a national, popular monarchy could intervene in support of the Poles. In the following days, the Polish cause became successively a struggle for national identity, a holy war in support of the principles of religion, liberty and self-determination and a blow for the principle of a national monarchy, with moral regeneration through universal suffrage. This view of national royalism was not popular with many legitimists and the attitude of *L'Ami de la Religion* was perhaps more representative of royalist opinion when it spoke of the uprising as a communist plot inspired by the ideas of Babeuf and Marat.

The other Parisian newspapers also interpreted the significance of the uprising in terms of their own political opinions. For Victor Considérant's *La Démocratie Pacifique* the regeneration of Poland was inseparable from social reform:

c'est là, le fait que la révolution de 1831 a malheureusement trop perdu de vue, et qui doit servir nécessairement de point d'appui au mouvement actuel, et ce mouvement veut acquérir les proportions d'un événement national.¹⁶

In common with the other radical papers, *La Démocratie Pacifique* spoke of '*la saint alliance des nation civilisées*', but it also saw a religious dimension to the movement for national independence, '*la voix des peuples est la voix de Dieu: que la voix de Dieu se fasse entendre.*' Support for the Poles on similar grounds naturally came also from the liberal Catholic papers, *L'Univers Religieux* and

¹⁵ *La Quotidienne*, 8 March 1846.

¹⁶ *La Démocratie Pacifique*, 7 March 1846.

L'Alliance. The latter, whose motto was '*Dieu et le Peuple, la Religion et la Liberté,*' proclaimed that:

la cause de la Pologne est donc une sainte et solennelle protestation en faveur de la conscience, de la nationalité, de la liberté des peuples.¹⁷

and later, too, that there were two principles in Europe:

celui de la résistance aveugle, inconsidérée, et celui d'un progrès commandé par la raison et la justice.¹⁸

Both the liberal Catholic papers, however, were embarrassed by the condemnation of the uprising by the Pope in April, an embarrassment eagerly exploited by the anticlerical *Le Siècle*.

To judge from the French newspapers, therefore, the new uprising was a socially conservative national revolution, a dangerous communist plot, a defence of the principle of liberty and religion, the harbinger of social reform in Central Europe or the precursor of a European emancipation of oppressed peoples. The *émigré* organisations remained very much in the background. Most of the reports carried by the French press came, with a few exceptions, from the German papers, whose opinions were accepted or modified to suit the political ideology of each paper. There was no unofficial legation which could act, as in 1831, as the mouthpiece of the insurrectionary government and the speed with which the situation in Galicia changed gave the Polish publicists little time to organise a campaign of information and propaganda.¹⁹ Their years of activity, however, had not been in vain, for, as in 1831, papers of different political and social views shared many common ideas about the Polish question. Whatever their view of the social policy of the new government in Cracow, the papers agreed that the new uprising was another stage in the long Polish struggle for independence. *Le Constitutionnel* reminded its readers that it was the seventh uprising in Poland since Kościuszko and that:

il y a dans ce peuple une force, une exubérance de sève que ne possède ni cet amas incohérent de toute sorte de nationalité qu'on appelle l'Autriche, ni cette masse automate dressée pour

¹⁷ *L'Alliance*, 12 March 1846.

¹⁸ *L'Alliance*, 29 March 1846.

¹⁹ On 16 March *Le National* published a letter from Dembiński, on behalf of the *Literary Society*, denying Guizot's contention that the press support for the Poles in France could only be counterproductive and rejecting the idea that the *émigrés* were opposed to the uprising; on 19 March it published another letter from a group of democrats affirming the support of the whole community for the insurrection, but even the texts of the government's proclamations came from the German papers.

l'esclavage qui constitue la Russie et qui se brisera par les progrès qu'y feront un jour la civilisation et la liberté.²⁰

Le National was also sure that it was '*l'idée nationale*' which characterised the movement; all sections of society, women, landlords, peasants, Christian and Jew supported the insurrection. The historical claims of the Poles were repeated by *La Démocratie Pacifique*, which on 7 March spoke of:

La Pologne proprement dite, la Volynie, la Podolie, l'Ukraine, la Samogitie, la Livonie, le grand-duché de Posen et la Galicie, ont vécu pendant plusieurs siècles de la vie commune, vie pleine de force et de gloire.²¹

Similarly in *La Gazette de France* Victor Bonald gave a detailed resume of Polish history in order to show how the nation had been deprived of its native dynasty and natural frontiers, though his inevitable conclusion was that only a constitutional, independent monarchy could resolve Poland's problems. Later the same paper declared its support for '*l'antique race des Slaves*,' which could not be destroyed by the stroke of a pen, and for the idea of Poland's nationality, which had been created by the memory of the past and would survive by the glory of her future.

The idea of the indestructible nature of Poland's nationality, however, did not embrace many of the more academic justifications put forward by the Poles. The legitimists were always anxious to emphasise the importance of organic developments in a nation's history, which they hoped would help to popularise their political programme, but the idea of nationality was already well established as a political concept in France. Its enemies were France's own enemies, the Holy Alliance and the Vienna settlement, and the papers were for the most part clear that the Polish uprising was the opening of another phase in the European struggle for freedom against the system imposed on the continent in 1815. '*Les Polonais, martyrs de l'indépendance nationale, servent dans le monde entier la cause pour laquelle ils meurent*,' cried *Le Constitutionnel* on 10 March, their struggle '*réveille dans toutes les âmes le souvenir et le ressentiment des déceptions de 1815*.' Similar ideas were echoed in *Le Siècle*, which spoke of the Polish cause as '*la cause de la liberté, de la civilisation et de la paix du monde*,' but the Catholic and legitimist papers were also not slow to exploit the unpopularity of the Vienna settlement. '*La cause polonaise est donc une sainte et solennelle protestation en faveur de la conscience, de la nationalité et de la liberté des peuples*,' proclaimed *L'Alliance*

²⁰ *Le Constitutionnel*, 7 March 1846.

²¹ *Le Démocratie Pacifique*, 7 March 1846.

on 12 March, but the attitude of the press, like that of the Poles, was often ambiguous, for while it denied the right of the Vienna settlement to redraw the map of Europe, it also frequently repeated the claim that Poland's nationality had been guaranteed by it. On 8 March *Le Siècle* asked rhetorically whether France alone was to carry out the letter of the disastrous treaties and Guizot's denial of French responsibility for their observance brought angry retorts from the radical press.

Few of the papers, therefore, devoted much attention the more subtle points of Polish propaganda, but all were certain that in Poland it was the future of European freedom, democracy and civilisation which was at stake. The old ideas of Poland as '*avant-garde du progrès et de la liberté vers l'Orient*',²² her army as '*des vieux défenseurs de l'Europe contre la barbarie asiatique*'.²³ and her defeat of the Turks in 1683 '*a sauvé l'Europe du joug des Turcs*',²⁴ were repeated over and over again, but in tune with the changing world of political ideas much greater emphasis was placed on social problems in 1846 than in 1831. All the opposition papers were adamant in denying that the manifesto issued by the Cracow government had begun a movement towards the abolition of private property in Poland, but they welcomed reforms which seemed to be Poland's long awaited 4 August. In a long article on 7 March *Le Constitutionnel* reported that the aim of the uprising had been to abolish the feudal land system in Galicia in favour of a division of land by commune, with all revenues being divided equally between the members, and it emphasised that, whatever the merits of the scheme, it did not attack either the family or property rights. *Le National* also denied that the insurrection was inspired by communist ideas, '*c'est la transférence de la propriété, qui se modifiera, si la révolution polonaise triomphe, comme elle a été modifiée par notre grande révolution*',²⁵ while *Le Siècle* claimed:

Abolir le servage, améliorer le sort des paysans, les élever au rang de propriétaires, ou substituer pour eux une relation directe avec l'état à la relation qui les lie aux seigneurs, telles sont les intentions que la révolution du 29 novembre 1830 devait réaliser, et auxquelles la révolution de 1846 veut donner vie.²⁶

La Quotidienne warned that acts of social revolution occurred only

²² *Le Siècle*, 8 April 1846.

²³ *La Réforme*, 18 March 1846.

²⁴ *La Gazette de France*, 8 March 1846.

²⁵ *Le National*, 7 March 1846.

²⁶ *Le Siècle*, 8 March 1846.

when governments were inflexible in their opposition to change, but *La Démocratie Pacifique* took a more professional interest in Polish socialist ideas, especially their belief in '*une propriété communale et sociétaire*' in the traditional Slav way.²⁷

Social reform, therefore, was generally welcomed by the French papers, which reminded the public that the measures proposed by the new government did no more than extend the system already introduced into Poznań to Galicia. *La Démocratie Pacifique* was certain that the regeneration of Poland could not be divorced from the regeneration of her people, but for most of the papers the question of communism was a topical one and the Polish uprising gave a new opportunity to discuss what had become an *idée fixe* of the conservative press. Support for the Poles still rested on historical sentiment, nostalgia and russophobia, and, as in 1831, it was the allusions to the close links between France and Poland, their shared triumphs and defeats and, above all, their common enemy, which predominated in newspaper comment. The Polish question, according to *Le National*, was '*une question de sécurité européenne, en même temps que de justice et d'humanité . . . un cordon protecteur contre l'ambition russe,*' while *Le Constitutionnel* spoke of '*cette masse automate dressée pour l'esclavage, qui constitue la Russie*'²⁹ and then of '*le despotisme russe, ce mélange de toute la cruauté de l'Orient avec les raffinements et les calculs de la civilisation*'.³⁰ By 1846, however, the idea of Polish Panslavism had also begun to win acceptance. *La Gazette de France* referred to the Poles as '*l'antique race des Slaves,*' *Le Siècle* to the uprising as '*la preuve la plus énergique de la vitalité de l'idée slave*',³¹ and *La Démocratie Pacifique* published an extract from a long article by Cyprien Robert defending the idea of the democracy of '*le génie slave*' and Poland's great part in its future.³² In the same article, news was given of a revolt of the Slavs in Moldavia which was believed to be imminent and the following day the paper spoke of the great family of Slav peoples. The idea of a Slav confederation based on the independence of each Slav nation and opposed to the false doctrines of Russian hegemony was a favourite theme with *Considérant's* paper, but on 25 March *Le Siècle* also carried a letter from Robert who denounced Russian Panslavism as a lie, while defending the true idea of Slav unity. As yet, however, these ideas were comparatively new and most of the radical newspapers saw

²⁷ *La Démocratie Pacifique*, 8 March 1846.

²⁹ *Le Constitutionnel*, 7 March 1846.

³⁰ *Le Constitutionnel*, 9 March 1846.

³¹ *Le Siècle*, 7 March 1846.

³² *Le Démocratie Pacifique*, 17 March 1846.

the future of the Slavs in a European confederation of peoples led by France.

Although the 1846 uprising was over almost before it had begun, the opposition papers were united in demanding French intervention in support of the Poles. The form of such intervention, however, remained unclear. The royalist papers wanted a European congress to discuss the Polish problem, but they claimed that only a France represented by a legitimist government could make an effective contribution to its resolution. The conservative press spoke of Poland's rights under the Vienna settlement, but held out no hope for their recognition by the other Powers. The radicals placed their faith in a future European revolution while the left opposition criticised the government for its inaction while offering no real alternative policy. Nevertheless, the papers prepared to make their own contribution to the Polish campaign by organising another national collection. On 7 March *La Réforme* published a letter from a M. Guinard requesting the editor to open a subscription for the Poles so that all democrats could at least salute the struggle of a friendly nation for freedom. The following day the paper published a list of subscribers and an appeal to the workers of France:

Prolétaires, un peu de votre pauvre argent pour soutenir ces paysans esclaves qui veulent devenir citoyens.³³

One the same day *Le National* announced that, in default of any more realistic policy from the government, a subscription had been opened at its own offices:

Nous faisons, nous, un appel particulier à tous ceux qui croient aux principes de la révolution: à tous ceux qui veulent en Europe le triomphe des idées qu'elle a fondées: à tous ceux qui voient partout les aristocraties crouler, se dissoudre, tomber en ruines, et le vieux monde faire place à la démocratie européenne.³⁴

Its first list of subscribers, printed in the same issue, was headed by Béranger, who gave 20 francs, and the radicals Audry de Puyraveau, former deputy and member of Lafayette's committee, Marrast, the editor of *Le National*, Dornès, former secretary of the Metz *comité polonais*, and Ernest Regnault. The subscriptions were immediately welcomed by a number of other papers. On 9 March *Le Siècle* announced the efforts to raise money for the Poles and pledged its support for any committee which might be set up to organise the work; on 8 March *La Démocratie Pacifique* and *Le*

³³ *La Réforme*, 8 March 1846.

³⁴ *Le National*, 8 March 1846.

Courrier Français both opened subscriptions and they were soon followed by *L'Esprit Publique*, *L'Univers Religieux* and *L'Alliance*. The legitimist press was unwilling to commit itself to such an open declaration of support while the conservative papers claimed that such a collection could only raise false hopes, but the opposition papers were in agreement with the *L'Esprit Publique* when it declared:

L'Europe nous croit abattus et corrompus: apprenons-lui encore une fois, par une manifestation solennelle, que nous sommes toujours le peuple de 1789 et de 1830.³⁵

The different newspapers soon decided to pool their resources. On 13 March *Le National* announced that it had decided to set up a joint committee with *La Réforme* to supervise the collection of funds, although each paper was to continue to have its own committee. The committee appointed by *Le National* consisted of 30 people, among them Marrast, Dornès, Bastide, Thierry, Garnier-Pagès, Dupont, Carnot and Montlville; that of *La Réforme* included Arago, Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, Lamennais, David D'Angers, Michelet and Quinet. *Le Siècle* forwarded its collection to the new Polish committee,³⁶ but *L'Esprit Publique*, *La Démocratie Pacifique* and *Le Courrier Français* set up their own committee, which consisted of the editor of *L'Esprit Publique*, Charles Lesseps, Victor Considérant, Alexander Bixio, baron Nixière and several others. At the same time, subscriptions were opened all over France. As early as 12 March *Le National* reported that spontaneous subscriptions had been raised in Rennes, St. Quentin, Reims, Vanves and several other towns, while Polish committees had been set up at Lille, Bercy, Evreux and Bordeaux. On 19 March it published a circular issued by the executive commission of the two committees urging the clergy, municipalists and National Guard battalions of France to organise subscriptions for the Poles and three days later another appeal was made for the provincial committees to stay in close contact with the commission.³⁷

The press, therefore, played an important part in the resurgence of the Polish movement in France. During the second half of March Polish committees sprang up all over France with *Le National*, which carried the fullest details of events in the provinces, mentioning bodies at Toulouse, Colmar, Brioude, Cherbourg, Tulle, Reims, Lyon, Chaumont, Vire, Le Mans, Montpellier, Rouen, Macon, Béziers, St. Aignan, Dijon, Amiens, St. Etienne, Guéret, St.

³⁵ *L'Esprit Publique*, 12 March 1846.

³⁶ See below, p. 252.

³⁷ *Le National*, 22 March 1846.

Savinien, Catens, Bircort, Epinal, Arras and Carcassonne. In many the local 'patriotic' press played an important part. In Lille the committee consisted largely of the officers of the National Guard and the editors of the three opposition newspapers, *L'Echo du Nord*, *Le Barbier de Lille* and *Le Journal de Lille* and in Montpellier the treasurer of the Polish committee was Rouvière, editor of *L'Indépendant de Montpellier*. The provincial press, however, also made its own contribution to the Polish campaign. On 9 March *Le National* announced that *Le Journal de Rouen* had welcomed the idea of a national collection and that had decided to open its own subscription.³⁸ Its example was soon followed by a number of other newspapers, *L'Echo du Nord*, *Le Journal de Marne*, *Le Propagateur de l'Aube*, *Le Progrès du Pas de Calais*, *Le Courrier de l'Indre et Loire* on 11 March *Le Barbier de Lille*, *L'Impartial du Nord*, *La Revue de la Marne*, *L'Industriel de la Champagne*, *Le National de l'Ouest* and *L'Haro* on 12. By 16 *Le National* could announce that 49 provincial papers had opened subscriptions for the Poles, by 19, 73. During the early weeks of April their number rose to 96 (3 April) and finally to 101 (22 April), when the newly-founded *L'Echo de la Marne* opened its own subscription. The editors of the provincial papers were particularly eager in their attempts to raise money for the cause. On 3 April *Le National* reported that collections had been made in a number of remote communes around Gap by the editors of the local paper, *Le Patriote des Alpes*, and in March it reported that the editor of *La Bretagne* at Brest had posted placards all over the town and had addressed circulars to all the communes of the *département* requesting support for its collection.³⁹ Goodwill was not always confined to the radical press. In Brittany, following the lead of *La Gazette de France*, the legitimist press portrayed the insurrection as a holy war in defence of Poland's national character while in Toulouse the pro-Polish sentiments of *La Gazette de France's* local representative, *La Gazette de Languedoc*, caused great unease in the town.⁴⁰

The collections organised by the press were not the only subscriptions opened for the Poles in France,⁴¹ but they were the most significant. On 30 March, less than a month after the launching of the appeal, *Le National* reported that the total collection had reached 128,257.53 frs., of which 118,686.78 frs. had been raised by the press. *Le National* headed the list with 52,548.40 frs., fol-

³⁸ *Le National*, 10 March 1846.

³⁹ *Le National*, 24 March 1846.

⁴⁰ See below, p. 232.

⁴¹ See also below, p. 224.

lowed by *Le Siècle* with 31,704.83 frs., *La Réforme* with 25,319.30 frs., *La Démocratie Pacifique* with 3,192.33 frs. and *Le Courrier Français* with 2,583.55 frs.⁴² This total, however, did not include the 67,236.15 frs., which had been raised by 66 provincial papers, the greatest contributions to which were made by *Le Courrier de la Côte d'Or* with c.2ES.BL frs., *L'Impartial du Nord* with 3,084.20 frs., *Le Barbier de Lille* with 2,657.55 frs., *Le Journal de Rouen* with 2,540.5 frs. and *Le Censeur de Lyon* with 2,804.95 frs. 26 of the papers had already sent over 1,000 francs each to the central commission in Paris, but even the 72.20 frs. of *Le Patriote Jurassien* and the 38 frs. of *Le Courrier de St. Quentin* were welcomed. For some weeks the impetus of the collection barely slackened and on 11 April *Le National* reported that the collection raised by *Le Courrier de la Côte d'Or* had risen to 6,055 frs. and that of *Le Patriote de Saône et Loire* to 5,733.5 frs. By 9 September its own collection had reached 97,189.55 frs. The only opposition paper not to raise its own subscription was *Le Constitutionnel*, whose editors simply donated 1,000 frs. to the funds of the Polish committee. The subscriptions raised by the other papers were deposited with the bankers Goudchaux and received interest at 4 per cent.

2. The Polish committee

The initiative in the 1846 Polish campaign lay with the press, but in the localities the idea of forming Polish committees like those set up in 1831 contributed greatly to its success. In many towns petitions and declarations of support for the Poles were drawn up and every effort was made to support the appeals for funds made by the Parisian newspapers, but the committees in towns like Lyon and Reims, although often led by similar local politicians to those who had organised the 1831 campaign, did not form part of a national network of committees directed from Paris. The deaths of Lafayette and Armand Carrel removed both the most prominent and the most prestigious spokesmen for the Polish cause, and although individuals like Montalembert, Lamennais, Michelet and, at the annual 29 November ceremony, Vavin, were closely identified with the cause, there was no longer any obvious political leader for the Polish movement in France. It was some time, therefore, before moves were made in the capital to revive the old central committee, whereas in the provinces the formation of committees was quite spontaneous.

Although the idea of reviving the Polish committee was not at

⁴² *L'Univers Religieux* had raised 993.75 frs., *L'Esprit Publique* 624 frs., *L'Alliance* 594 frs. and *La Nation* 126.50 frs.

first openly mooted, the supporters of the Polish cause in the Chamber of Deputies were not completely indifferent to the news of the uprising. On 10 March 100 deputies representing all shades of opinion met to consider what action could be taken for the Poles and it was agreed that a subscription should be opened and a commission appointed to organise it. The commission, with Dupont de l'Eure as president and Vavin as treasurer, included such names as Etienne Arago, Odilon Barrot, Lamartine and Georges Lafayette, all of whom signed a declaration which spoke of:

les efforts que la Pologne fait pour recouvrer sa nationalité, dont les titres sont si solennellement inscrits dans les traités, titres que les chambres législatives de la France rappellent chaque année à l'Europe par des votes unanimes: le courage héroïque que déploient ces populations qui bravent la mort pour la plus sainte des causes: la pensée douloureuse que de nouveaux martyrs scellent en ce moment de leur sang, leur foi dans la puissance du droit.⁴³

By 13 March the collection stood at 8,000 frs., with donations from 168 deputies. Arago gave 20 frs., Ledru Rollin 25 frs., Vavin 200 frs. and most of the deputies contributing to the fund came either from the extreme left, the left or the centre left, but there was also some support from both the conservatives and the legitimists. Remilly, De Castellane, who also gave 200 frs., and Fould were certainly not identified with the left and several royalists, including Larcy and Panot, also gave generously.⁴⁴

For the deputies, however, sympathy for the plight of the Poles was not synonymous with support for the insurrection and in the debates on the Polish question which took place on 13 and 19 March most of the speakers spoke of the cause as one of humanity rather than revolution. The request for a debate was introduced on 12 March by a legitimist, the marquis de la Rochejacquelain, who spoke of the Polish problem as '*un question de nationalité, et de nationalité d'un grand peuple, qui dans tous les temps, sous l'ancienne monarchie et depuis, tant que la France a combattu, a toujours marché avec la France.*'⁴⁵ but demanded no more than diplomatic intervention to restrain Austrian activities in Galicia:

je viens parler d'une question d'humanité, je viens protester contre des actes d'une barbarie atroce contre lesquels, je

⁴³ *Le Constitutionnel*, 11 March 1846.

⁴⁴ *Le Constitutionnel*, 13 March, 1846.

⁴⁵ *Annales du parlement français*, viii (1845-1846), 407.

l'espère, le gouvernement lui-même protesterait s'il en avait comme nous la confirmation.⁴⁶

De Castellane described in detail the system of land holding in Galicia, emphasising in particular the opposition of the Austrian government to any change, Odilon Barrot attacked the provisions of the Vienna treaties dealing with Poland while Mauguin accused the government in Vienna of fermenting the peasant revolt around Tarnów, but the speeches had none of the bitterness which had characterised the debates in 1831. Guizot's declaration that:

provoquer un bouleversement social pour se défendre d'un danger politique, ce serait criminel: les révolutionnaires font ces choses là, les gouvernements réguliers ne sauraient pas les permettre.⁴⁷

was greeted with cries of '*Très Bien!*' and he made it quite clear that the government's only obligation to the Poles was to give them no illusions, but to offer them refuge from persecution.

On 15 March *Le Constitutionnel* reported that Montalembert had been expected to make a speech on the Polish question in the Chamber of Peers, but that after a few words with Guizot, he had left the Chamber.⁴⁸ On 19 March, however, the Catholic Peer did raise the issue during a debate on the secret service fund, and, although he suggested no more than that the government should make a declaration upholding the right of the Polish people to independence, he made an impassioned speech in defence of Polish nationality:

ils l'ont effacée de la carte du monde, mais ils n'ont pas pu la détruire dans le coeur de ses enfants, et ils se sont créé par là à eux-mêmes un chatiment vivant, un obstacle permanent, une source intarissable de désordres, d'inquiétudes et de malheurs. C'est la justice de Dieu et je t'en remercie.⁴⁹

His pleas were re-echoed by Victor Hugo, who spoke of the deep bond between France and Poland:

La France dissipait les ténèbres, la Pologne repoussait la barbarie; la France répandait les idées, la Pologne couvrait la frontière; le peuple français a été missionnaire de la civilisation en Europe, le peuple polonais a été le chevalier.⁵⁰

He, too, did no more than express the hope that the moral influence of France could be used in support of Poland's natural rights, for, apart from the young radical duc de Moscova, who attacked *la*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 409.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 409.

⁴⁸ *Le Constitutionnel*, 15 March 1846.

⁴⁹ *Annales du parlement français*, p. 347.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 353.

politique sans entrailles' of the government, the supporters of the Polish cause in the Chambers could do little more than express sympathy for the Poles. From the beginning, Guizot had made it quite clear that the government would make no intervention, diplomatic or otherwise, on behalf of a revolt, which could only be regarded as useless.

The collection, however, did continue to win adherents and by 26 March 171 representatives had subscribed to a total of 8,050 frs.⁵¹ On 22 March it was announced that the old Polish committee had just been revived and that it too intended to launch a collection for the Poles, a decision which brought the number of separate subscriptions to three.⁵² In fact, the collections made by the deputies and the new committee were closely related, for most of the members of the Polish committee were deputies sympathetic to the Polish cause. The new president was one of the new generation of polonophiles, the duc d'Harcourt, who for some years had been in close contact with many of the conservative leaders in the emigration, but its political bias was progressive but not radical, for it included none of the leading *gauchistes* who sat on the commission set up by the radical newspapers. Nevertheless it did include the editors of a number of Parisian newspapers and periodicals, those of *L'Esprit Public*, *Le Siècle*, *L'Alliance*, *La Semaine*, *La Revue Indépendante*, *Le Courrier Français* and *La Démocratie Pacifique*, and also some veterans of the 1831 campaign. Lasteyrie was honorary president, Georges Lafayette vice-president, Chodźko archivist, and among the other members of the committee were Hugo, Béranger, Crémieux, Boulay de la Meurthe, Subervic, Dutrône and Marchal.⁵³ It was not, however, as in 1831 a radical committee with a political aim, but a conservative body whose aims were strictly humanitarian. In view of the government's clear refusal to consider any form of intervention on behalf of the Poles, there was no point in campaigning for a policy, which, by the end of March, had already clearly become impossible. The formation of the committee, therefore, was not conceived, as in 1831, as a means of giving valuable support to the insurrection, but as a symbol of French sympathy for the Poles.

Although deprived of any real political influence, the committee did try to encourage popular support for the cause. On 25 March it issued a declaration in which it spoke of the Polish independence

⁵¹ *Le National*, 26 March 1846.

⁵² *Le Constitutionnel*, 22 March 1846.

⁵³ For a list of the members of the new committee see Appendix II.

movement as a national movement of regeneration in which the ideals of religion and social progress were united:

La Pologne entre irrévocablement dans l'ordre des principes que la France a proclamé elle-même en 1789. La France accueille et constate ce nouveau signe de la confraternité des deux peuples. . . . Avant-garde du progrès et de la liberté vers l'Orient, sa mission n'est pas finie: la Pologne ne peut pas périr.⁵⁴

The committee also published a pamphlet entitled *Le Mémorial polonais*, edited by Chodźko, which presented a number of documents tracing the development of the 1831 and 1846 uprisings, but its main activity involved the members in fund-raising schemes. As a comparative late comer to the scene, however, its success was limited. During April the funds collected by *Le Siècle*, *La Démocratie Pacifique* and *Le Populaire* were all transferred to the fund,⁵⁵ and later the committee also received the subscription opened by the deputies and the collections made by *Le Courrier Français*, *L'Esprit Publique* and a number of provincial papers.⁵⁶ The committee, however, came too late to act as an effective centralising agency for the Polish movement in France. From the beginning the leading force had been the radical newspapers and it was with them that the initiative in the Polish campaign remained.

3. The popular reaction

Although, therefore, there was no real organisation of public opinion in France in 1846 as there had been fifteen years before, popular enthusiasm for the Polish cause in the country was immediate and vociferous. Suddenly the newspapers were full of the old rhetoric.

A la nouvelle de l'insurrection polonaise, nous avons tous senti bouillir dans nos veines notre sang révolutionnaire. Nous sommes partout solidaires, dans la cause de la liberté,

cried *Le Courrier de la Sarthe*, while *Le Courrier de Loire et Cher* claimed:

La nation française n'a-t-elle pas constamment marché depuis un siècle à la tête de la civilisation: la cause de l'humanité ne l'a-t-elle pas toujours trouvée au premier rang de ses

⁵⁴ *Le Siècle*, 8 April 1846.

⁵⁵ *Le Siècle*, 21 April 1846. At that time, their funds stood at 35,637.16 frs., 3,800 frs., and 700 frs. respectively.

⁵⁶ *Le Journal du Nord* sent 1,500 frs., *Le Journal de Havre* 1,166 frs.

défenseurs? Depuis quinze ans ne gémit-elle pas sur le sort malheureux qu'un despote barbare et cruel fait à ce peuple héroïque?⁵⁷

The lead given by the radical papers was not only followed in the provincial press, but was quickly taken up by the artisan papers. In the March and April editions of *L'Atelier*, the Poles were praised for their Catholicism, their self sacrifice over the centuries, as '*la seule, la vraie, la grande nation du nord de l'Europe,*' whose martyrdom would ultimately contribute towards a free and just society. A sister paper, *L'Union*, claimed the insurrection was '*la sainte cause de la liberté,*' its manifesto '*la réalisation de l'égalité fraternelle,*' the Polish people '*solidaire pour une guerre d'émancipation populaire.*'⁵⁸ For *La Fraternité de 1845*, '*organe de communisme,*' Poland, '*notre soeur,*' could never be destroyed by the acts of foreign powers; France could not forget '*son glorieux passé et les liens indestructibles,*' which united both nations in the memory of their shared victories and defeats on the battlefields of Europe, while it was the principles of the French Revolution which '*anime les peuples, les rapproche, les confond dans la plus intime fraternité: c'est lui qui a dicté les actes de la nouvelle insurrection.*'⁵⁹ The manifesto was praised for its moderation and its attempt to build a new society out of the old feudal order.

The same ideas were re-echoed in many of the declarations of support issued by the provincial committees. The proclamation published by the Lyon committee spoke of Poland as '*le rempart contre le nord,*' of the right of all peoples, to defend themselves against tyranny and of how Lyon '*fidèle à la fraternité qui unit les deux peuples l'un à l'autre, a ouvert les bras à l'émigration polonaise.*'⁶⁰ On 6 April *Le National* published the text of a petition from the municipal council in the small town of Mansigné in Sarthe which demanded prompt and effective government intervention:

Ajoutez que la Pologne fut sacrifiée dès lors à des rancunes contre notre gloire et sa fidélité au drapeau français. Demontrez enfin, ce qui est évident pour tous les gens, que la cause de la résurrection polonaise et sa réintégration dans les limites violées, sans la complicité de la France, dès 1773, et malgré elle, en 1795, ne sont autres que la cause de l'indépendance et de la civilisation européenne. . . . D'ailleurs l'insurrection polonaise de 1846 est un enfant de notre glorieuse révolution

⁵⁷ *Le National*, 13 March 1846.

⁵⁸ *L'Union*, March 1846.

⁵⁹ *La Fraternité de 1845*, April 1846.

⁶⁰ *Le National*, 30 March 1846.

de '89, puisque nous lisons sur son drapeau: 'Abolition des privilèges de la noblesse, affranchissement des serfs et corvéables, égalité de tous devant la loi.'⁶¹

The Polish question, they claimed, was at once '*une question de sécurité européenne, en même temps que de justice et d'humanité,*' a problem concerning Europe's '*cordon protecteur contre l'ambition russe,*' a theme also taken up by the Polish committee in Toulouse which spoke of the Poles as a courageous and loyal people '*long-temps à la tête de la civilisation du Nord,*' whose love of liberty had saved Europe from '*tous les nuages de l'Orient.*'⁶²

The most outspoken and emotive declarations for the Poles, however, came, as before, from the *chansonniers*. While the speed with which events in Galicia moved allowed little time for any concerted campaign by the pamphleteers and most of the pamphlets which were published appeared some months later, the reaction of the *chansonniers* was immediate. All the old ideas which they had helped to popularise in 1831 and which the emigration had helped to keep alive, were suddenly revived. The Poles were '*le débris de la gloire,*' '*un peuple martyr,*' '*la France du nord,*' '*l'avant-garde de la liberté,*' Russia '*le géôlier du nord*' and the Tsar '*un bourreau.*' In April a poem entitled *Le Polonais captif* appeared which spoke once again of:

Ce peuple généreux s'épuise sous la glaive
Des bourreaux l'ont frappé: toi, maintenant, achève
L'oeuvre sanglante des bourreaux!

.....
La France ne souvient que, dans des temps de guerre
Au milieu de ses rangs flottait une bannière
Qui surmontait un Aigle blanc.

.....
Que chacun se choisisse une épée à sa taille:
Peuple, si ton réveil est un chant de bataille,
En te berçant je l'ai chanté
Croyant à la moisson, j'ai semé dans la guerre:
C'est à toi d'achever le sillon sanguinaire
Pour récolter la liberté.⁶³

By 1846 the *chansonniers* were ready to welcome the whole Slav people to '*la sainte alliance des peuples,*'

Le peuple slave entier marchera dans leur rangs
Les droits des nations de leur cause dépendent;

⁶¹ *Le National*, 6 April 1846.

⁶² *Le National*, 31 March 1846.

⁶³ M. Mullo, *Le Polonais captif* (Paris, 1846).

La liberté du monde est celle qu'ils défendent;
Au jour ou la Pologne à jamais tombera,
La liberté du monde avec elle mourra.⁶⁴

Yet many, too, endowed the cause with a religious significance:

Pologne, comme Christ, tu gravis ton calvarie:
Comme celle de Christ ta coupe fut amère;
Comme lui tu la bus d'un trait.⁶⁵

The revolutionary and religious importance of the Polish struggle intensified the feelings of anguish expressed for it by the *chansonniers*. Their predominating thoughts were those of bitterness and regret, bitterness at the refusal of the French government to reflect the wishes of the French people for '*sa belle soeur*,' regret for the suffering and persecution experienced by a nation whose cause was '*la plus sainte de la liberté*,'

La France rêve en vain ta délivrance;
Quel bras fatal arrête son recours?
Qui donc retient le grand coeur de la France?
Qu'est devenu le peuple des trois jours?⁶⁶

Like the radicals in the press, the *chansonniers* blamed the government for abandoning France's moral *rôle* in Europe and for betraying her revolutionary ideals:

La France qui portait le drapeau d'une idée,
Du plus pur de son sang nourrie et fécondée,
La France dont le nom était un précurseur,
Périr comme a péri la Pologne sa soeur!
Non cet assassinat donc la menace grande,
Arracherait mille ans d'indépendance au monde.⁶⁷

The *chansonniers* did not despair for the Polish cause. They believed that the idea of nationality was indestructible and the principle of freedom unassailable, but, for the most part, their hopes rested with the peoples of Europe and not with the government of France who had long since abandoned its mission to the world.

By 1846 the Polish *chansons* had become part of popular tradition, symbolising in the rhetoric common to all writing about the Poles, French feelings of bitterness and sympathy. Within days of the arrival of the news of the uprising, Delavigne's *La Varsovienne*, the most popular of the 1831 *chansons*, was being sung publicly

⁶⁴ H. Couturier, *La Pologne hier, aujourd'hui et demain* (Paris, 1846).

⁶⁵ M. Mullet, *La Pologne: dernière insurrection* (Paris, 1847).

⁶⁶ Mme. L. Collet, *Réveil de la Pologne* (Paris, 1846).

⁶⁷ *La Fin de Pologne* (Paris, 1847).

all over France. On 9 March the audience at the Opéra in Paris demanded the singing of the *chanson* at the end of the evening's performance⁶⁸ and similar incidents took place in Rouen, St. Quentin, Amiens, Châlon, Le Mans, Toulouse, Montpellier, Tulle, Dijon, Beaune, Limoges, Lille and Grenoble.⁶⁹ In many towns there were enthusiastic demonstrations, and, although in Paris attempts to organise such events were foiled by the police,⁷⁰ in other towns popular reaction was less restrained. In Le Mans bands of young people roamed the streets for two days singing *La Marseillaise* and shouting 'Vive la Pologne' and 'A bas les tyrans' to the police.⁷¹ At Dijon groups of workers and students, including some from the neighbouring town of Beaune, marched around the town on two successive evenings singing patriotic songs until they were dispersed,⁷² while at Toulouse there were riots on 13 and 16 March when groups of students marched through the streets singing *La Marseillaise* and a theatrical performance was stopped.⁷³ Several arrests were made both at Toulouse and Dijon, but at Le Mans the authorities seem to have regarded the events in the town with good humoured tolerance. Nevertheless the government could not but be aware that it was *La Marseillaise* which was being sung in the streets, for, while *La Varsoivienne* lived on in popular memory, Delavigne's hymn to the July Revolution, *La Parisienne*, was almost forgotten.

As in 1831, however, the chief symbol of popular enthusiasm for the Polish cause was the national collection. The lists published by the newspapers sometimes revealed unique concurrences of views on the Polish issue and on the same day that *La National* reported that M. Chaslas, the deputy for Eure-et-Loire, had decided to send his contribution to the local newspaper instead of Vavin to avoid displeasing Guizot, it mentioned that Barbès had donated 100 frs. from prison.⁷⁴ The main supporters of the collection, however, were once again those groups who had been the staunchest supporters of the Polish cause since 1831, the students and the artisans and *petite bourgeoisie* of the towns. On 8 March *Le National* published a de-

⁶⁸ A.N. F7 3893. Daily reports of the Prefect of Police for 1846: report for 17 March 1846.

⁶⁹ These incidents were reported throughout March in *Le National*.

⁷⁰ In Paris it was reported that the news from Cracow 'ne produisent aucune émotion sur la population de Paris: toutefois le journal *La Réforme* et les meneurs habituels de désordres, cherchent une occasion pour tenter une démonstration tumultueuse soit par des chants patriotiques ou des clameurs révolutionnaires.' A.N. F7 3893: report for 7 March 1846.

⁷¹ A.N. BB18 1440 (1548).

⁷² A.N. BB18 1440 (1566).

⁷³ A.N. BB18 1440 (1855).

⁷⁴ *Le National*, 24 March 1846.

claration of the committee of the student paper *Les Ecoles* proclaiming that:

La Pologne reprend les armes pour la cause sainte de sa nationalité: le cri de liberté qu'elle vient de pousser en se levant a ébranlé l'Europe: les enthousiasmes de 1831 se réveillent: des souscriptions s'organisent dans toutes parts.⁷⁵

Then on 12 it was reported that a collection had been made spontaneously at Michelet's lecture at the Collège de France⁷⁶ and that the following lectures were accompanied with the singing of patriotic songs which made the Collège reminiscent of a Jacobin club.⁷⁷ On 12 March *Le National* announced that it had received a collection of 1,301.50 frs. from the Ecole Polytechnique and 410 frs. from the Ecole Centrale, on 15 March 167.50 frs. from the Lycée Henri IV and on 16 March 543.25 frs. from the Collège Rollin and numerous others from the pupils of the Collège Bourbon, the Collège St. Louis and the Lycée Louis le Grand. Collections were also made in the batallions of the National Guard and the army, but these collections lacked the systematic organisation which Lafayette's committee had employed in 1831 and most subscribers were individuals moved to send money to one or other of the newspapers. On 9 March *Le National* included a donation of 2 frs. from a J. Breul, wine seller, 10 frs. from G. Palletan, former surgeon of the imperial guard and 150 frs. from the editorial board of *L'Atelier*. B., described as 'son of a soldier of the Republic,' sent 10 frs., Mme. Guillot, *ouvrière*, 50 cs., Mme. Virginie, *ouvrière* and patient at the Cochin Hospital, 2 frs. and a small atelier of printing workers 3.50 frs. plus a fully equipped soldier who had already served in the Portuguese campaign.⁷⁸ Among the other contributors were the workers of an architects' atelier who sent 6.50 frs., those of the atelier of Bohmer and Blanchard, tailors, who gave 11 frs. and an atelier of '*compagnons peintres ennemis des oppresseurs de la Pologne*' who sent 5 frs. Among the subscribers to the collection in Meaux were a cooper, a locksmith, a baker, a carpenter, a gunsmith and a tailor and at the small commune of Legny Forgès-les-Eaux in Seine Inférieure money came from a clockmaker, a tailor, a mason, an ironsmith, an inn-keeper, several bootmakers and bakers, and a number of lawyers.⁷⁹ Interest in the Polish cause was aroused in even the smallest com-

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 8 March 1846.

⁷⁶ A.N. F7 3893. Daily reports of the Prefect of Police for 1846: report for 12 March 1846.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, report for 19 March 1846.

⁷⁸ *Le National*, 10 March 1846.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 3 April 1846.

munes and on 3 April it was announced that *Le Patriote de l'Aube* had received 84 frs. from the commune of Breviandes which '*n'est ni populeux ni riche, mais il y règne un instinct précieux à conserver et à entretenir, celui de patriotisme*'.⁸⁰ For the leaders of the Polish campaign in the press, the Chamber and the provinces, it was this spirit of patriotism which epitomised the hopes and aspirations of the July Revolution and which the Guizot government, by its indifference to the plight of France's sacred ally, had finally abandoned.

In many ways the revival of the Polish Question as a political issue in March 1846 is surprising. Although the leaders of the new campaign used many of the methods successfully exploited by Lafayette and his Polish associates fifteen years before, the political situation was scarcely comparable. There was no national government in Poland capable of making diplomatic overtures in Western Europe, there was no figure of the prestige of Czartoryski in control and there were no military victories. France was no longer in revolutionary turmoil; Europe, seemingly, quiescent, offered little hope of support. The 1846 campaign, too, lacked the expertise and organisation of its predecessor. There were no figures of the stature of Lafayette or Lamarque to lead the national movement nor was the radical press able to co-ordinate their efforts. The Polish *émigrés* were only marginally involved and within a few weeks it was obvious that the insurrection was no more than a ill-timed fiasco. Yet for those few weeks France was again gripped by a sudden, feverish enthusiasm for the cause; funds were collected all over the country, newspaper articles, *chansons* and pamphlets extolled the efforts of the Poles to regain their independence and peers and deputies expressed their sympathy for their plight. By the summer of 1846 public attention had once again turned away from the problems of Poland, but popular enthusiasm for the cause had been confirmed.

The 1846 campaign, therefore, revealed something of the depth with which Polish propaganda had taken root in France. For the *émigrés*, however, it could only be a minor source of satisfaction. By its pronouncements, the Guizot government had proved itself decidedly more hostile to the Polish cause than previous governments, having refused even to make a gesture in the direction of appeasing popular feeling. The insurrection itself had revealed both the weakness of the revolutionary movement in Poland and the overoptimism of its supporters in France. Even the enthusiasm of

⁸⁰ *Le National*, 3 April 1846.

the French public had not been directed to any useful end. There was no serious campaign to bring pressure to bear on the government and the funds collected during the weeks following the insurrection seemed almost to fade away. Some of the money collected by the Polish committee went to help refugees and it seems that most of the collection raised by *Le National* and *La Réforme* passed to the *Polish Democratic Society*, who used it to finance an expedition to Poland.⁸¹ Two years later, however, there was still a widespread belief that the funds were still available and appeals were made both to Vavin, as head of the Polish committee, and the radical newspapers for aid by the newly formed *Committee of the Polish Emigration*.⁸² Polish hopes in France did not, however, fade with the fiasco of the Cracow insurrection. Disappointment and anger turned once again into resolution as the *émigré* organisation began to discuss plans for the future. New contacts were established by the democratic party within Poland, new conspiracies were launched and a watchful eye was kept on the European situation by the Hôtel Lambert.

The Cracow insurrection, therefore, did not mark the end of the Polish issue in France. Less than two years later events in Europe were to open a new phase in the history of the two countries. Within days of the February Revolution, a delegation of Poles approached Lamartine with a request for the new government to remember the plight of the Poles, there was renewed controversy within the community about the idea of a Polish legion and a general movement towards the organisation of a political campaign to represent Poland's interests in the new Republic. In March a *Committee of the Polish Emigration* was formed, an association increasingly identified with the radical elements in the Emigration, and under its auspices moves were made to campaign for the Poles in France.⁸³ Most of its efforts were directed towards the task of arranging and financing the return of volunteers to Poland, but in the course of its activities it became involved with fund raising, propaganda and political campaigning. Through Vavin, head of the Polish Committee of 1846, various approaches were made to the government in the hope of securing material and moral support for the cause, but the tradition of extra parliamentary activity was also revived when in May, liaison with the Parisian clubs prepared the way for the great demonstration in favour of Poland on 15

⁸¹ *Okólniki Towarzystwa Demokratycznego Polskiego*, 1 Dec. 1848, p. 8.

⁸² Grajewski, H. *Komitet Emigracji Polskiej w 1848 roku* (Łódź, 1960), 142-143.

⁸³ *Ibid.* Grajewski's book deals with the formation of the committee and its work throughout 1848.

May.⁸⁴ Once again the French government, faced with the problems of instability at home and suspicion abroad, found it inexpedient to give any declaration of support to the Poles and placed continual difficulties in the way of those *émigrés* who were trying to leave for Poland, yet Polish hopes in France and French sympathy for the Poles had suddenly been reaffirmed. This dual tradition was revived yet again in 1863, the year of the last great Polish uprising, when a new wave of pro-Polish feeling swept the country, a new *Polish Committee* was formed, this time under the presidency of Odilon Barrot, and there was a renewed spate of propaganda from the Poles.⁸⁵ Ironically 1863 also saw some significant moves by Napoleon III to solve the Polish Question by peaceful negotiations, an initiative whose failure perhaps served only to emphasise the intractability of the problem, but the January insurrection also marked a turning point in the Polish agitation in France. The uprising was the last of the great national insurrections of the nineteenth century. The Poles were already turning away from the old ideas to new doctrines and strategies, to socialism, to an acceptance of the political *status quo* and to economic expansion and self reliance, yet a half century of agitation and propaganda bequeathed a sympathy and rapport between the two nations which lasted well beyond the 'solution' of the Polish Question in 1918.

⁸⁴ The background to the *journée* of 15 May is discussed in P. H. Amann *Revolution and mass democracy*. (Princeton, 1975), pp. 205-247.

⁸⁵ There is a discussion of the public reaction to the 1863 rising in Case, L. M. *French Opinion on War and Diplomacy during the Second Empire* (Philadelphia, 1954), pp. 178-186, and more recently by S. Bóbr-Tylingo, 'L'Opinion française et l'échec du soulèvement polonais de 1863,' *Politique*, n. série 18 (1962), 153-75. S. Bóbr-Tylingo, 'Napoleon III, l'Europe et la Pologne en 1863-4', *Antemurale* VII-VIII (1963), 1-362.

CONCLUSION

Looking back over the period 1830-1846, it is interesting to see how the predominantly literary movement of the pre-1830 emigration developed into a sophisticated political campaign. The movement was dominated by a number of particularly active publicists, but many individual *émigrés* also contributed something to the work, an article in a local newspaper perhaps or a pamphlet. Every form of propaganda was used: books, pamphlets, newspaper and periodical articles, chansons, maps, prints and engravings, and every effort was made to circulate the material as widely as possible. Even so, the amount of propaganda is not in itself sufficient to explain the success of the Polish movement. The Emigration was often bitterly divided over political and ideological issues, much of its propaganda had been published erratically and there were always financial difficulties. Moreover, much of the literature published by the Poles would never have reached the mass public. The level of literacy at this time was not high and the number of people who would have seen such a work as Chodźko's *La Pologne historique* could never have been large. In 1846, however, France was still under the influence of the first Polish campaign, and whereas it was the Poles who played the most important part in the propaganda campaign, it was the expertise of their French colleagues which created the national movement.

The influence of the 1831 campaign on the formation of the Polish Question in France was, therefore, crucial. Although it was only one of a number of similar campaigns, it was beyond doubt one of the most successful. In many ways it was typical. It had a central organisation in Paris, but at the same time it attached great importance to the work of founding local committees in the provinces through which the national network of support could be controlled. Like many of the other organisations it published its own propaganda, had good relations with the press, raised funds, and, as much as possible, used the Assembly as a forum for the expression of its point of view. In several important ways, however, the Polish movement was atypical of the other political campaigns. In the first place, it was not, like its Greek predecessor, a solely French movement. Most of its propaganda was directly influenced, and in some cases written, by the Poles, and its whole programme was aimed at serving Polish needs. The leaders of the committee

not only arranged for volunteers and arms to be sent to Poland, but acted as the mouthpiece of the Polish legation in Paris in its efforts to gain some concrete French support for the regime in Warsaw. In the second place, it was a much more genuinely national movement than any of its contemporaries, for it drew support from a broad section of social and political opinion all over France. The range and depth of its support, rarely equalled except perhaps by the Greek committee, was much wider than that of associations like *Aide-toi* or the *Société Constitutionnelle* and this was one of the reasons which explains how its influence survived the demise of the formal structure of the committee. Finally it was atypical of contemporary movements in the extent of its influence, for few of its contemporaries were remembered for years after their political activity had ceased. The Polish movement, on the other hand was not just a political campaign; it was a national obsession which survived for over 40 years.

The leaders of the committee, however, relied not only on organisational skill, but on the spontaneousness of public reaction. To a certain extent, the enthusiasm with which the news of the Polish insurrection was greeted in France was due to the sense of crisis engendered by the July Revolution and in particular to the fear of foreign invasion which had gripped France in the autumn of 1830, but at the same time it was linked to deep rooted aspirations which had been vindicated by the overthrow of the Bourbons. The July Revolution had been above all a 'national' revolution, and Louis Philippe a 'patriotic' king. In the minds of those who had supported the overthrow of Charles X, the memories of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods were easily confused. The Bourbons were hated because they were associated with the humiliation of France in 1815, her defeat and invasion by her traditional enemies, the destruction of her natural hegemony in Europe and the denial of her rightful frontiers, but their departure aroused other expectations: the re-establishment of the military prestige of France and a European movement of emancipation under her leadership. Memories of Napoleon's victories and the glorious feats of the *Grande Armée* were frequently identified with the wars of survival against the Allied Powers and with the declarations of earlier revolutionary governments in support of all oppressed nations; France's natural frontiers were associated in the minds of many with the right to self-determination of all nations and there was no doubt that a patriotic monarch would begin a new war of liberty and emancipation against the Holy Alliance. In July 1830 France relived a historical experience and waited for its in-

evitable aftermath: war, but it was a war which aroused enthusiasm as well as fear and in the defence of '*la patrie en danger*' many saw also the glory of French arms and a civilising mission to the peoples of Europe.

Naturally this idea of patriotism was stronger in some areas of the country than others. It was particularly associated with the artisans of Paris and the towns in the eastern *départements*, but it was also supported, at least tacitly by the new political establishment in France and it acted as a useful rallying point for the more radical elements in the opposition. The propagandists on the committee, therefore, found a large section of the French public already well disposed towards the cause and much of their published work did no more than reaffirm popular ideas. Under their influence, the Polish cause became associated not only with the revolutionary and Napoleonic military traditions, but the nationalist aspirations of France, the future of the European revolution and the rights of all nations struggling for liberty. In contemporary rhetoric, Poland was not only a nation in chains, but a sister in arms, a reminder of the powerful influence of the French armies in Europe and a rallying point for hopes in her military renaissance.

The committee stood at the head of the movement, but its influence was largely indirect. Its own publications might not secure a very wide circulation, but newspapers were read aloud every day in public places like the Palais Royal, new pamphlets were read and discussed and *chansons* sung in taverns and theatres. Subscriptions were started in cafés, reading rooms, at the offices of the National Guard, in army barracks, in *ateliers* and taverns. Mayors and local notables organised fund raising schemes and public functions were held in many parts of France, where the cause of the Polish insurgents was discussed and supported. In this way the committee's propaganda gradually filtered down to become part of a national tradition which lasted long after the immediate tension brought about by the uprising had died away. It was expressed in the small ceremonies given by the inhabitants of provincial towns in honour of the Poles; it became part of the rhetoric of the radical press, which frequently mentioned the betrayal of the Poles among the catalogue of crimes associated with the Orléans government; it was remembered in the annual declaration of support for the Poles, the 29 November celebrations in Paris and, most important of all, in the patriotic *chansons* of Béranger and his contemporaries.

It was this tradition which the propagandists of the Emigration found already established in 1832, but although much of the propaganda published by the committee had been influenced by Chodźko

and his circle, it had been carefully biased to reflect French ideas, and, for many publicists the original aim of encouraging a deeper understanding of Polish cultural and historical achievements was as important as their desire to win public support for the cause. As a result, with the waning of political interest in Poland, much of the propaganda published by the *émigrés* was more literary and historical in character, a fact which inevitably limited its appeal, especially as the publication of all material was erratic and ceased almost completely in the 1840s. Of course, there were many who considered this form of propaganda as a means of promoting further political support for Poland in France, but, as the political views of the *émigré* groups began to crystallise, the contents of much of the more obviously politically biased propaganda became increasingly recriminatory and opaque. Nevertheless, the *émigré* propaganda campaign did help to keep the Polish cause alive in France. The contemporary situation in Poland was continually discussed in pamphlets and newspaper articles, organisations like the *Polish Literary Society* made great efforts to monitor and influence the publication of news, and the annual commemorative service and vote in the Address in support of the Poles always gained sympathetic coverage in the press. Although, therefore, much of this activity did little more than remind the public of the existence of Polish grievances, this in itself provided an important link with the 1831 campaign, and by depriving the cause of its immediate revolutionary connotations, the more academic propaganda published by the Poles in fact helped to widen public sympathy for their plight. By the mid 1840s it had become obvious that the Polish cause was as much a humanitarian issue as a revolutionary one and the annual declaration in its support by the French Parliament was no longer regarded as a dangerous incitement to rebellion.

The success and the limitations of the Polish propaganda movement after 1831, however, also heightens one further fact: that the Polish Question as conceived by the Poles and as understood by the French public was not always the same. This discrepancy evolved quite slowly and tended to become more obvious once the various *émigré* political groups began to develop their own ideology, but it had been clear even in 1831. For the Poles the Polish Question was essentially one of independence. They saw their nation as an organic entity created by centuries of a common history, a common language and a common set of traditions and whose natural rights had been overturned by the invasion of the neighbouring powers. After the failure of the uprising, there was an increasingly intense debate about the type of society and political institutions

which would be established after independence, and it was not always clear to foreign observers whether they were supporting a struggle for constitutional monarchy based on the landowning class, a socialist democracy or a republic of free individuals with equal rights. Although, too, the Poles frequently spoke of the importance of the European movement of emancipation for their cause, they were always conscious of the native traditions of democracy in Poland and always placed contemporary ideas of liberty, equality and nationalism firmly in the context of Polish history. It is unlikely, therefore, that very much of this particular interpretation of Polish claims was understood in France. By the Polish Question most of its French supporters meant the struggle for independence of France's traditional ally, a sister in arms from the Revolutionary Wars, a small nation fighting for freedom, like France, against the tyranny of the reactionary powers in Europe. Both the Polish committee and the *émigré* propagandists were well aware of the emotional connotations of the military and revolutionary traditions of French history, and, although they also tried to broaden French appreciation of Poland and its own achievements, most of the *émigré* writers concentrated their attentions on images which they knew would appeal to a wide public. In one important area, however, both the French public and the Polish publicists shared a common obsession, a deep-rooted fear of Russian expansionism. The corollary of support for Poland was a hatred of Russia and in this anti-Russian context, the Poles were able to contribute new historical insights to a well established tradition. Even that section of French opinion which saw the Polish cause as a humanitarian rather than a revolutionary cause shared the general fear of Russian expansion, and, by underpinning these fears, the Poles were sure to intensify French hostility to their greatest enemy.

The uprising in Cracow provided evidence of the intensity of public feeling for the Polish cause, but it also showed once again that public sentiment could be manipulated by politically interested groups. In 1831 the Polish committee had been identified with a broad spectrum of political opinion in France, but it was a spectrum which included the progressive rather than the conservative sections of the political establishment. Most of the members had been strong upholders of the July Revolution and some had been closely involved with the campaign in the Chamber and the press against Charles X, and, though it would be too early to identify them with an opposition to the new *régime*, most were in opposition groups by 1832. Similarly, with regard to the press, the most fervent and long surviving support for the Polish cause came from papers most

critical of the government, particularly in the provinces, and most of the pamphlets and *chansons* of the time spoke openly of the government's betrayal of France's ideals. Fifteen years later the Polish committee was a much more respectable body, drawing support from many more conservative elements and confining its activities to the collection of funds for the victims of the insurrection, but in the provinces the Polish issue once again became a focus for opposition activity and the enthusiasm with which the movement was greeted in the radical press was closely linked to their frustration with the political immobility of Guizot's government.

The exploitation of this popular tradition was even more dramatically shown two years later when the formation of the Second Republic and disturbances in Prussian and Austrian Poland encouraged the *émigré* organisations of the time to approach opposition groups in the hope of reviving the Polish movement. The result was a large public demonstration, an invasion of the National Assembly, a riot and the proclamation of a short lived republic. There is no evidence that the leaders of the Parisian clubs intended to use the Polish demonstration as a means of enraging the crowds and the march through the streets of Paris began peacefully enough, but just as they were willing to give support to the Poles in the hope of radicalising the policy of Lamartine's government, so there were other elements who were prepared to use the demonstration to ferment rebellion.

From the beginning two influences seem to have been important in the creation of the Polish movement in France. Firstly the Poles, whether individuals like Chodźko or political organisations like the *Polish National Committee* or semi-literary associations like the *Polish Literary Society*, who had seen the publication of propaganda and the winning of political support in France as a way of helping their cause. Secondly groups within the opposition in France who had seen the Polish Question not only as a great moral issue, but as a way of emphasising that opposition in a legal form. As a result, whenever events in Poland reached a new crisis there were political interests in France ready to work with the Poles in launching a new campaign on their behalf. In 1831 this had taken the form of a well organised programme of support, which raised funds, exported arms, recruited volunteers and tried to use both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary pressure to persuade the French government to make some form of positive gesture towards the Poles. In 1846 the aims of the campaigners were more modest and their efforts centred on the work of raising funds for the victims of the insurrection and expressing sympathy for the cause, but

in 1848 there were once again demands for government intervention. There was always a tension, therefore, between the demands for an adroit form of diplomatic pressure, of the kind advocated by Czartoryski and the National Government in 1830-31, and the desire by many of the movement's supporters to see France openly, and evenly belligerently confront the common enemy, and, whereas there is evidence that in 1831 at least the French government was prepared to use their influence, such as it existed, in the first way, they could never have met the demand for direct intervention. Neither the governments of the July Monarchy or the Second Republic had the military strength or the political will to involve France in a European war of emancipation. With the Vienna settlement the Partitions of Poland had become part of the balance of power in Europe and there was nothing the French government could do to change the vested interests of the Central European Powers. However much a French government might wish to appease popular feelings, it was not in a position to do so, and, although individuals like Czartoryski still thought it would be possible to exploit diplomatic tensions in Europe, the French authorities could do little more than protest at the denationalisation policies of the Austrian and Russian governments and express their sympathy for the plight of the Poles.

Behind the central aim of giving support to the Poles, however, lay others. Many opposition groups associated themselves with the movement not only because they were genuinely committed ideologically and emotionally to the cause, but because it represented an emotive issue, able to win wide popular support and embarrass the government. The very fact that popular demands for government intervention in foreign affairs were based on sentiments and aspirations which were almost impossible to fulfil made questions of foreign policy of particular interest to all opposition groups, but the Polish cause was an especially effective rallying point. For the radicals it had overtones of the internationalism and bellicose nationalism of the Revolutionary Wars, for the liberal left it was associated with libertarian and humanitarian ideals, for the liberal Catholics with the religion of liberty and for most sections of opinion with the lost glory of the Napoleonic epoch. Moreover all sections saw its value as a strong extra-parliamentary political movement, for at a time when the form and franchise of representational government in France was still limited, the Polish movement showed that there was an important degree of political activity outside the parliamentary sphere which claimed the right to represent public opinion and express its views. Such claims, whether made by oppo-

sition leaders, newspapers, pamphleteers or *chansonniers*, were often no more than rhetorical devices designed to heighten the significance of their own views, but in the case of the Polish issue, the claim that '*toute la France est polonaise*' seemed to be reflection of fact. A popular tradition of enthusiasm for the Polish cause was established in 1831 which survived long after the end of any organised agitation, and, although the January uprising was the last of the great nineteenth century insurrections, the links between the two nations remained strong enough for Poles to die for the *Commune* on the barricades in 1871.

APPENDIX I

Comité Central en Faveur des Polonais 1831

Lafayette, general M. R., *president*
Lasteyrie, C. de, *vice-president*
Salverte, E., *vice-president*
Dutrône, H., *secretary*
Thayer, E. J., *secretary*
Février, E., *treasurer*
Cassin, E., *archivist*

Abbatucci, J. P. C.	Desclozeaux, E.
Audry de Puyraveau, P. E.	Dubignon, G. M.
Barrot, O.	Dumas, general M.
Béranger, P. J. de	Dumoulin, E.
Bessas-Lamégie	Dupont de l'Eure, J. C.
Bignon, E.	Duris-Dufresne
Bonjour, C.	Fabvier, general C.
Boulay de la Meurthe, H.	Ferron
Cabet, E.	Garnier-Pagès, J.
Cadet de Gassicourt, F.	Herbelot, A. d'
Carbonel, general A. F.	Hugo, Victor
Carrel, A.	Jollivet, A.
Cauchois-Lemaire, L. F.	Jullien de Paris, M. A.
Cerfberr, A.	Justin
Chardel, C. M.	Laborde, A. de
Châtelain, R.	Ladvocat, N.
Chauvelin, F. B.	Lafayette, G. W.
Chodźko, L.	Lallemand, general C. F.
Corcelles, C. T. de	Lamarque, general M.
Coudère	Larrey, D. J. baron
Crémieux, A.	Las-Cases, E.
Daunou, P. C. F.	Lasteyrie, J. de
David d'Angers, P. J.	Lebreton, E.
Decaen, C. M. general	Lemercier, J. N.
Delavigne, C.	Marchais, A.
De la Roche, C.	Marchal, A. L.
Demarçai, J. general	Magendie, F.
Dequevauvillers	Marrast, A.

Mauguin, F.
Montébello, G. de
Mornay
Murat, G.
Paganel, C.
Saint-Aignan, A. de
Sarrans, B.
Schonen, baron de
Sebire

Sédillot, J. J. E.
Septavaux
Subervic, general J. G.
Taschereau, J.
Ternaux, E.
Tracy, V. de
Valmy, general duc de
Zeltner, F. de

APPENDIX II

Comité Central en Faveur des Polonais 1846

Harcourt, le duc d', *president*
Lasteyrie, C. de, *honorary president*
Lafayette, G. W., *vice-president*
Taillander, A., *vice-president*
Robert, C., *secretary*
Bixio, A., *secretary*
Vavin, A., *treasurer*
Chodźko, L., *archivist*

Allier
Assailly, C. d'
Baron
Béranger, P. J.
Bessas-Lamézie
Beaumont, G. de
Beaumont de la Somme
Bethmont
Biesta, H.
Boissel
Bonnin
Boulay de la Meurthe, H.
Bureaux de Puzy
Cambacérès
Carnot, H.
Chapuis
Chapuis de Montlaville
Chopin, J. M.
Considérant, V.

Cordier
Crémieux, A.
Ducuing, F.
Durrieu, X.
Dutrône, H.
Féron
Fontaine de Meulun
François
Garbé
Girardin, E. comte de
Hugo, Victor
Isambert
Jouvencel
Jullien de Paris, M.
Labaume, E.
Lafayette, E.
Lafayette, O.
Larabit
Lasteyrie, F. de

Laverdant, D.
Lesseps, C.
Luneau
Madier de Montjau
Marchal
Marchant
Marie
Maurat-Ballange
Montalembert, C. de
Nivière, baron de
Paya, J. B.
Pelletier, baron de

Perrée, L.
Pieron
Portalis, A.
Saint-Albin, H. de
Saint-Marc Girardin
Sarrans, B.
Selle, C.
Subervic, general J. G.
Sue, E.
Toulon
Vresse
Zeltner, F. de

L. Chodźko, *Le Mémorial polonais*. Paris, 1846.

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- I. Manuscript sources
- II. Official publications
- III. The Press
- IV. Published sources
 - (a) Organisations and associations
 - (b) Contemporary works
 - (c) Pamphlets
 - (d) Poetry and plays
- V. Secondary works
- VI. Bibliographical sources

I. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

The destruction of so much archive material in Poland during the 1939-45 war has made the study of many aspects of Polish history more difficult, but the history of the Great Emigration has been particularly hard hit. The extent of the loss can be judged by the inventory of the Rapperswil collection published before the war by A. Lewak and H. Więckowska, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Narodowej: zbiory Biblioteki Rapperswilskiej* (Warsaw, 1928-38), and, although a considerable amount of material still exists in Poland, particularly in the Czartoryski Archive in Cracow, comparatively little of direct relevance to the Polish propaganda movement and its effects in France has survived. Important sources, however, do exist in the Polish Library in Paris and for the period up to 1832 an inventory has been published by C. Chowaniec, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu* (Cracow, 1939). A good guide to the police records in the French archives by J. Tulard, *La Préfecture de police sous la monarchie de juillet* (Paris, 1964) provides some useful background information on the workings of the political police, but there is no specific inventory of Polish sources. The personal papers of members of the 1846 Polish committee in the Bibliothèque Nationale revealed nothing of relevance and the material in the Archives of the Ministry of War at Vincennes was of only marginal importance for the subject.

1. *The Polish Library in Paris*

- 350-361 Papers of the Polish Mission in Paris 1831-32
436 Papers and correspondence of general Bem
437 A. Biernacki
451 Leonard Chodźko
466 F. Grzymała
481-84 general Kniaziewicz
487 miscellaneous
490 J. U. Niemcewicz
508-9 miscellaneous
510 Ludwik Plater
511 miscellaneous
512 general Rybiński
530-1 miscellaneous
533 general Skrzynecki
550 Polish *dépôt* at Besançon
552 Alphabetical list of *émigrés* with place of residence (un-dated)
558 List of Polish soldiers in the *dépôts* (1832-34)
565 List of *émigrés* with place of residence 1834-35
567 Numbers of *émigrés* arranged by *département* 1835
570 Various appeals
574 Situation of *émigrés* after 1834: many missing
575 Papers of the Polish Polytechnical Society
582-3 Papers of the Committee of the Polish Emigration 1848

489-493 (old numbering) Papers of the Polish Literary Society

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- 252 AP 2 Papers of general Lafayette
271 AP 4 Odilon Barrot
39 AP M. Jullien de Paris

Series BB: Justice

- BB18 General correspondence of the criminal division
1216: 9040 Dossiers concerning incidents in the provinces
1217: 9290/2 associated with the Polish agitations 1832-46
1218: 9836
1220: 10003
1231: 2126
1340: 9900

1353: 166
1365: 4416
1425: 9040
1440: 1837, 1848, 1866/7, 1899
1441: 1937

BB24 Requests for pardons

116-135 S8 3864 1832 Dossiers concerning cases arising from
5688 1831 the Polish agitations

Series C: French Parliament

CC448C 207 Appeals and petitions to the French Parliament
CC455C 259 concerning the Polish question
CC455C 296
CC471C 568
CC472C 601

Series F: General administration

F1C 1 33 Esprit public: police politique 1831-36
F1C 1 75-83 Dons patriotiques, offrandes et souscriptions diverses
F1C 1 90-114 Fêtes publiques, souscriptions nationales An V-1839
F7 Police générale
3884 Bulletins du préfet de police de Paris 1830
3885 Bulletins du préfet de police de Paris 1831
3886 Bulletins du préfet de police de Paris 1832
3893 Bulletins du préfet de police de Paris 1846
6779-84 Reports of the gendarmerie relating to incidents
involving the Polish *émigrés* or the Polish agitations
1832-38
6952: 11597 Reports on Poles resident in France 1824-27
6988: 13703 Reports on the pre-1830 emigration
F15 Secours
3640 Correspondance du bureau des réfugiés étrangers
3881 Etat des sommes à payer pour la caisse du ministre
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- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
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| <i>L'Atelier</i> | <i>La France</i> |
| <i>L'Avenir</i> | <i>La Fraternité de 1845</i> |
| <i>La Calonne</i> | <i>La Gazette de France</i> |
| <i>Le Constitutionnel</i> | <i>Le Journal de Commerce</i> |
| <i>Le Courrier Français</i> | <i>Le Journal des Débats</i> |
| <i>La Démocratie Pacifique</i> | <i>Le National</i> |
| <i>L'Epoque</i> | <i>La Patrie</i> |

<i>La Presse</i>	<i>La Semaine</i>
<i>La Quotidienne</i>	<i>Le Siècle</i>
<i>La Réforme</i>	<i>La Tribune</i>
<i>La Revue des Deux Mondes</i>	<i>L'Union</i>
<i>La Revue Encyclopédique</i>	<i>L'Univers Religieux</i>
<i>La Revue Indépendante</i>	

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VI. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

Inevitably this bibliography has had to be selective. It would be impossible to list all the works on Polish subjects published in France during this period, but, whereas, for example, the literary work of the Emigration has been treated only incidently, most of the political literature associated with the propaganda campaign itself has been included. Similarly no attempt has been made to provide an exhaustive bibliography of secondary sources, but all the works which have proved of most value in the writing of the thesis itself have been listed. The following are the most useful bibliographical sources:

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MISCELLANEA

WITOLD CZERWIŃSKI
(LONDON)

A GENTLE REVOLUTION

The Polish Constitution of 3rd May 1791*

The truth of great historical events speaks to us with particular force in Rome, where history has been written for twenty-five centuries.

On May the 3rd 1798—on the seventh anniversary of the May Constitution—the Polish Legions under General Dąbrowski entered Rome. That same day Dąbrowski addressed his men from below the statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol. Calling them his “fellow citizens and brothers-in-arms” Dąbrowski said:

“We have ascended the summit of the hill from which fame shone out brightly for so many centuries. Remember on what day you ascended it: a day dear to our memory.”

From a distance of a hundred and ninety years the memorable Constitution Act of the Third of May appears like the biblical column of fire, at the juncture of two ages. Embodying as it did the mature wisdom of the generation of the Great Parliament (*Sejm Wielki*), the Constitution was one of the last political acts of the old Commonwealth of Poland and its perpetual legacy to future generations.

The period that preceded the convocation of the Great Parliament in 1788 was marked by a profound change in Polish life. Following the chivalrous fight of the Confederacy of Bar—Poland’s first war of independence—the First Partition, carried out by Poland’s three powerful neighbours, Russia, Prussia and Austria, brought home to many Poles the tragic gravity of their situation. A new generation was coming to the fore, brought up in the schools of the Commission for Education (*Komisja Edukacyjna*). Bitter experience had given birth to clear political thought. Under

* The translated text of the lecture delivered at a commemorative meeting organized by the Polish Ex-Combatants’ Association on May 4th, 1980, in Rome.

the benign influence of learning and science spreading from the enlightened West, people's mental horizons began to widen.

The most eminent minds of the age began to look for the roots of Poland's weakness. Stanisław Staszic, a man of great intellect and warmth of heart, wrote his *Considerations on the Life of Jan Zamoyski* ("Uwagi nad życiem Jana Zamoyskiego"). In this work which exerted a powerful effect on contemporary opinion, Staszic painted a heartrending picture of Polish reality. With great courage and deep patriotism, he presented to his readers the pitiful lot of the rural serf.

Hugo Kołłątaj, one of the most robust minds in the Patriotic Camp, traced in clear lines a programme of recovery. In his *Letters of an Anonymous Writer* ("Anonima listów kilka") written to the later Speaker (*marszałek*) of Parliament, Stanisław Małachowski, Kołłątaj advocated the abolition of open elections to the throne, which had provided an excuse for foreign intervention. He demanded the abolition of the unfortunate principle of the *Liberum veto*, which allowed a factious individual Member to overturn the wisest resolutions of Parliament. He demanded civic rights for the burghers. At his instigation, a procession (the so-called *black procession*), led by the President of the City of Warsaw, Dekiert, made its way to the Royal Castle and in silence handed King Stanislas Augustus a petition asking that the right of *habeas corpus* ("neminem captivabimus") be extended to the burghers, that they be allowed to purchase land and that they should be eligible for civil and ecclesiastical office.

One can say without exaggeration that this profound change in the minds and hearts of Poland's best citizens prepared the ground for the seed of the May Constitution.

The Polish Parliament, called to play a leading role in the task of reforming the Commonwealth, met in Warsaw at a remarkable time. A year earlier the previous solidarity of the three partitioning powers had broken. The perpetrators of the First Partition faced each other as members of two hostile camps: Prussia, in alliance with England on one side; Russia and Austria on the other. The aggressive policy of the Court of St. Petersburg, serving Russia's growing appetite for expansion, turned towards the South. Catherine II was forming plans of imperial greatness, urged on by her powerful favourite Grigori Potemkin. In 1787 war broke out between Russia and Turkey. The following year Russia's ally, the Austria of Joseph II, entered the war. England, led at that time by Pitt, undertook a wide-ranging diplomatic initiative aimed at arrest-

ing the victorious progress of the Russians, saving Turkey and restoring the tottering balance of power in Europe.

Under the inspiration of London, a “coalition of Northern states” is brought into being, consisting of England, Prussia and Holland. Prussia, ruled by Frederick William II, is to play the role of England’s “continental soldier” and begins frantic preparations for war.

Russia is suddenly faced with a highly dangerous situation. Despite the capture of Izmail, fierce fighting on the Turkish front continues to hold down the bulk of the Russian army. England has an enormous advantage over Russia at sea: an attack by her powerful fleet on the weaker Russian naval squadrons in the Gulf of Bothnia could end in the annihilation of the Empress’s navy. St. Petersburg was well aware of this. The real director of Russia’s foreign policy, Alexander Bezborodko, wrote to the Empress’s ambassador in London, Semion Vorontsov, in March 1791:

“Our hope lies in this, that if England does not move, then the Prussian King will be the quieter”.¹

The Russian Embassy in London, endowed with sizeable funds, began a lively and successful campaign of its own. Vorontsov, one of the most eminent Russian diplomats of the time, managed to gain the friendly support of the English press. He won over the most eminent members of the Whig opposition, who energetically opposed themselves to Pitt’s ambitious plans. Vorontsov even succeeded in influencing some of the less resolute members of Pitt’s cabinet.

The fate of these plans lay in the balance during the spring of 1791—a few weeks before the proclamation of the Constitution of the Third of May. The House of Commons resounded to the powerful voice of Charles Fox, armed with arguments supplied by Vorontsov. The leader of the opposition did not see any serious threat to the balance of power in Europe. Even the wise and noble-hearted Edmund Burke thought of Russia at the time as England’s “natural ally”. So, while the House of Commons, despite considerable opposition, voted to support the government’s policy, William Pitt’s resolve was weakened and he decided to abandon military action against Russia. By the middle of April 1791, London ceased to discuss the possibility of sending the fleet to the Baltic.² London’s pressure on St. Petersburg also weakened. Pitt’s vacillation cooled the martial ardour of the Court in Berlin. Catherine the Great

¹ Archives of Prince Vorontsov, Vol. 13, Moscow 1879; quotation based on J. Łojek: *Przed Konstytucją Trzeciego Maja* (Before the Constitution of May the Third), PAX, Warsaw 1977, p. 97.

² J. Łojek, *op. cit.* p. 117.

knew now that England would not act. The dissolution of the projected "Northern Coalition" removed the danger to Russia. Her anxiety assuaged, the Empress recovered her freedom of action in Poland.

In the light of these events we are better able to understand the fateful words which open the Act of Promulgation of the May Constitution: "Wishing to take advantage of the situation in which Europe finds itself and mindful of the passing moment which has restored us to ourselves, free from the dictates of foreign force . . ."

Indeed, the moment which "restored us to ourselves" was already passing. The configuration of international forces that had favoured Poland in its attempts at recovery was coming to an end.

The authors of the Constitution of the Third of May ratified it, "valuing more highly than life, than private happiness, *the political existence, internal independence and external freedom of the nation*". In this spirit was the great task of reforming the Commonwealth undertaken. In accordance with the advice of the wisest political writers, the principle of open elections to the throne was set aside. In order to ensure the continuity of royal government, a Government Act laid down that the crown would be inherited by the Elector of Saxony, Frederick Augustus.

A break was made with the accursed principle of *liberum veto*. The Act made provision for a parliament ready to act in the event of an emergency and an extraordinary parliament, which was to meet every twenty-five years to carry out further constitutional changes.

According to the Government Act, burghers were given the right of *habeas corpus* ("neminem captivabimus"), granted to the gentry (*szlachta*) in 1431. They were given the right to purchase landed estates and access to secular and ecclesiastical dignities. Delegates from the towns obtained the right to take part in parliamentary proceedings. The May Constitution did not go as far as the contemporary French Constitution, which gave full rights to the "third estate", but, nonetheless, it marked a great step forward on the road to democracy.

Alas, not much was done for peasantry. Beautiful references were made to them: "From their hands flows the abundant stream of a nation's wealth". We can hear in these words an echo of the popular theories of the physiocrats, enunciated so concisely by François Quesnay in his celebrated *Tableau Economique*: "Pauvre paysan, pauvre royaume; pauvre royaume, pauvre roi". The May Act merely extended legal protection to agreements to be concluded

between landowners and peasants regarding the replacement of serfdom by the payment of rent.

Public opinion in the more enlightened parts of Europe greeted the May Constitution with considerable goodwill. One can say that Poland, in this unfortunately short period, had a "good press". Western Europe periodicals wrote about Poland with understanding and genuine appreciation. The great British parliamentarian Edmund Burke called the Constitution a *gentle revolution* and praised it with much conviction: "In contemplating that change—he wrote—humanity has everything to rejoice, and to glory in: nothing to be ashamed of, nothing to suffer. So far as it has gone, it probably is the most pure and defecated public good which ever has been conferred on mankind".³

Poland was not spared the marks of goodwill. Somewhat later, in the spring of 1792, when the Empress's troops were entering Poland, a considerable number of English officers came to the Polish envoy in London, Franciszek Bukaty, volunteering to serve in the Polish army.⁴

In the developing situation one question was uppermost: what would be the attitude of the courts of the powers that had participated in Poland's partition? Frederick William II, linked to Poland by the alliance of the 29th March 1790, congratulated Stanislas Augustus on achieving a reform of the Polish polity but at the same time preferred to maintain a highly ambiguous reserve. Joseph II's successor and the second son of Maria Theresa, Leopold II—an enlightened, intelligent and far-sighted ruler—did what he could on the diplomatic front to persuade St. Petersburg to look favourably on the changes brought about by the May Constitution. He understood that a strong and well-governed Poland lay in Europe's interest.

The Empress Catherine was surrounded by rival coteries and ambitions. The influence of the once omnipotent favourite, Grigori Potemkin, the Prince of Tauris, was on the wane. The rising star and last favourite of the aging Semiramis, was the twenty-four year old Platon Zubov. Professor Jerzy Łojek, in his recent monograph, comes to the conclusion that given this state of affairs, there was still a chance of reaching an agreement with Russia.⁵

³ *An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs, in consequence of some late discussions in Parliament, relative to the reflections on the French Revolution*; London, 1791, p. 102.

⁴ J. Łojek: *Upadek Konstytucji 3 Maja* (The Fall of the Constitution of 3rd May), PAN, Warsaw, 1976, p. 213.

⁵ J. Łojek, *op. cit.* p. 34.

In this historic drama, the leading role and hence the main responsibility for what happened, belongs to King Stanislas Augustus. The *Guardianship of the Law* ("Straż Praw") created by the May Constitution, did not in fact, function as a Government. In the months following the ratification of the Constitution, it concerned itself with minor matters. Real power, as regards the most important aspects of foreign policy and the country's defence, lay in the hands of the King. Stanislas Augustus was well informed by his diplomatic representatives about the way the international situation was developing.

But the weak and vacillating King failed to show a just understanding of the situation, a manly determination or a will to fight. He did not exploit the diplomatic possibilities open to him whilst the situation was not yet entirely hopeless. He obstinately believed that an arrangement with the leaders of the implacable magnate opposition, Szczyński Potocki and Seweryn Rzewuski, would open the way to negotiations with St. Petersburg. This was his gravest error. The future leaders of the Confederacy of Targowica were only passive tools of Russian policy: everything was decided in St. Petersburg.⁶

One must add that after the elation and euphoria of the "May Dawn" the originators of the reforms did not produce a unified leadership, nor a determination capable of breaking the King's apathy and of stimulating him into action.

The wisest member of the Patriotic Camp, Ignacy Potocki, unfortunately had little influence on the King who mistrusted him. Potocki for a long time entertained the illusion that Frederick William II's Prussia would not deny Poland the help due under the terms of the alliance of 1790. He returned from a visit to Berlin in June 1792 as the "moral vanquisher of the Hohenzollern but politically bankrupt as far as his own nation was concerned".⁷

Meanwhile the leaders of the magnate opposition wasted no time: Szczyński Potocki, Seweryn Rzewuski and their associate the *hetman* Branicki saw in the Government Act of May the Third a mortal threat to *golden liberty* ("złota wolność"). They conspired together and—through Grigori Potemkin—appealed for aid to the "Most Serene Guarantor", Catherine. As the Empress's troops crossed the frontier, they proclaimed—in the border village of Targowica—the infamous Confederacy of Targowica in May 1792.

In the face of invasion, Stanislas Augustus considered that it was

⁶ J. Łojek, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁷ W. Konopczyński: *Dzieje Polski Nowożytnej* (History of Modern Poland), London, 1959, Vol. II, p. 389.

better to talk to the Court of St. Petersburg, “with the pen, rather than the sword”. The worst—says Professor Łojek—was that Stanislas Augustus could not even wield a pen effectively. “Stanislas Augustus’s slogan, *with the pen, rather than the sword*, turned into its own contradiction: Neither with the pen nor with the sword. In rejecting the sword, the King also broke his pen”.⁸ After long hesitation and more than a year’s inactivity, the King finally made attempts to make direct contact with St. Petersburg. In a letter to the Empress, sent from Warsaw on June 23rd, 1792, he appealed to her “magnanimous heart”. He proposed to offer the succession to the Polish throne to Catherine’s grandson, the Grandduke Constantine, to introduce changes in the May Act and to sign a perpetual alliance with Russia.

Catherine’s reply arrived in Warsaw a month later (July 21st). It was a hard and ruthless demand for *capitulation*. She demanded an immediate cessation of armed resistance against the Russian army and the King’s accession to the Confederacy of Targowica.

At a council, called by the King on July 23rd, a small majority (7: 5) declared itself in favour of accepting Catherine’s ultimatum. A great and unexpected blow to the unwavering defenders of the May Constitution was the desertion of Hugo Kollątaj, one of the leaders of the Patriotic Camp, who lost heart at the decisive moment and declared: “today, not tomorrow”.⁹ The cause had been lost.

The honour of the sinking Commonwealth of Poland was upheld by the army under the command of Prince Joseph Poniatowski and Tadeusz Kościuszko. The battle of Zieleńce (June 18th, 1792) failed to bring full victory, but did confirm a strong will to fight the Russian invasion.

The King’s accession to the Confederacy of Targowica was a fearful stab in the back of the struggling army. Under the influence of early rumours of the King’s capitulation, Prince Joseph wrote him a letter full of righteous indignation:

“News is circulating here in the camp—he wrote from Kurów to his royal uncle on July 25, 1792—that Your Majesty has been treating with our country’s betrayers and trying in this manner to buy peace for a valiant nation . . . The shame of descending to the level of traitors would be our grave”.¹⁰

The King’s nephew, so nobly expressing the mood of his subor-

⁸ J. Łojek: *Upadek Konstytucji 3 Maja*, p. 259.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 241.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 251.

dinates, evinced a manly courage in defence of the *honour of the Poles* with which history would bind his name.

The Confederacy of Targowica, obedient to the orders of the “Most Serene Guarantor”, was unable to prevent the catastrophe of the Second Partition. Those who joined the Confederacy could comfort themselves with a very dubious thought: “*Stulta mens nobis, non scelerata fuit*” (our aims were foolish, but not base)—is what the trusted friend of Szczęśny Potocki, Benedykt Hulewicz wrote after the event.

The patriotic ardour which inspired the generation of the Great Parliament burst into flame once more with Kościuszko’s Insurrection of 1794. The Insurrection was followed by the Third Partition and the extinction of the Polish State. But the passionate love of freedom and the faith in Poland’s immortality survived the fall of the Commonwealth.

Two years after the final Partition, which was meant for all time to wipe Poland from the map of Europe, a soldier’s song came into being at Reggio Emilia in Italy, about the Country which “has not perished”. The simple words of that song were to become the political programme of the coming generations of Poles.

IN MEMORIAM



Professor Henryk Paszkiewicz

HENRYK PASZKIEWICZ

Henryk Paszkiewicz, who was born in 1897, entered the newly-formed University of Warsaw in 1915. As a student in the faculty of history and philosophy, he immediately chose to devote himself to the study of medieval Polish history, and worked under the direction of Professors Marcei Handelsman and Oskar Halecki. The critical method coupled with the breadth of vision of historical studies attracted young Paszkiewicz to the former; the choice of the Polish-Lithuanian tradition in its European context attracted him to the latter.

At this time there was a *renaissance* of interest in the study of very early Polish-Lithuanian relations in the XIVth and XVth centuries. Both Handelsman and Halecki were acknowledged authorities in this field, and the problems of Eastern Polish policy were frequently discussed in their seminars.

The scholarly preoccupations of young Paszkiewicz were interrupted by a period of active service during the Polish-Soviet war in 1920, but by 1925 he had published a thorough treatise on the policy of King Casimir the Great towards Rus' (*Polityka Ruska Kazimierza Wielkiego*). Even earlier there appeared in *Przegląd Historyczny* a paper on the policy of this King of Poland towards the Teutonic Order. Then Paszkiewicz concentrated his researches on the Polish-Lithuanian relations, beginning with the study of political institutions of pre-Christian Lithuania. He surveyed the sources relating to that period and published *Regesta Lithuaniae ab origine usque ad Magni Ducatus cum Regno Poloniae unionem* in 1930. In 1933 the most important synthetic study of the relations between the Jagellonian dynasty and Moscow appeared under the title *Jagiellonowie i Moskwa*. In 1938 Paszkiewicz published *O genezie i wartości Krewa* (The origin and meaning of the Krewa Treaty of 1385). The author himself regarded this study of negotiations, which preceded the invitation of Władysław Jagiełło to the throne of Poland, as his most important achievement of the pre-war period.

In his researches Paszkiewicz underlined the friendly policy of King Casimir towards Lithuania. Marriages between the nobles of the two countries were favoured and there was aid and co-operation in various campaigns of war. Conditions had not yet arisen, how-

ever, for permanent alignment or alliance, as was already the case with Rus'. There were still a number of contentious issues relating to the territories of Mazovia (Mazowsze) and the region of Rus' of Halicz and Volhynia. One of these was the extension of Casimir's dominion from Halicz and Chełm to the region of Włodzimierz in Volhynia. This was recognised in 1366 and it was only afterwards that King Casimir established two new bishoprics, one in Chełm and one in Włodzimierz and prepared the establishment of the Metropolitan See in Halicz (1371), subsequently transferred to Lwów. It was then also that the previous feudal organization was abolished in the Rus' of Halicz and Włodzimierz. The local nobles (boyars) obtained the titles of property and were freed of land taxes in exchange for the undertaking of military duties. The peasants became tenants according to the Law of Magdeburg, and they had their bailiffs and *sculteti*. With evident approval, Paszkiewicz quoted the view of the Ukrainian historian M. Korduba: *they did carry on wars, but they were wars about family matters, they were dynastic quarrels.*

Paszkiewicz elucidated one of the most significant problems in the relations between Lithuania and Moscow, namely the conflict (1345-1353) over the weakening of the authority of the Patriarch of the Eastern Church in Constantinople over Olgierd, grandduke of Lithuania, two-thirds of whose subjects were Eastern Christians. The conflict was resolved with the renewal of the Metropolitan See of all the Slavonic Rus' in Kiev (1352), in territory under the rule of the grandduke of Lithuania. Nevertheless, at the turn of the 13th to the 14th century a second Metropolitan See of all Rus', Slavonic and non-Slavonic, was established in Vladimir-on-the-Klyaz'ma on behalf of Moscow. This conflict, originally of a politico-religious nature grew into a warlike confrontation about the Rus'ian territories lying between the Dnieper and Volga rivers. The harmonious relations between Lithuania and Rus' were disturbed by this contest in which Moscow's only argument was the religious unity of both parts of Rus', based on the original liturgy in the Old-Church-Slavonic language and with the centre in Greek Byzantium. It should be remembered here, that Paszkiewicz frequently and strongly stressed the social virtues of the Lithuanians who practised genuine compromise solutions of socio-political problems based on true religious tolerance (they were themselves pagan at the time). Thus, for instance, the administration and the courts functioned in the Slavonic language. The social aptitudes of the Lithuanians doubled their efficaciousness in the government of their dominions which included Slavonic populations beyond the Dnieper and up to

the upper Volga, the Oka river and the upper reaches of the Don. However, ethnic and cultural complexities were bound to grow as the society developed. This internal political situation in his realm must have caused Olgierd (and later Witold) to appreciate the relevance of the Eastern Church and to incline him towards baptism in that Church. In contrast the psychological outlook of Jagiełło was to develop along different lines of thought and political activity.

During the pre-war years Paszkiewicz taught in high schools for girls and this provided the wherewithal for his scholarly researches. Beginning in 1931 he lectured on Polish medieval history at the *Wolna Wszechnica* in Warsaw as Professor and then Dean. He qualified as *docent* in the University of Warsaw where he was appointed to a chair in 1939.

After taking part in the defence of Warsaw in 1939 Paszkiewicz was taken prisoner, and he spent most of the six years of war in the prisoner-of-war camp in Murnau in Bavaria. There—with others—he was responsible for the clandestine news bulletin based on secret radio reception; he also gave lectures on the history of Poland in the Jagellonian period to his fellow prisoners-of-war. Immediately after liberation he travelled to Italy, where he joined the 2nd Polish Army Corps, and was charged with the supervision of the numerous young Polish soldiers who became students in Italian universities. At the same time he conducted his own researches at the Vatican library.

On arriving in England in 1947 Paszkiewicz turned his expertise and research acumen towards the early period of Russian history. On the other hand, as Vice-President of the Lanckoroński Foundation and of the Polish Historical Institute in Rome, he shaped and directed the editorial policy of *Antemurale*. Further he participated in the realization of the editorial programme of the series *Elementa ad fontium editiones*, the 50th volume of which was published recently. The importance of this venture is already well appreciated in Poland, and, soon, the whole of Central and Eastern Europe will realize its significance.

Paszkiewicz's studies of the origins of Russia have achieved a world standing comparable to that of the works by E. Gibbon, G. P. Gooch or A. J. Toynbee. This is because of his pioneering insight into early Russian history which resulted in the rejection of unreliable Russian views of the origins of Rus' due to authors such as N. M. Karamzin, B. Grekov and D. Likhachev and the retention of the penetrating achievements of unbiased Russian historians such as A. Shakhmatov, A. Presnyakov and A. Nasonov. Paszkiewicz perceived great differences in the IXth and Xth century pattern of

settlement and civilization of Slavs and Balts in the area between the river Oder and the Volga basin on the one hand and the peoples living to the East of the Volga on the other. The inhabitants of these lands extending right up to the Ural mountains were later also commonly regarded as being of Slavonic origin. Indeed certain Russian historians developed a thesis—convenient for purposes of the State—that the present three nations (Velikorussians, Byelorussians and Ukrainians) living in the area between the river Bug and the Urals were all descended from a common Slavonic stem which existed in the IXth and Xth centuries. This Slavonic pre-nation was said to have differentiated as a result of specific internal cultural development processes of the various tribes, leading to the establishment of three distinct national groups having common ethnic and ethnological features. A similar stand, though different in some details, was adopted by Polish historians meeting in conference in Poznań in January 1958. They described the historical development of Russia as an internal Slavonic process and regarded Norse influence as being of minor importance at a late stage.

Paszkievicz departed from the scheme of common Slavonic origin in early times. Examining many original sources, he demonstrated the basic veracity and trustworthiness of the *Povest' vremennykh let*, the so-called Nestorian Chronicle, albeit with careful avoidance of modifications by later copyists. Of crucial importance in his analysis was the study of the time-development of meaning of individual words such as *Rus'*, *yazyk*, *Russkaya zemlya*, *nachalnik* which in the IXth century Old-Church-Slavonic had meant Kievan Rus', the Eastern Christian faith, the metropolitan province of the Greek--Rus'ian Church and the founder-ruler. I may add that in the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries, these concepts described the so-called *Trinity of the State*, cult of the Tsar, cult of God and Church and autocracy (*carostawie*, *prawostawie*, *samowladztwo*). There were other important terms or words whose IXth century meanings were established by Paszkiewicz, such as *ruskyi yazyk* = the religion of the Slavs of the Kiev metropolitan province; *latinskyi yazyk* = the Roman-Catholic religion; *ethnoseparchia* = the metropolitan province of Kiev, etc.

In addition, Paszkiewicz integrated the evidence collected by ethnographers to show that the vicinity of Moscow was inhabited by the Merya, a Finnish tribe, right into the XVIIIth century, while the neighbouring territories of Muroma, Mordva, Mari and Suzdal' were russified later through baptism in the Rus'ian Church. In his three monographs (*The Origin of Russia*, 1954; *The Making of the Russian Nation*, 1963; *The Rise of Moscow's Power*—to be pub-

lished shortly) Paszkiewicz gave a new interpretation of the historical meaning of the Russian State, which he showed to have derived fundamentally from the invading Norsemen. As was observed by Rev. W. Meysztowicz *no one knew medieval Russia as well as Paszkiewicz*; he coupled this statement with that of the Russian poet of the XIXth century, F. I. Tyutchev—*you can't understand Russia . . . but only believe in her*.

The Christianization of Kievan Rus' is another subject on which Paszkiewicz's researches led to conclusions different from those accepted by many others. According to his views the grand-duke Vladimir was baptized somewhere on the banks of the Dnieper in 988, in the Slavonic rite of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, and not in the Greek rite at Constantinople. The Patriarch Photius had sent St. Cyril on missions in Crimea. Paszkiewicz studied four accounts of this event (Chronicles, and Lives of Saints) but had serious doubts as to their trustworthiness. Nor did he believe in the legend of baptism of Vladimir at Tmutorokan' in the *eparchia* of the Goths adjacent to the Khazars. He regarded the story of St. Cyril finding a Rus'ian translation of the Bible and the Psalms at Kherson as quite unrealistic. Paszkiewicz formulated the following hypothesis on the circumstances of the baptism of Vladimir. The grand-duke had a mission or task of fostering liaison between his Kievan Rus' and Rome, and he was inclined towards the Western Slavs and towards the Slavonic rite of St. Cyril and St. Methodius which was spreading from Moravia. His family ties linked him to Poland, Hungary and Bohemia who favoured the Slavonic rite, supported as it was for a time, by several Popes. But at the same time it must be remembered that differences were already developing between Eastern and Western Christendom, though the Schism was not yet contemplated. It was to take place in altered circumstances in 1054.

The interpretation of the two-fold meaning of the word *Rus'* mentioned earlier was based on the researches of the Ukrainian historian D. Doroshenko, but Paszkiewicz extended the concept from the Kievan Rus' to the Principality of Halicz, the population of Volhynia and also to the Finnish tribes inhabiting the basin of the rivers Volga and Oka. He explained how the religious unity of the wide dominions of the Varangians brought about the moral justification of their rule through a deepening of the faith with the use of Slavonic hagiography and the unity of Church administration. Thus there appeared translations of many liturgical texts together with statutes applicable to the whole of the territories ruled by the Varangians. There evolved a strict administrative centralization, demanding absolute solidarity and obedience of all tribes. The

basic tribal freedoms and rights of individuals were sacrificed to this end.

According to Paszkiewicz the chronicler Nestor was aware of the differences between the Rus' of Slavonic origin and those of Finnish origin. However, both populations used the same translation of the scriptures due to St. Cyril and St. Methodius and the chronicler, who was under the spell of this unity, advocated the politico-religious unification of Eastern and Central Europe. This included the whole Rus', Poland, Bohemia, and also the Finns and the Scandinavians in accordance with the ideas of the Slavonic apostles and the designs of the Byzantine Empire, in which the Varangians were the major force at the time. That was their historic role. There are still many issues relating to this period of inter-tribal rivalry in which the autocracy of Moscow developed, that require the clarifying attention of future historians.

Paszkiewicz's vision of the historical development of Eastern Europe involved two principal lines of thought. Firstly he investigated the progress of the Varangians from Scandinavia to the Eastern shores of the Baltic, the establishment of their spring-board in the region of the Ilmen' and Beloye lakes and their subsequent conquest of the area extending from Valdai watershed to the Black Sea, of which the Kievan Rus' was the main prize. Next he investigated the Varangians' expeditions from the Valdai along the Volga and the Oka to the confluence of the two rivers near Nizhni Novgorod. The consequences of these conquests were quite different for the Rus'ian peoples (Novgorodians, Krivichians and Vyatichians) and the Finnish tribes of Merya, Mordva and Muroma.

Secondly Paszkiewicz examined the ethnic origins of the Rus'ian populations from the Bug and Niemen rivers, across the Dnieper, to the sources of the Volga and the Oka, as well as the origins of the Lithuanians who together with their subject West Rus'ian peoples formed a dualistic state comparable to that of the Varangians. Lastly he concerned himself with the Southern Rus'ian State in the area of Kiev. In early times this was strongly interlinked with the Lyakhs; in the middle of the Xth century it took the lead in the spread of the Eastern Church and Byzantine culture, but had lost its hegemony by the end of the XIth century and had permitted the emergence of a second Metropolitan See at Vladimir-on-the-Klyaz'ma. With the help of Byzantium and of the Mongols, this new power centre became the dominant force in the organization of Eastern Europe in the XIVth century. Thanks to its military prowess and the application of despotic political methods towards the readily subjugated Ugro-Finnish tribes, this new entity con-

quered large areas of the East and became the aggressive Grand Duchy of Moscovy.

The celebrated historian died suddenly on 8th December 1979.

The scope and range of the historical heritage of Paszkiewicz allows me to use this transcription of Plato's words as a message of farewell:

“History teaches of the transitoriness of events, but points to the eternal existence of man through the elucidation of the secrets of this very existence.”

Stanisław Biegański

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PAULUS ŁYSEK (1914-1978)

Paulus Łysek anno 1914 in Polonia natus est. Huntingtonii qui est vicus Insulae Longae (in Statibus Americae Foederatis), annos tres et sexaginta cum complevisset, morbo canceris insanabili consumptus, omnis Ecclesiae munitus Sacramentis, anno 1978 ex hac vita decessit.

Iuvenis totum se studiis dedit. Quibus anno 1934 in Universitate Vilmensi inceptis, philosophiae magistri nomine in historia, sociologia, litteris Polonicis ab Universitate Iagiellonica Cracoviensi anno 1939 in eum collato, absolutus est. Dissertatio eius inscribitur *Życie i praca dla Polski księdza Józefa Londzina*.

Bello illo acerrimo exarso, in Gallia et Britannia militabat. Anno 1949 in Americam migravit. Docendi munere ab Universitatis Municipalis Neo-Eboracensis Collegio quod Queens appellatur anno 1954 ornatus, iuvenes linguas et litteras Slavonicas non frustra docebat atque bibliothecarii officio ad libros in variis Slavorum linguis conscriptos fungebatur. Qui etiam maximam curam atque diligentiam adhibuit ut commentationum ad litteras Slavonicas peregre confectas lingua Anglica explicandas anniversaria series quae inscribitur *Queens Slavic Papers* ederetur.

Ab ipsis nominibus societatum quarum socius ascriptus erat, duae praecipue res colligi possunt, quibus toto pectore inhaerebat: Patria sua Polonia atque litterae. Etenim a popularibus suis, scriptore Georgio Kosinski et professore Ludovico Krzyżanowski societatis quae "American PEN Club" appellatur, sodalis cooptatus est. Collega quoque erat maxime industrius in consilio quod Collegium Litterarum Societatis Polonicae Artium et Scientiarum in America administrat. Londonii quoque cum Scriptorum Polonicorum Collegio et cum Societate Polonica arctissime coniunctus erat.

Sex quamvis fabulae illum habebant auctorem, plurimis aetatis nostrae hominibus praecipue propter illam trilogiam notus est, quam de tribus vicis in Silesiae montibus situs Polonici sermonis dialecto Bescidensi composuit: *Przy granicy* (Londonii, 1969; lingua Anglica 1977); *Twarde żywobyćie Jury Odcesty* (Londonii, 1970; lingua Anglica 1979); et *Marynka, cera gajdosza* (Londonii, 1973). Cuius libri tantum quod in lucem erant emissi, apud multas nationes gloriam famamque ei paraverunt. Volumine primo publici iuris facto a Maria Danilewicz et Josepho Wittlin in certamine

anno 1966 designatus est. Volumine secundo “librum optimum esse lingua Polonica anno 1970 editum” pronuntiato, a Litterarum Academia Polona in Exsilio palma ornatus est. Ob eandem trilogiam integram Kościelski Familiae Fundatio praemium ei in certamine litterario anno 1975 tribuit.

In Poloniam anno 1973 vocatus, Łysek quocumque veniebat, haud clam celebrabatur, colloquia quidem eius non minus in actis diurnis quam in televisione perpetuo laudabantur. De operibus eius quae e fabulis popularibus atque historiis elaboratis constant iam dissertationes in Poloniae universitatibus scribuntur.

Cum Łysek anno 1974 extraordinarii professoris gradum ascendit, Praeses Collegii Josephus S. Murphy, in epistola gratulatoria “quantopere per annos viginti in iuvenes docendo, in scientiam excolendo, in fabulas conficiendo valeret,” commemoravit.

Sicut S. Cyprianus docuit, “amica et familiaris oratio est Deum de suo rogare.” Ipsi, Domine, et omnibus in Te quiescentibus locum refrigerii, lucis, pacis ut gratificeris deprecamur. Utinam omnes iterum cum eo Te coniungamur.

Thomas E. Bird
Mense Iulio 1978

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