



RESURRECTION STUDIES

BOGDAN JANSKI

LETTERS

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Congregation of the Resurrection
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INTRODUCTION TO THE LETTERS

The founder of the Congregation of the Resurrection was, by professional training, an economist and lawyer. His love and interest carried him into the fields of translating, publishing and journalism. He was a member of the Polish emigration to France, and a lay apostle to this same emigration after the collapse of the November Uprising in Poland.

Bogdan Janski was born on the Lisowo Manor near Grójec, in the home of his grandfather, Ignatius Janski, on March 26, 1807. The eldest son of Peter Janski and Agnes Hryniewicka, he was baptized in Winnica near Pułtusk as a resident of the Domosław Manor which was leased by his parents. Bogdan spent his early childhood in Domosław. Later he lived with his maternal grandparents in Pogorzelec (1809), then in a house and property leased by his parents in Pękowo (1812), then with his maternal aunt Bogumiła Jaroszevska in Niestępów.

Janski began his education in Pułtusk (1813) where one year later his mother and the rest of the children appeared due to the fact that she was evicted from the Manor in Pękowo, having been identified as the wife of a Napoleonic sympathizer. Bogdan's elementary education (1815) and secondary education were completed with honors in the country school of the Benedictine Fathers in Pułtusk, where he received his graduation certificate on July 29, 1822. In the

fall of that year he was invited to teach in the local high school as substitute teacher for the professors of Mathematics, Polish and Caligraphy.

From 1823 to 1827 Janski studied at the Royal University of Warsaw and earned two degrees: Canon and Civil Law (July 10, 1827) and Civil Administration, also known as Political Economics (October 24, 1827). During his studies in Pułtusk and Warsaw he supported himself by means of tutoring. From 1826 he also worked as a statistician and developed contacts with the Warsaw Press. During this time he also assisted his younger brothers financially while they were studying. His translation of H. Storch's *Economie politique* was completed during this period. (It was later published in 3 volumes with still not acknowledgement of the translator).

As a result of his reading of the French Encyclopedists, especially the *System de la nature* of P.H. Dietrich de Holbach (Mirabau), Janski lost his faith. After finishing his studies, he remained in Warsaw to work as a lawyer and translator, as well as a journalist on the staff of the *Gazeta Polska* and the *Kurier Warszawski* under M. Mochnacki and Chrzęszczewski. In 1828, having entered the competition for the post of professor at the Polytechnic Institute in Warsaw, he won the nomination as professor which also required that he travel throughout Europe doing research. He received a government grant for 3 years of study in Paris, London and Berlin. The day before his departure (November 10, 1828), Bogdan married Alexandra Josephine Zawadzka, the daughter of a well-known leader of the Kurpie district northeast of Warsaw. Her father, known to have been one of the initiators of the Kościuszko rebellion, later became a colonel of the Napoleonic Lancers. From 1828 to 1830 Janski continued his studies in economic law, mainly at the *Ecole Speciale de Commerce et d'Industrie* in Paris, rue St. Antoine 143 (Hotel Sully). He also prepared lectures in commercial law and the history and geography of commerce for later use in the Polytechnic Institute in Warsaw. He became

deeply interested in the attitudes and social experiments of the Saint Simonists, and even joined them for a period (1830-1831) under the influence of A. Bazard. Janski was especially attracted by the program of social justice advanced by these bold reformers; for their social ideas were very similar to his own youthful ideals, plans and radical world view.

During a six month period of independent study in London (August 1830-February 1831) Janski developed close personal contacts with A. Hayward, the editor of *The Law Magazine*, C.P. Cooper, the Philanthropist, and R. Owen. All of them tried to win him over to Saintsimonism. He also established contact with John Stuart Mill and M. Culloch, the pillars of English political economics at the time.

At the time he was preparing to leave for six months' research in Berlin, Janski was surprised by the news of the November Uprising in Poland. Shortly afterward, he received a secret commission in the revolutionary government, namely, to serve as attaché for Polish affairs in the West. In this position he was able to take advantage of his knowledge of English, French, and the Saint Simonist press. From April, 1831, Janski served on the editorial staff of *Le Globe*. For a short time during this period, he also returned to London for a political mission.

After the collapse of the Uprising, for patriotic reasons, Janski did not take advantage of the favorable conditions for return to Poland. He decided in favor of a freely willed exile and hoped for a war of liberation. For a short time he belonged to the emigration committee of J. Lelevel and General Umiński. From 1832 he was a full time member of the Polish Literary Society in Paris, and was counted among the friends of Adam Mickiewicz. He translated the poet's *Konrad Wallenrod* into French. With H. Burgaud des Marets he also translated Mickiewicz's *Dziady*, and *Księgi narodu polskiego*. Janski was

constantly involved in directing the printing of Mickiewicz's works (including the first edition of the famous *Pan Tadeusz*, with the printing firms of A. Jełowicki and A. Pinard. During this period Janski served as co-editor, and finally sole editor, of the periodical *Pielgrzym Polski*.

At the end of the year 1831, Bogdan Janski became closely associated with the group known as *L'Avenir* and became friends with Charles Montalembert, Fr. Lacordaire and Fr. Gerbet. As a result of many years of personal reflection, search and experience, followed by many discussions with Fr. Lacordaire and reading the works of Fr. Gerbet, Janski's process of conversion began early in 1832. For the next two years he fulfilled only the lightest of religious obligations. He served as librarian of the new Polish library in Paris which was founded by the Polish-French Committee as an offshoot of the French Society of Universal Culture (July 7, 1834).

He continually wrote articles about Poland and the Slavic countries for the new French encyclopedias: *Encyclopédie des gens du monde*; *Dictionnaire de la conversation et de lecture*; *Encyclopédie nouvelle* (Vol.1, *Encyclopédie Pittoresque*); *Encyclopédie du XIX siècle* and the *Encyclopédie catholique*. He also wrote for French periodicals such as *Le Globe*, *Revue Encyclopédique*, and later for *L'Université Catholique*, *L'Univers Religieux*, *L'Ami de la Religion*, *Le Polonaise* and many others. In his articles he often wrote of the surveillance which was taking place in Poland using, as evidence, correspondence from Poland in translation.

Janski belonged to the group of co-organizers, and for a time served as director, of the Polish Publishing House in Paris, a firm jointly owned by A. Jełowicki and Januskiewicz. Janski constantly directed common efforts which sought to unify his embittered compatriots and to look after Polish youth who were facing so many obstacles.

By the end of 1834, Janski had returned to the most serious of religious practices. He made his confession in six sessions at St. Mandé with Fr. J. Ch. Chossotte. Janski was also the founder of the External Brethren. He inspired his compatriots to religious fervor: A. Mickiewicz, A. Gorecki, S. Witwicki, Joseph and Bohdan Zaleski and Ignatius Domeyko. Though the External Brethren disbanded shortly after their foundation, Janski instituted another organization called the Ministry to the Nation (Służba Narodowa) in the middle of 1835, whose aim was the re-christianization of contemporary pagan society and a deepening of the spirit of the Gospel by means of an elite laity. These were to be people of high intellectual and moral character, who would be a sign that not only priests and religious, but that all Christians are called to holiness. The ministry of this group consisted in coordinating services to the community rather than in existing as some type of organization in and for itself. Very quickly many young and outstanding people were attracted to this group. Under the influence of Janski these people returned to zealous religious practice and became in their own right exemplary lay apostles.

In order that his activities would be more effective, Janski established a highly organized center, and began to live a common life with his most zealous co-workers. They decided to dedicate all their time and talent to this work. They were to be instructors for a wider circle of External Brothers and sympathizers. This center was known as the House of Janski and was established in Paris on the street of Notre Dame des Champs 11, on February 21, 1836. The House was formally opened after confession, Community Mass and Communion by Bogdan Janski, P. Semenenko, J. Kajsiewicz, E. Duński, and J. Maliński. They vowed “perpetual brotherhood in common”. Janski announced that the objectives of the community and the program of activity were to be decided in common at house meetings. Janski himself accepted the superiority of this group with the title of “Elder Brother”. This was the actual beginning of the

new community which was later to take the name of the Congregation of the Resurrection.

The religious activities of the group indicated very quickly to Janski that priests were needed. Witnessing the low level of spirituality among the emigrants and the weakness of his influence on the elite of the country in exile, Janski decided to send Semenenko and Kajsiewicz for theological studies. His plan was to send other members who also felt the call to the priesthood. Janski's first disciples began their theological training with the priests who directed the College Stanislaus Leszczyński in Paris. They completed their studies in Rome where Janski founded a second house for clerics in the Piazza Margana 24 on October 26, 1838.

Janski directed his project for four years in Paris while continually fighting extreme material difficulties, as well as the opposition of the Democrats and the distrust of the Aristocrats. In the Fall of 1837 the Paris residence was transferred to the Boulevard Montparnasse 25. J. Kozłowski, L. Rettel and J. Omieciński were residents of the house at the time. In 1838 Janski's project expanded and a new house was opened on Vavin street 13 and on Notre Dame des Champs 31bis. For a very short time there was also a house in Versailles under the direction of Omieciński and Wielogłowski. The total membership of all these houses was 12 residents. However, the sharp attacks of the Democrats, the secret plots of the Aristocrats, and the acts of governmental repression on the main benefactors of Janski's works, caused their obstruction and limitation as early as 1839, and their complete suspension in France shortly afterward with Janski's eventual move to Rome. During this period many people became members of the House of Janski. Ten of these later became priests, either in the Congregation of the Resurrection or elsewhere. Among these, several priests were recognized as outstanding among the Polish clergy of the time.

After sending the first two clerics to Rome (Semenenko and Kajsiewicz), Janski replaced them with two more clerics in the Paris seminary: J. Hube (professor at the University of Warsaw) and E. Duński. For a time L. Rettel was also a student at the seminary. In the Fall of 1838 Janski sent the first to men to Rome and Rettel left the Community. They were replaced by a new group: L. Turowski, M. Kamocki (who later became Provincial of the Vincentian Fathers in Wielkopolska), F. Krahnas, A. Jełowicki, A. Słowaczyński, A. Biergiel and A. Zaleski. In the final phase of Janski's activity in Paris, Captain Charles Kaczanowski and the physician H. Terlecki decided to study for the priesthood. From this group Kaczanowski and Turowski were sent to Rome in the Fall of 1839, and Terlecki arrived there in the Spring of 1840 to begin theological studies. Jełowicki and Kamocki continued their studies in Versailles and separated themselves from the disciples of Janski, Jełowicki for a short period and Kamocki completely. The remaining two (Krahnas and Zaleski) left the community, whereas one of Janski's youngest disciples, F. Mikulski, became a zealous priest in the Conventual Franciscans, taking the name of Bonaventura in Assisi, Italy.

Another very important work initiated by Bogdan Janski in Paris was the foundation of an elite group of laity, which was a wide circle of external brethren and dedicated sympathizers to his project. One of the most faithful disciples of Janski, and one of his most zealous assistants, was Valerian Wielogłowski who continued to work in the Janski style in Kraków. There he founded a Catholic publishing house and the first School of Agriculture in Poland in Czernichów near Kraków. He organized one of the first exhibitions of Polish folk art, and was among the first to use events from the lives of the people for literary novels. He published some widely used Catholic calendars and even published an agricultural periodical. Another faithful disciple of Janski, who later became a well-known Monsignor in Poznań, was Jan

Koźmian. He pursued works similar to those of Janski in Poznań as teacher, collaborator, and editor of *Przegląd Poznański*.

In Paris Charles Królikowski remained faithful to Janski's ideas in his work as organizer of a credit union and a society for the assistance of poor emigrants. He was also the director of a printing establishment and Catholic publishing house.

Stephen Witwicki, faithful assistant to Janski and the author of many beautiful prayers and religious verses, died in Rome as a postulant in the Resurrection Community. In a similar fashion Bohdan Zaleski and his constant associate Joseph Zaleski were External Brethren to their dying day. They were both assistants to Janski and sons of the famous Polish poet. But among the most noted associates of Janski were A. Mickiewicz, C. Montalembert, Fr. Gerbet and Fr. Lacordaire.

Janski left Paris for Rome on the 18th of December 1839. On the way he stopped at Cosne in order to convince H. Terlecki to begin his theological studies in Rome. He prolonged his stay, for health reasons, in Aix, at the house of a friend, W. Łempicki. He arrived in Rome on January 24, 1840 in very poor health and took up residence with his Roman brethren in the Piazza Margana 24 on the third floor. Janski fully intended to begin his theological studies at this time, for he had received the approval of his wife who had already joined the "Marcinkanki" on Piwna street in Warsaw. However, his health did not allow these plans to be fulfilled.

In spite of careful medical attention and the care of his brothers, Janski's health continued to fail. The sad news emanating from Paris caused him further suffering. Due to the ill-will of the Aristocrats and Democrats, K. Królikowski was not allowed to replace Janski as Superior of the Paris house,

nor was he allowed to return to save what remained of the house. On May 28th, the Feast of the Ascension of Our Lord, Janski was no longer able to leave the house to attend Mass. A Mass was celebrated for him in his room and all received Communion. During these days he asked for the anointing of the sick, and received the holy oils and the Apostolic Blessing with deep devotion. His illness lingered for more than a month, bringing with it increasing weakness and suffering. Janski bore all this with uncommon patience and surrender to God's will. He died a quiet and saintly death on July 2, 1840, at 1:00 P.M.

Bogdan Janski's funeral was held on the day after his death. The Mass was celebrated at the church of St. Mary in Campitelli by Fr. Lacordaire, who also led the body to its final resting place in the distant cemetery of St. Lawrence, where Janski was buried in an individual grave. Seven years later his remains were exhumed so that he might be buried in the new grave plot of the Congregation. There Janski was laid to rest, at the side of his faithful disciple, S. Witwicki. Three years later Janski's remains were placed in a small metal coffin. On January 23, 1953, there was another exhumation when the ashes of the holy servant of God and Founder of the Community were placed in the Church of the Resurrectionists in Rome.

II

Among the many works of Bogdan Janski already mentioned, his literary activity merits special attention. He published a long series of articles in *Pielgrzym Polski*. He translated into French a small work by S. Witwicki entitled *Moskale w Polsce*. An Active member of the Polish Literary Society, Janski translated into Polish the famous work of Fr. Gerbet, *Le dogme generateur*. But, in keeping with his great humility, he did not sign his work, though at times the editors of the manuscripts forced him to sign articles. This

was the case, for example, with the French translation of Adam Mickiewicz's *Księgi narodu i pielgrzymstwa polskiego* which was attributed to Charles Montalembert. The proof of the fact that Janski was the translator can be found only in the correspondence of Montalembert's editor! Only when absolutely necessary did he allow his name to stand in the list of authors in a given encyclopedia. Janski guided the correction and printing of many important works among which can be found: A. Ostrowski's *Pomysły o potrzebie reformy towarzyskiej* (Paris, 1834), W. Pol's *Pieśni Janusza*, A. Gorecki's *Poezje Litwina*, and Z. Krasieński's *Nieboska Komedia*.

The Roman archives of the Congregation of the Resurrection contain many manuscripts: an extensive diary from 1828-1839 (with lacunae); many rough draft and final copies of letters; rough drafts of works in the area of economic law; drafts of various articles, especially encyclopedia articles; numerous ascetical notes from his retreats with the Trappists near Mortange (confessions, reflections, resolutions taken during meditation, inspirations and daily reminders); numerous notes on commercial law, history and geography of commerce and industry; notes for lectures to be delivered at the Polytechnic Institute in Warsaw; outlines for encyclopedia articles and projects of a religious and secular nature; social problems as well as thoughts on the future, especially the goals and organizational structure of the new community.

One of Janski's chief concerns was the organization of the first important Catholic library for Poles and the apostolate of worthwhile reading materials. He enlisted the assistance of his ablest co-workers to translate the best religious works, or he suggested themes for development in original works which eventually led to the organization of a publishing house dedicated to the production of good Catholic books. In this way F. Roselly de Lorgues' *Le Christ devant le siecle* was translated into Polish. The life of St. Andrew Bobola, written by Fr. Jerome Kajsiewicz, was published in French and Polish.

Here the first works of Fr. Semenenko were published, as well as a monograph on Saints Cyril and Methodius written by L. Rettel.

Janski also developed the idea of organizing a studio of contemporary religious art which would be able to communicate with modern man. He invited men like J. Maliński, I. Klukowski, Lungo Prato and Fr. Siennicki to cooperate in this effort.

Under Janski's direction, the physician H. Terlecki and a group of External Brethren who were nurses were to be involved in a wide-ranging activity of help to the poor and infirm in a spirit of Christian charity.

The colossal plan of Janski for the re-christianization of contemporary pagan society and culture came to the fore in each of his projects. It was the fundamental goal of his new community which he called into being at the threshold of a new era. For Janski belonged to the group of those who first saw the approach of a new age which promised to be inimical to the Church. With Fr. Gerbet and Fr. Lacordaire, he dared to condemn the self-centered aristocracy concerned only with a defense of past privileges as well as the advance of materialism in the life of man, resulting in a more pagan spirit and lifestyle. Janski too was among the first to point out the threat to the Church which was to be found in the social situation of the extremely wealthy, the new-rich of industry and agriculture, who were replacing the aristocrats in the materialistic way of life. He saw the contrast between these and the crowds of working class people who were trapped in their misery, working for unjust wages in the great factories and on large farms. These workers failed to find openness and support from the Church, and lost all trust in the ideal teaching of the Church concerning love of neighbor and the justice of God. In a later day they would fall away completely from the Church and into the snares of the new teachers (atheists and materialists) who preached the need for social

justice and provided a deadly mirage of a world ruled justly by the use of reason alone and without the unjust gods of the past.

Desiring to help these people and in good faith, Janski did for a time belong to these social reformers. He experienced deep disillusionment, however, in the failure of the social experiments of the daring Saint Simonist reformers. He came to the conclusion that only the Church could help the poor. Thus, he felt the need for a speedy return to the Church and a personal interior rebirth. In turn, he wanted to come to the aid of the Church as quickly as possible in this area by beginning some effective religious activity and creating a real center for this activity--a new social organization in the emigration. It was intended to grow and affect all the segments of society, all professions, races and nations; to strive for unity among all by means of the complete realization of evangelical Christianity and its longstanding program of social justice and love, a love whose need was felt by every upright man in conscience – consciences long vitiated by the abuses of the feudal system.

III

The interior path which Janski followed from atheism, materialism and radicalism to the Church and Catholicism was not a straight or an easy one. It merits special consideration.

A renewed approach to religion began already with Janski's marriage to Alexandra Zawadzka and under the influence of the Saint Simonists. The latter underscored the role of religion in society in all of their teachings. Their own organization imitated the external form and structure of the Church, but their ideology was based on pantheism. Already in 1830 Janski speaks of a great struggle within himself: "...picking myself up from a fall, the final forces of unbelief". He also recognized it as "... something absolutely necessary – to

review my thoughts and actions daily”. Thus, he began to keep a diary. At first these were notes for his planned travel and study related to his post at the Polytechnic Institute in Warsaw. Later these entries became a true examination of conscience, in writing, for the purpose of “... keeping some kind of order in my life”. The directness and serious nature of these entries strike the reader with a greater force than the Confessions of Saint Augustine. Already on the first pages of the regular section of the diary one finds splendid prayers.

The complete rejection of atheism and philosophical materialism was the result of a second strenuous search for the truth and fundamental reflection. “I have come to be more at peace when finally able to admit that reason is superior to nature”, Janski wrote in 1832. Shortly thereafter Janski laid out before his colleagues on the board of editors of the *Revue Encyclopedique* a spirituality based on the priority of the essential elements of humanity over the external world.

The process of Janski’s conversion was hastened by his patriotic and tragic experiences during the time of the November Uprising. Many more emigrants arrived in Paris, bringing detailed accounts of the fighting and the news of the death of Janski’s father and other relatives. The effect of the “patriotic reaction” was a hastening to clear up certain philosophical questions in Janski’s mind: defection from the Saint Simonists, “reconciliation with the world” and a “rededication to Polish culture”.

However, Janski’s friendship with Lacordaire and his many discussions with him did not convert him completely. The book, *Conferences*, written by Fr. Gerbet, given to Bogdan as a gift by Fr. Lacordaire, moved Janski toward Catholicism as early as 1832. “I accept all the dogmas, but I do not give myself up completely to the Church. I have not yet been reconciled through the Sacrament of Penance... From the fact that the Church is subject to secular

authority I deduce the need for the revolutionary emancipation of the Church. Only then will it be the true Church”.

Constant poverty, serious illness, news of the death of his dear ones, and the agonizing feeling of total weakness in the face of moral evil in his own life, led Janski eventually to the Sacrament of Penance. When he began to keep his diary in a systematic fashion, he believed he would be able to take advantage of his past sad experiences. However, the entire project ended in painful disillusionment: “My actions did not follow the counsel of my experience”. The recollection in writing of his great sins was without result and with little effect for the immediate future. The resolutions he made were too weak. After the personal revelation there appears a desire to “”Make a profession of faith... recognize that before there can be unity in thought there must be uprightness of conscience... be united with God; go to confession”. There appears at this time not only the “sincere will to reject all evil once and for all”, but at the same time Janski’s feeling of personal weakness, and a great desire to be aided supernaturally by the Savior.

Several years of atheism and materialism, and twelve years of unbelief ended with a long confession in six sessions. From this moment there began a passionate and eventually victorious battle with the moral evil in his soul. In 1835 Janski notes that he returned to confession eight times. He attended Mass often, and prayed zealously for long periods of time. From the beginning of 1836 and the foundation of a regular common life after the pattern of contemporary novitiates which united poverty with rugged penances, Janski’s systematic and intense efforts in the area of the spiritual life and his striving for holiness improved noticeably.

While fulfilling his superiorship in a spirit of the Gospel, Janski would say of himself: “I am the servant of our community with the obligation of working

with all my strength for its maintenance and development”. With great humility and complete dedication, he gave himself to the service of his neighbor, especially in the area of spiritual needs. Janski’s apostolic labors among the emigrants filled his days, months, and years. He judged himself too harshly when he wrote in his diary that in the years 1836-1838 he had placed obstacles in the way of his own spiritual perfection, and that this was a period of great disorder, interior unrest and irresponsibility. What especially caused him unrest during this period was what he described as “striving for worldly position among people”, and being held in too high esteem among the brethren. But these were precisely the years (1837 ff) of retreats with the Trappists near Mortagne and in Solesmes, of concentrated efforts to uproot the remains of evil, and of serious practice of Christian virtue.

For his own greater humility, after a month’s retreat with the Trappists, Janski repeated his general confession. He also made a great number of resolutions – dealing with his spiritual life. Among others, he decided to write out for himself a systematic plan for each week’s work, to frequent the Sacrament of Penance regularly each week, to eat breakfast only around noontime, and to lessen his intake of food at supper, or even do without it; finally to limit the number of visits accepted at home or made to the homes of others.

During his month of retreat at Solesmes, Janski often experienced the initial stages of mystical prayer in the form of divine inspirations and insights. After his return to Paris he was very zealous in implementing the resolutions made while he was on retreat.

The two months he spent in retreat at La Trappe and Solesmes were preceded by a pilgrimage to St. Acheul with Adam Mickiewicz. The retreats with the Trappists were repeated each year. Janski regarded the loss of strength due to his rugged fasts and constant illness as an opportunity for suffering. Constant

concern for the upkeep of the houses in Paris and Rome, continued poverty, the lack of funds for even basic necessities, the need to beg constantly for financial assistance and to wait for aid to come, efforts to curry favor with the rich in order to aid the poor, continued overwork in mind and body – such was the style of Janski’s life during his last years in Paris.

In examining his conscience, Janski searched out every detail and accused himself in confession of even the smallest faults and failings – the failure to answer a letter, drinking a cup of coffee or tea, drowsiness. Nevertheless, he was held in highest esteem by the brethren. They were grateful for all that he did for them: his concern for their continued conversion and his efforts to create conditions for self-improvement and to drag them out of vices such as gambling, drunkenness, and lust, even saving them from debts and prison. With reason they called him a saint. However, he himself was convinced that he was the greatest of sinners, and he often recalled the sins of his past. When he was the object of attack he remained silent and did not defend himself. He defended only his work, which he considered to be not so much his own as God’s. He was ready at any moment to resign as superior of the community and forfeit his role as founder. He prayed seriously over this question and asked others to do the same, namely to ask God to send someone more worthy than himself, a holier man, to direct this work. From the time of his three-month retreat with the Trappists in the spring of 1839, Janski often thought of surrendering the superiorship of the community to someone more worthy.

Janski’s humility and unconditional sincerity went to such a degree of heroism that he kept all his notes describing even the most ugly of his past sins and all his written preparations for confessions from the very first years of his struggle with himself. There are some notes which carry the titles “Don’t read” and “Not for reading”. But these very notes contain some of the most noble resolutions, intentions and aspirations which all testify to a very high degree of

Christian perfection in their author. But Janski's notes for confession and descriptions of his most grievous sins carry no such titles. Evidently, for his own humility, he read only the latter. Touching too are the statements of thanksgiving for humiliations and sufferings, and all the daily reminders offered to the Lord by this man. Janski was a man whose pockets were always empty. Often he wore a borrowed overcoat, a tattered suitcoat. His bed consisted of a straw mattress on the floor without sheets or bedspread. His stove often went unused in the winter. He was a man in constant pain from a terminal illness and an empty stomach, even on the Christmas Vigil!

Janski gives outstanding testimony of his spiritual maturity in his dealings with Caesar and Ladislaus Plater who led the move to remove Janski as superior of the community. This never occurred, but the effects of their efforts were certainly damaging. Yet, Janski maintained an incredible calm, great understanding, and heroic patience throughout this incident. He reacted similarly in the painful disobedience of the Roman Brethren who were stirred up by the plotting of Caesar Plater and the failure of E. Duński to return to Paris with much needed assistance. Janski provided them with a lesson in true humility: "When we are alone and the doors are closed, I don't take to the strap for punishment. I do not even advert to the fact that I have it. Before you always consciously present in my heart I kneel in spirit and fall on my face before the Lord... *Confiteor*... I kiss the feet of Brother Peter. I kiss the feet of Brother Edward... *Mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa*". It was to heights such as these that this great convert and lay apostle arrived in six years of serious labors in the Polish emigration in France and among the Saint Simonists, many of whom he led to the confessional!

Viewing the entire body of source materials, and consulting the written testimony of contemporary witnesses, one arrives at something of a composite picture of Bogdan Janski. But an entirely different picture is developed in our experience when we read the opinions expressed by the Founder concerning himself. He judged himself very harshly. He tended to exaggerate his guilt, and even attributed to himself the shortcomings and faults of others. This fact is clearly revealed in his diary in which he includes his confession notes. A similar impression is also derived from the letters of Janski where self-blame, repentance, and promise of improvement are common themes. Thus, to a superficial reader, it would appear that the writings of Janski are a unique documentation of his shortcomings, failures and defeats. Surely this is why these letters laid in the archives for so long. Another reason was the great diversity of content and world view contained in his letters. They cover a period of over 12 years, refer to a great number of matters and individuals, and are addressed to many different persons. This presupposes a great deal of study in order to recognize and understand adequately the content of these letters.

Overcoming the above-mentioned external obstacles and other difficulties of a more personal nature, the author of this historical edition of the correspondence of Theodore Bogdan Janski decided to make this work available to a wide audience of readers interested in this period of the Resurrection Community's activities. However, a word of caution is offered to the reader: Do not be tempted to judge the author of the letters by his own crude self-condemnation! Usually the authors of letters, memoirs and diaries publish only matters which are personally flattering. They consciously cultivate the finest personal opinion of themselves. But the diary and letters of Janski are, for the most part, condemnatory, like the *Confessions* of St. Augustine.

Quite often the letters of Janski contain real gems of thought on many matters of life-concern. They reveal both the breadth of his horizons, and the depth of his thought. Most often he expressed himself in living language. He was more of an orator, a proclaimer of the truth, than a writer. Since he was involved in so many practical affairs, it was hard for him to write. Nevertheless, there were times when he was forced to write, either to respond to certain questions or to clarify a situation. However, he had more occasion to speak to his disciples than to write. Since he only wrote from time to time, Janski's letters take on a greater value today because they preserve the views of the Founder on various topics, especially the topic of his new Catholic Community.

Many of the letters of Janski are available only in rough draft, filled with crossings out, corrections, and abbreviations. Sometimes they are preserved on bits of brittle paper. There are imprecisions in style with regard to sentence relationship or even sentence structure. The author himself would have eliminated these in his final copy. Hence, there is often need on the editor's part to reconstruct an abbreviated word or fill in missing words. These are included in the text with slash marks [/]. Important content in the rough draft which has been crossed out or otherwise eliminated is included in the text in parentheses. These will also be used to indicate footnotes. Of course the 19th century Polish text has been modernized with contemporary spelling and punctuation.

Since the author of this edition of the letters of Bogdan Janski is also the author of an extensive monograph on the Founder of the Resurrectionists, the notes provided for the individual letters are based on all the known preserved manuscript sources as well as the published sources which relate to this period.

As one begins to read the entire corpus of Janski's letters which have been preserved to this point, it should be remembered that the letters from 1828 to

1831 come from a period of his life when he was still an unbeliever and outside the Catholic Church. The letters dated 1832 to 1834 are documents of Janski's struggle to free himself from moral evil. The rest come from a period in which Janski is striving for virtue and building his new Catholic Community in the midst of grinding poverty and incessant opposition from certain members of the emigration.

Fr. Boleslaw Micewski, C.R.

**THE LETTERS
OF BOGDAN JANSKI
(1828-1839)**



Bogdan Janiski

VOLUME I

Rough Sketches of Letters to Alex[andra]¹
(ACRR 8561/1)

Letter Nr. 1

Berlin, November 6, 1828

As I promised, I am writing you a few words from Berlin. I will mail this so that it may reach you more quickly. I arrived here safely on November 2, All Souls Day and am leaving this evening for Lipsk. I had left Płock on Saturday, October 25, the same day that I arrived there, and by Monday I was already in Toruń. Along the way I came to know two Frenchmen. One especially, Mr. Camolen, a young businessman from Brussels, became a good friend. In fact, I was about ready to travel with him through Berlin to Hamburg, from Hamburg by sea to Amsterdam, and from there to Paris by way of Holland. But then I remembered that a sea voyage, at this time of year, could prove harmful to my health. However, my health, and even my life, no longer belong to me alone, since I must now protect them for your and [the child's] sake. As I said, I would have gone if this thought had not held me

¹ This letter, and those that follow, were addressed to Alexandra Josephine Teresa Zawadzka Jański (born August 31, 1806 in Brońszczyk; died October 21, 1843, in Warsaw) - the wife of Bogdan Jański. They were married on October 23, 1829, in Przewodowo. She was the daughter of August Zawadzki and Isabel (nee Łaszowski). August was a famous Lieutenant in the armies of Kościuszko and Napoleon, a General in the last days of the November Uprising, and head tenant (Lord) of the fortress town of Brońszczyk (which he lost in 1818). At this time they were living with the Łaszowskis at Kozłów. Witold Łuszczewski had seduced Alexandra Zawadzka, using the pretext of marriage. He then abandoned her on the streets of Warsaw. She was rescued by Bogdan Janski (who married her in Church), and by her sister Caroline (nee Grabowski) Zawadzka, who took her into her home, the manor house at Pękowo for the time that her husband was away pursuing his studies. The religious motifs in Bogdan's letters to his wife testify to a certain rapport with the Church - a result of his marriage to Alexandra and of the sacrifice he had made for her. In some instances, however, this is just another effort to secure the fidelity and good conduct of his wife after a series of very sad experiences on her part. Rough sketches of these letters to Alexandra have been preserved in the Roman Archives of the Congregation of the Resurrection under No.8561/1.

back. Therefore, instead I joined a coachman carting goods to Poznań. From Poznań I travelled to Frankfurt on the Oder – a miserable journey in a Prussian stage-coach without any springs. From Frankfurt I travelled in a comfortable mail coach called “The Daily”, and arrived in Berlin. A tour of some of the more famous industrial plants banks, schools, theaters, buildings and other interesting sights of the city kept me here for a few days. My acquaintance with two college men from Berlin who I met on the trip from Poznań to Berlin, and the presence of a few Poles here, have helped to keep living costs down – especially rooming costs – and have made it possible for me to use my stay in this capital city to greater advantage. Still, Alexandra, I want you to know that I now view the beautiful sights of Berlin with an entirely different feeling than before and that you are always on my mind. I have traveled only about 80 miles yet already your absence grieves me so! There is no one to wish me “good morning” or “good night”. I am alone among strangers. I scarcely get to know someone, and I must leave him. But do not think that I have succumbed to this feeling and that I now regret leaving on this journey. Not at all! Nobler emotions and a stronger need manage to keep me under control. I ask you to do likewise. Don’t let sadness get you down. Rather, let sadness give way to the peaceful desire of conformity to the will of God. I also expect you to keep your word to me: to be less scatter-brained, [more industrious and devout], and above all to love work and truth more. Only by your earnest efforts to acquire these qualities can you prove your devotion to me. I shouldn’t have to remind you of how hard you must work to gain the favor and respect of your sisters and parents. Ask the Grabowskis², from yourself and from me, to be so kind as to take you with them to Mrs. Szotarski³. This would please me very much. If

² Francis and Caroline (nee Zawadzki) Grabowski. Caroline was the younger sister of Alexandra (nee Zawadzki) Jański. She lived in the leased manor house at Pękowo near Pułtusk. The Grabowskis allowed Alexandra to live with them while her husband, Bogdan Jański, was away pursuing his studies.

³ Juliana (nee Zawadzki) Szotarska, Alexandra’s older sister, the wife of Anthony Humphrey Szotarski (1778-1831). Anthony was Inspector, later Commissioner, of the Province of Kalisz, and then Commissioner for the District of Piotrków. He participated in the Uprising, and was

not, then obviously you will remain with your parents. Perhaps a time will come when I will be able to repay you for all this (if you merit such a reward).

In your first letter remember to tell me how much money I should send you in January. Figure it out well, so that you would not have too much or, God forbid, too little; that you have enough for the time of your infirmity, and then until July. Remember the name that I chose for... [the child]. Please see that the child receives this name. I trust that you will go to Warsaw only once – as you promised – and that only by reason of extreme necessity; and that you will choose not to meet any of your former acquaintances there, or acknowledge their greetings if they should happen to notice you. In order to receive the money more quickly, rather than worry about wasting a few zlotys, take your letter immediately to the post office in Pułtusk for post to Paris. Since you do not know my address, write “Poste Restante”, so that the post office in Paris will hold the letter until I call for it. This is my address: Mr. Bogdan Janski, Master of Philosophy and Law, Paris, “Poste Restante”. Write soon, because I can only send you the money after I have received your letter and know how much you need.

And now I send you a million hugs. I wish you more good things than I could ever wish for myself. Most sincere greetings to your parents⁴ and to grandma Dolińska. Give my regards to uncle⁵. Give Joe⁶ a hug for me. I embrace Frank, Caroline, and Teresa⁷ most sincerely. Tell them to be kind enough to add at least a word to your letter. Asking you to remember me kindly, I remain your true companion and husband,

sentenced to death by the Muscovites for publishing the Call to Revolution in Koniecpole, after the fall of Warsaw in 1831. He died of cholera in Warsaw before he could be executed.

⁴ Formerly a Lieutenant in the armies of Kościuszko and Napoleon, August Zawadzki (1767-1837) and Isabel (nee Łaszowski), his second wife, whom he married after the death of her sister Elizabeth. They lived in Kozłowo.

⁵ Matthew Łaszowski, brother of Isabel (nee Łaszowski) Zawadzki, was the heir to Kozłowo, where Bogdan Janski and Alexandra celebrated their wedding.

⁶ Joseph Zawadzki (born 1800), son of August and Elizabeth (nee Łaszowski), the half-brother of Alexandra. He was a Captain in the Plock Cavalry (1830-31), and then an emigrant.

⁷ Teresa Zawadzka, sister of Alexandra, lived with her parents.

Bogdan

EDITOR'S NOTE: Throughout the English text the formal name Alexandra will be used because there is no convenient way to render the many different terms of endearment and diminutive forms of the name which appear in the Polish text of the letters.

Letter Nr. 2

Berlin, November 6, 1828

Dear Alexandra,

Because I realize that someone beside yourself may read my letter to you, I will always include a separate note, meant for you alone, which you are to burn each time after you have read it. On the supposition that there will also be others who read your letters to me, I urge you also, when you write to me, regularly include a separate and secret note, in which you will tell me of your situation there: how you are treated by your father and mother and by all of those with whom you live; what you have heard; your recent experiences – in a word, everything that you would not write for others to see. I am very serious when I urge you to do this. Remember too, it was with tears in your eyes that you promised to write. Write soon. Write at length. Do it yourself.

Alexandra, the only one for me always, forgive me for what I am about to write. Forgive me, since I must confess to you that today, so far from you, when I recall the smallest details of our relationship, and when I reflect on what I did for you and what you have done and are now doing for me – when I remember all this, when I cannot stifle the voice of memory, the blood grows cold in my veins, and my feelings are aroused. Today at least, it is not just pity that I feel. Remember: From now on, your little faults will not evoke the least reproach from me. But (if you persist in those faults) you would surely be most unfair and most ungrateful.

Alexandra, my wife, remember: At the moment of death you will be haunted for every breach of your promise, for every infidelity – not only for meeting with Witold Łuszczewski or some other man, but even with Mrs. Gordon, or one of the ladies of your past acquaintance. I know that you manage to pull the wool over the eyes of people who ask about these past events, but this only demonstrates that your conscience does not yet speak to

you with full force. Remember, there will come a time when it will make itself heard! If only it would not speak out too late!

Seek to be truthful in speech... occupy yourself with work... be less frivolous... try to be more circumspect... be faithful. Now at last, let me serve as your guide through life.

I am curious to know whether, as you say, those who knew you once as an innocent girl, are willing to admit that you have changed – for the better. As for me: Until now, in spite of weakness, not only have I not touched a woman, but, on my word of honor, even in the face of strong temptation, to which a man is exposed more often than a woman, I propose to remain chaste throughout this journey, and to be true to you with all my heart. Yet I cannot forget your past. I am ashamed of being so sensitive to it – how overly sensitive – perhaps even to the detriment of my health.

I begin to see the facts more clearly now, and so you can no longer deceive me. The distance that separates us, and my own loneliness, have made me, and will continue to make me, more dispassionate. Experience has made me cautious. The future depends on you! Begin to live at peace with God, truth, and conscience. Then you will be convinced that here at last happiness is to be found. Remember! Keep in mind the promises you made... the gratitude you owe ... your own inner peace. Remember the judgment of Him who sees all and governs all. Remember the judgment of God.

Your husband, Bogdan

Letter Nr. 3

Paris, December 25, 1828

Dear Alexandra,

I finally received your letter on the 9th of this month. I say “finally”, because although you mailed it only a week after you received my letter from Berlin ... I can tell by the date... and although I could not have expected it any sooner, yet from the time of my arrival in Paris, I would go to the post office daily to inquire about it. I was not deterred by the fact that, unfortunately, distances are not shortened, nor does mail travel more quickly, even for one who wishes to share his feelings with his dearly beloved, and somehow make the dead letter satisfy for her absence. In any case, your letter filled me with even greater delight because I read nothing in it that would make me sad, and because, although several people in Poland had promised to write, you were the first to keep such a promise.

To the feeling of inner delight with which the remembrance of you fills me, what can I add but a very profound apology for taking a little more than two weeks to answer your letter. The circumstances in which I find myself provide some excuse. A visitor who plans to stay a while in any large city is usually confronted by a mass of little things that need to be done. These various tasks and obligations, plus the innumerable matters that call for a person's attention, tax the mind beyond endurance. The significant distance between places that must be visited daily for reasons of work or study takes such a toll on the body that when a person returns home, he finds it difficult to gather his wits about him in order to write to someone. He simply has to rest. Consider also that, even after I have taken pen in hand, these things I have just seen and heard continue to occupy my mind. A sense of responsibility reminds me that I must definitely undertake some new work. And finally, I feel a sense of sadness such as I have not known until now, a longing for things of home:

for you, my family, for friends... even things which once left me quite indifferent, e.g., all things Polish. This sadness snatches the pen from my hand, causing my mind and my emotions to wander off into fantasy land. In such pleasant memories one can pour out sweet and bitter impressions alike. One enjoys spending a few minutes of each day just day-dreaming.

Forgive me, then, if I am somewhat late in answering your letter. I ought to have begun to write a week ago. If I postponed several times fulfilling this pleasant duty, my one luxury today, it is because I could not rid my mind and my heart of the burden of the distractions which I mentioned above. In fact, only once or twice did I remember this responsibility which I should have fulfilled immediately. Now as I take paper to write to you, I try to arouse within myself that vivid thought of you which, in me, goes hand in hand with a wave of feelings and imaginings which carry a sensitive mind and an affectionate heart off into the realm of memory and imagination. I cannot hold myself back. How can anyone resist such eager thoughts and such ardent feelings? It doesn't help at all to smoke one pipe after another ... to keep changing chairs ... to measure the length and width of my room a thousand times by pacing... to wring my hands and run them through my hair... to rub my forehead or fix my collar... all the nervous habits that accompany my thinking. You have noticed these in me on occasions when I was particularly. They are all in vain! All I can do is surrender, and allow myself to be carried away in reverie. But, how does that help? Either the free time which I could use to write to you passes; or, night falls, sheltering under its protective wing one who has been wearied by this onslaught on the spirit. And in the meantime, you look for a letter in vain. This is the truth of the matter. Why would I hide legitimate feelings from you, or in the face of God's will? I feel that when I write a letter, I am, in a sense, speaking. And, for my part, I enjoy the illusion that I am listening to a conversation.

Pardon me if in the previous scribblings I allowed myself to speak with passion on occasion. Take this for youthful swaggering on my part... a young

man's desire to let everyone know that he is travelling through one of the older civilizations of the world. This is an honest presentation of my feelings. I write what I feel. Am I to be blamed for feeling?

I pursue the formation of my mind and heart with a genuine covetousness. Yet, let me assure you that I would disdain the benefits of such formation, rather than to forfeit, on this account, the customs and the virtues... that precious quality that is a common characteristic of the Slavs. There is a way to benefit from the culture of more advanced nations without acquiring their common faults. This way demands constant attentiveness to the voice of conscience and naturalness. It would be sad if, on my return, you could see no signs of development in me. However, rest assured that you will always find me a companion who loves you with utmost simplicity and naturalness.

Today I am relatively free from work. (N.B. Today is the first day of the Feast of Christmas). Today I would like to make you a proposition. Do you know what kind of arrangement I will make with you for the future? The time that it takes you to answer my letter after you have received it... I will know this by the date on your letter and the postmark on the envelope... is the exact amount of time that it will take me to answer yours. Until now I was at fault. From now on we shall be equal, either in diligence or in negligence. Do you think this concludes the introduction to my letter? Do you think this ends an explanation of my tardiness? No! Surely you know that I am a lawyer. If I chose, I could argue that it is really you who are responsible for the later arrival of my letter. You asked me to send you a picture of myself. I could say: I searched a long time for an artist... He painted my portrait once, twice, and then yet a third time making corrections. I wanted to send it to you, but there was still need for further touch-ups. The civil code states that a necessary delay in the fulfillment of any commission absolves the agent of any responsibility. Therefore, I am innocent. It was due to efforts to fulfill your request, and so because of you, that I write to you so belatedly. However, I do not wish to use such overly legalistic arguments. The fact is that I did not want to send you the

picture, and that is why I delayed somewhat in writing to you. There are many artists. Almost every tenth house features a display of pictures meant to attract people who are seeking an artist's services. Unfortunately, in my case, at present I lack the necessary means, i.e., an equal exchange of money. Finally, I am forced to attribute my tardiness to laziness, but not to lukewarmness.

Dear Alexandra, once again today I take pen in hand, and begin to write to you; but, as if for spite, I'm not sure that I will be able to finish, for it is already about 11 P.M. However, I prefer to write at least by bits, rather than postpone writing completely. Just as I was writing the above paragraph it began to grow dark. The dinner hour is approaching. Note: I eat dinner, as everyone here does, about 5 o'clock. A friend of mine came by to ask whether we could get together. Since today is such a great Feast, and since I always remain a Catholic, the occasion called for a better dinner. Yesterday, on the Vigil, I had a poor meal: bouillon, a piece of meat, and a glass of wine... not the customary partaking of several dishes: mushrooms, fish, pancakes, and pierogi with poppy seeds. We chose to go to the Palaise Royale for a two-franc [half ruble] dinner.

On the way we stopped to visit with a few of our compatriots at a special gathering with music, and so with dancing as well. Everyone there was homesick... longing for something or someone. Everyone was tied up with work. None of these people is very rich. In such cases you amuse yourself as best you can. That's the way it is when you are poor. I had to take the part of the girl in the Polonez. The dinner was not bad for two francs: soup, a choice of three entrees, dessert, and a bottle of wine. Everything was clean. The special feature of this place is that it is not just men, but women also who come here to eat. These are women of a higher class. It is much more pleasant to dine in good company. Bread is very expensive here now; but by comparison meat is disproportionately far more expensive. As a result, one must be reconciled to eating horse meat steaks, roast dog, or cat meat. While none of these are poison, neither are they very appetizing. Don't think that I am joking

or exaggerating. Some of the smaller restaurants advertise publicly: “fricas de chats”, that is, cat stew. Not too long ago there was an incident in which a rat’s tail was found in the meat at one of the better restaurants. The fiery Frenchmen were very severe in their revenge. They broke all the dishes, mirrors and windows. They smashed tables and chairs, and treated the owner to multiple bruises.

I began to describe my day for you, so now I will finish. After dinner I had to check the latest newspapers and periodicals which became available today in the Salon Litteraire. Since such literature is in copious supply here, it was 10 P.M. before I finished reading the more important and absolutely necessary journals. And so here we are, at 11 o’clock, back to business. I was supposed to finish telling you about the picture and about the money, and so more about these. I will send you the picture once I receive the “proofs”. In the picture I will look a little different to you. The reason for this is that already in Poznań I sacrificed my sideburns. However, in two years, when you see me again, I will not be without these masculine adornments. I will let them grow out under the clear skies of Italy and Switzerland, where I plan to go for a short excursion next summer. As for money, unfortunately the situation is tight. You are aware that there were expenses incurred even before I left. And you know how much I had when I left. Postage in Germany, from Berlin, costs more than 2 Polish zlotys per mile. As for board, wherever you go they are ready to skin you. Finally, you must realize that, upon arrival here, I had to pay more than 400 zlotys in various registration fees alone for the quarter that is now ending. Moreover, I had to buy some new clothes for my wardrobe. So do not accuse me of extravagance if I tell you that perhaps today I am already living in March-April, perhaps – that is, I am living on funds meant for those months. But, “there is never an evil that good would not come from it”. Thus, if I were to die today, in fact I would have lived beyond today. Under such conditions, you can foresee what is going to happen. In spite of my very best intentions, and allowing myself a minimum of comforts, I will not be able to send you as

much as you would wish... not more than 300 zlotys. In any case, I expect that in the event of extreme necessity, the kindly Frank Grabowski or Tony⁸ will not refuse to help you. In my name they will obtain help for you from one of my friends. For the love of God, do not be angry with me on this account, since I myself am caught up in very difficult circumstances. My subsidy is 500 zlotys a month. After I have paid all my debts, I am left with only about 200 zlotys... and everything here is expensive. Make do as best you can, therefore. Why did you choose an as yet unfinished and penniless young man for a husband? I expect to receive a bank draft by the 5th of January, at the latest. Even if I were to mail a letter with a check tomorrow, you would not receive it before the 20th. In the next half year I shall be able to improve my poor situation somewhat, and so will be able to send you a little more. I am now finishing my third pipe... not at all a sultan's pipe, but more that of a lowly camelherd. My eyelids are drooping. I must crawl under the canopy onto the three-mattressed, double-bolstered bed, to rest after the labors and cares of the day and to see you in my dreams. And so, goodnight! I will finish this letter tomorrow. Once again, good night!

December 26, 7 A.M. – I have just now finished my coffee. My unmerciful neighbor [Królikowski]⁹, unable to sleep himself, woke me at six, shouting through the wall, or rather the ceiling. He might have had more consideration if he had known that just before dawn I was enjoying a pleasant conversation with you. Yet I must forgive him, for how often do we ourselves,

⁸ Anthony Robert Boniface Jański /born June 5, 1808 in Domosław; died December 24, 1834 in New York/; blood brother of Bogdan. He studied in Pułusk and in the Preparatory School connected with the Polytechnic Institute in Warsaw. At the time of the Uprising, 1830-1831, he was a Second Lieutenant in the artillery and a member of the 13th Regiment of line infantry. He was interned by the Austrians in Galicia and in Trieste. He left the latter on April 20, 1834. With 233 others he was sent to the United States on the ancient corvette "Lipsia". The voyage took more than 3 months. He arrived in New York greatly emaciated as a result of hunger and sickness, and died shortly after.

⁹ Louis Królikowski /1799-1878/ - of peasant origin. He was a University colleague of Bogdan Jański, and shared his theories and dreams of reform. He studied with the priests at Kielce, and then Law in Warsaw. He was one of the sympathizers of Saint Simon in Paris, a member of the Patriotic Society in Warsaw, a teacher at the boys' boarding school in Kraków /1834-1839/, the editor of "Polska Chrystusowa" /Christian Poland/, and an activist among the emigrants in France and in the United States. He had ambitions to be a social reformer.

while wishing to do someone a favor, unwittingly increase his pain? Only a person who knowingly harms another is deserving of anger and scorn. This week my neighbor is really my cook. I no longer have to bother washing the coffee-maker. After breakfast I can immediately begin to write. Moreover, when he learned that I was writing to you, he asked me to include his kind regards. And since he is my good friend, I expect that you will accept them. He is the one who used to write to me from Berlin while I was with you in Warsaw... the one whose traveling companion died in Berlin. You may remember how much that person's death depressed me last August. Now at last I was able to shed a tear at his grave in Berlin; however, without being able to share again the consolations and sorrows of our sad pilgrimage together on this earth¹⁰.

Let me first wish you a "Good Morning!" It feels like a hundred years have passed since I began writing, although it is really not more than a hundred days. What does the future hold? I said "good night" to you twice yesterday, and so let me wish you a second "good morning" today. Night, morning and evening – all rightly share your favor.

Today I will surely get around to writing all the things I want to tell you in this letter. The French are irreligious to the point that not only do they not observe a five-day holiday for Christmas like the Spaniards, but not even a two-day holiday like the Poles. In all of the institutions here today it is "work as usual". However, since yesterday was a Solemn Feast, it was a day off for the printers. As a result there are no new periodicals to read., which explains why I have more free time. About my health: Even from what I wrote to you, you can guess that it is just "so-so." Now let us get back to the journey. I left Berlin on November 8. In eight hours I had traveled comfortably by "Rapid Coach" through Potsdam and Wittenberg /once famous for its homes, and

¹⁰ The reference here is to Theodore Olechowski /1805-1828/ who came from Topola near Stobnica. Orphaned early, he studied with Królikowski in Kielce. He also studied in Warsaw, and was one of Bogdan Jański's closest friends. In the fall of 1827 he set out for France with Królikowski on foot, but took sick and died on the way.

today famous for its monument to Luther/ to Leipzig. Since there was no coach available for further travel, I spent a day and a half there. It is truly hard to believe that such a pedestrian region could become the burial place of a child of fortune and a powerful leader who, deservedly or undeservedly, was much loved by the Poles. His grave is close to an unimposing brook, and is marked by a simple tombstone with an epitaph. I stayed her, eating, drinking, and visiting whatever could be visited in such a short time. Another Pole, once a fellow-student at the University and now a doctor,¹¹ showed me around. He received me all the more graciously in that, from the time of his coming to Leipzig, he had no one with whom he could exchange a single word in Polish. It is really at a distance from our native land that we learn to value our ethnicity. We recognize its goodness only after we have lost it. I could not restrain my astonishment when, after we requested that a fire be lit in the fireplace, a beautiful and well-dressed woman came in with a bunch of branches to kindle the flame. She was the owner of the house, and not yet married. What a beautiful custom! What a mark of civilization, for the owner herself to set aside vanity and ostentation, and to perform minor household tasks, thereby saving the expense of a servant when it is possible to do without one. More or less this is general practice here.

Like a bird, I flew through Weimar, the capital of German elegance, and also through the beautiful environs of Goth. How did I fly? Unfortunately not on wings, but in an uncomfortable "Ellwagon" packed with passengers... men and women from the ends of the earth. It is impossible to stretch your legs in this conveyance. For two whole days and nights it was extremely difficult to snatch even a moment's sleep. Beyond Goth, we came to the Hesse region, criss-crossed by beautiful hills. However, not even the romantic hillsides, or the solemn stone structures in the towns... or even rural buildings made of stone could hide the misery of the people who live there. This is

¹¹ Ferdinand Dworzaczek /1804-1877/ - He came from Zamość; studied in Warsaw and Lipsk. An army doctor in 1830-1831, he was decorated with the medal "Virtuti Militari."

simply further proof that freshness depends less on our circumstances than it does on us.

In Gelnhansen it hardly seemed like fall. The sun was shining as the southern range of the Hessian hills came into view. For a few krauzers I had my first taste of the not very elegant fruit of their vineyards.

November 14 - I arrived in Frankfurt-am-Main. Since I had no place to turn, I sought lodging at the local inn. Had I not been in the capital of polite and formal speech, I would have said: "To the devil with this Frankfurt hotel and its host!" For, I ask you, is it right to charge more than 3 ducats for a room, linen, breakfast and table d'hote dinner plus tea in the evening for a stay of just two days? What could I do? I had to pay. Alas the French border is not far off. At least I have the hope that I will soon arrive at my destination. Just a short while now and I will have finished with the discomforts of riding in a coach, and the extortion of innkeepers. I left Frankfurt on the 16th. I passed through Moguncia at night. The Rhine is not everywhere as great as I had imagined. Apparently the Wisła is wider. In Sarbrück we made our first contact with the custom officials and the legions of border guards who repeat their unpleasant forays every few miles. Like the true enemies of free trade and zealous servants of the exchequer that they are they literally turned a traveler's baggage inside out. Apparently they were less concerned about the welfare of the public treasury than they were about lining their own pockets [about how much they could pocket by holding their hands out constantly]. However, I could show myself as insensitive as a rock to their greedy glances and outstretched hands, for my heart was not in sympathy with their greed, that is, I had no contraband. As we moved farther from Germany and deeper into France, the contrast with everything we had seen thus far was more noticeable. The lively, merry and talkative French character seems to pour over onto everything around them, and affects everyone who comes in contact with them. All you have to do is look at them, and already you become a bit of a

scatterbrain... at least until you remember how much the lack of the German "langsam" had cost the French, and us.

When we arrived in Champagne region, we stopped for the night in a small village. It was 11 P.M. on a Sunday in fiesta time. A full moon shone down on the beautiful mountains of the region which supplies the champagne that is loved around the world, and which brings back to the landowners a rich tribute from all parts of the world. Here in the home of this famous beverage, would anyone not be willing to spend his last dime relishing its flavor on the lips and its satisfying effect on the stomach? For a few francs I too indulged myself. Yet, along with the sensual delight which its taste provides, like the delight which some people find in a beautiful and awe-inspiring view of nature, I experienced another delight. I could not believe my eyes. In the shop where I bought the wine I met a number of people who were drinking champagne, and eating cakes and pastries with a relish. Some were busy reading papers; others were engaged in happy conversation. Who were they? simple country people! I went out into the spacious square. It was filled with people from all parts, dancing to the tune of loud music and harmonious singing. They danced exuberantly, joyfully, peacefully. What was the occasion? A square dance! This is France!

It's been a while since I finished writing about the thrill I felt when I witnessed the people rejoicing in one of the little towns of the Champagne region. To sum up briefly: Having passed through Metz, Verdun, Chalon, Epernay, Chateau-Thierry and Meaux, I arrived safely in Paris on the 18th of October. Necessary vigilance over a purse nearly depleted by constant consumption, prompted me to choose the cheapest seat on the coach, i.e., "l'empiriale". I had never before occupied this seat on a coach. You must realize that a French coach is really three coaches tacked on to one another. Besides, there is a little booth on top ... the kind you find in a carriage. In this upper carriage there are seats called "l'empiriale." A foreigner may find them even more pleasant than the seats in the coach, for he can look out at the

scenery stretching out before him in the distance. But naturally these seats are much less comfortable, and far more dangerous, especially in the event that the coach overturns. I kept generally free of accidents on this journey. However, there was one accident in Poland, close to the Prussian border. I did not mention this earlier for fear of worrying you. The coach overturned and I hit my leg sharply on a rock. However, after I soaked the leg well in Poznań, the pain was almost completely gone. Again, riding from Poznań to Berlin in that coach without springs, after an uncomfortable journey /made even more uncomfortable by what must be the worst pavement in the world, constructed originally for French artillery/ I was shaken up, and my head ached so badly after my arrival in Berlin, that it took several days of rubbing with liniment to ease the pain. Nevertheless, these were only minor strains, hardly serious enough to allow me to complain about my health in the course of the journey.

In Paris I met several colleagues with whom I was once very close. For me this had to be a very advantageous event. Not only did they provide me with necessary information and the consolation I needed in the time of my initial unbearable loneliness, but they also helped by advancing funds for necessary expenses. I do not have time for even a passing mention of local news items or points of interest in this letter. The New Year has come and gone and, as circumstances would have it, I was unable to send my letter to you in time.

At least now, at this late date, accept my best wishes... I flatter myself that you have been convinced long ago that I wish you well... I wish you the greatest of happiness, good health, peace of mind, and strength of character to endure our temporary separation. The time will come when, to the evidence of my love for you from the beginning, I shall be able to add the total gift of myself, in due payment for your devotion and fidelity to me.

May your feelings for me continue to be constant and sincere! This is a mutual concern; let it be our wish for one another. Moreover, let us continue to send earnest and fervent prayers to God for this purpose. If we persevere in

virtue, and maintain mutual respect and fond friendship, we will achieve all other happiness as well, i.e., if there is any happiness on earth other than true peace of soul.

My best wish for Caroline must surely be that she bear a son, as good, pleasant and innocent as she is herself. God grant that Teresa find great happiness for herself, while making us an uncle and aunt as soon as possible. Good "Papa" undoubtedly knows better than I what we should hope for. My God, grant me this favor in the year that has just begun. It would probably be best for me to send similar greetings to dear "Mama" and family, asking God to fulfill their wishes, for this is surely the best way to wish them the greatest good. As for Frank, I know that he will not take it amiss if I say: God willing, before the Feast of St. John, may he acquire a small country estate [at a bargain] on the banks of the Narew, and with good pasture for the sheep.

Before I left, Joe gave me his word that he would end his affair with the widow within a month. I am curious to know whether he kept his word. If he did not, it would be in place to wish him greater determination and constancy in keeping his resolution than he has shown thus far. He asked me about "L." Not only is she alive, but she also holds a prominent position. If you should see Peter,¹² give him my regards. I would like to know a little more about his romance. If you should write to the Szotarskis, or visit them since they are in Warsaw, express my respect and offer them the usual greetings for all good things in the New Year. Well, dear Alexandra, our meeting on this paper must come to an end. It comes time for me to leave you. Once again I ask you most urgently to write to me, if only a short letter, as soon as possible. The address is no longer "Paris, Poste Restante," but "a Paris, Quai de celestines, Nr.18, Hotel du Laitet." This is where I am now living. I send my kindest regards and most sincere love to the whole family. Offer them my fondest and most heartfelt thanks for the notes they added to your letter. While asking them to repeat the favor may be an imposition on my part, it would truly bring me

¹² Peter Zawadzki - a half-brother of Alexandra.

great pleasure. I would be truly flattered by this mark of extraordinary kindness on their part. Once a person permits himself to abandon the path of cold reasoning, little by little sentiment takes over. When this happens, in speaking to others a person may occasionally pour out his own feelings without considering theirs. On this account I ask you to forgive me for the inappropriate bit of moralizing included in my last letter to you. Again, I strongly urge you to reply quickly, telling me all about yourself and anything at all that might interest me. Quickly then, sit down and write! N.B. Make sure that the envelope is made of heavier paper, since I received your first letter in tatters. I embrace you affectionately... A million hugs! Shortly after you receive this letter you will undoubtedly receive another, which I will write after I have received the money. Write to me, however, without waiting for the second letter. Once again I embrace you tenderly.

Your truly devoted and faithful
Bogdan

P.S. January 9, and already 1829. Ha! Apparently throughout his whole life, and in spite of his best intentions, a man must be a source of annoyance to others, treating them unfairly and unconscientiously. In itself this is a horrible fate. Perhaps you may wonder why, if I began this letter on December 25 [or at least some time last year], I have taken this long to mail it. Before I explain myself, let me encourage you to set aside any suspicious thought that, having delayed writing a letter to you through negligence, I faked the earlier date, and in fact only now wrote what you read above. Here is what really happened. When I was about to finish this letter and send it, that is about the 27th of December, I received the news that my subsidy would arrive from Warsaw before the 1st. Why then, I thought, should I pay for postage again within two or three days, or have you pay for nothing? Why tell you in my letter that I will be able to send you something only about the 20th, and then immediately

send you the letter with a check? I would rather wait a few days, and when the money arrives send it all together. Meanwhile, the first, second and the seventh of January have passed and the money is still not here. Finally, I received a letter from our good secretary, Dennis Lanckoroński, in which he informs me that due to various formalities at the office I cannot expect to receive any money before the 15th of January. I flatter myself thinking that failure to receive a letter from me for such a long time must cause you some distress. Therefore, not wishing to wait another week before I receive the money - which might be delayed again - I chose to send this letter immediately. Please, then, hold me excused. And although I justify myself by reason of circumstances, I beg you by all that is good, do not use this or any similar excuses to get even with me. Rather, within three days, send me news about your health and about what you are doing. I ask you, I beg you, for otherwise you would make me very sad. I am already very lonely without any news from you.

My dearest Alexandra, once again I beg you. I have scribbled enough... too much! And I have probably bored you. Now I must step down from my podium, be done with my travelogue, and cease my ranting. I must sign off quickly and take this letter to the post office.

You don't need to write a long letter. I beg you, simply tell me about yourself and about your feelings. This once at least do not bother about a rough copy. Do not make any apologies about frequency. Let it be a short letter, and a clean copy immediately.

Finally, I must ask you about Bońkowska.¹³ Strive for respect. I am faithful. Do not hold my delays against me. If what I am doing is wrong, I can, at least in part, offer reasons for my conduct. I expect to mail this letter today. In any case, take care. Be on your guard in Warsaw, for you know what your experience there is. If you were to skip Warsaw completely, or spend as little time as possible there, I would feel safer. Keep yourself occupied with work

¹³ Peter Zawadzki - a half-brother of Alexandra.

and reading. Continue knitting socks. Our mutual happiness is also our mutual concern. Don't work too hard! Did your brothers visit during the holidays?

Letter Nr. 4

Paris, January 10, 1829

Alexandra!

At the very beginning of your separate secret note [written as I asked without others knowing] you complain that in my letter from Berlin I scolded you, and intentionally sought to make you sad.

Dear Alexandra! Pay careful attention to every step I take in dealing with you. Take into account the whole of my behavior toward you. How can you possibly think that I could ever wish to make you unhappy or sad? After I have done what every serious consideration would have counselled me not to do, can I be anything but devoted to you - even to the point of weakness? Do you think that I could be so unreasonable as to repel you by my reproaches when this is directly contrary to your happiness and mine? You should look at this from another angle. You should see this as the mark of my tender devotion to you, and a sign of my concern for your every word and move, lest you prepare new and even greater misfortunes for yourself by the extreme sensitivity of your emotions and the excessive trust you place in others. For what would the world have to say about you, and with what accusations would you reproach yourself in the future, once the impetuosity of youth has faded? I feel that my judgment now is sounder than ever before. Your judgment too is more prudent than it once was. From this you should conclude that, since I am devoted to you - about this there can be no doubt - you will be much happier with me. Our mutual interest and happiness prompt me to suppress the bitter feelings that go with a remembrance of the past, and urge me to reject even the slightest consideration that might re-ignite them. Even a passionate love could not then repair the damage that would be done.

Dearest Alexandra, be convinced that if we both continue to be reasonable, we will be happy, the happiest people in the world. What then

was there to be angry about? If only your beaut... beaut... [would you believe that I cannot write the word?]. You little imp, if you only wanted to... if you would honestly take yourself in hand, reflecting sincerely on the reasons for your unhappiness up to now and examining some of your faults... if you would only honestly accustom yourself to work seriously and act sensibly as a matter of habit... if you would only try to develop within yourself that dignity of character that flows from a moral sense, and the joyful peace of soul that follows upon reconciliation with God, conscience and human respect!

I am in good health, healthier today than ever before. This is the result of simple living. Not once have I allowed myself the pleasures that are no longer permitted, pleasures which I can enjoy only by sharing them with you. I am able to work. After all I do have some ability. I already possess the semblance of an education. In fact, I have even acquired a fairly enviable reputation for learning. Here [in Paris] I will be in a position to add to this modest capital. The ultimate result of this will be that we can enjoy our daily bread, and even attain a suitable position in society. The few years of my absence will pass quickly, as does everything on this earth. Therefore, we can both be happy. However, we will not be happy without sincere friendship, genuine openness, and true fidelity. It is proper that we should both avoid even the occasions which might cause us to betray our friendship, force us into a shabby secretiveness, or undermine our fidelity. We can both be happy, but we must wage a stubborn battle with personal habits and the allurements of the world, those pleasing enticements that take advantage of our slightest weakness and make use of sinful people.

Forgive me, my beloved. Forgive me, dear Alexandra, if I set down such reflection in writing. I write what is good for you, but also to give myself an even more forceful reminder of the moral lessons involved. May the least flicker of good will for me prompt you to forgive any excess in my concern for you. [Weigh what I have said. Give it some thought. Admit it. It's true, isn't it? While these are commonly accepted truths, we too often forget them]. Should

you not allow a true companion the right to complain a little? He will soon be with you. Do you love him? If you do, you will not hold his best intentions against him. In fact, you will ponder his advice carefully. God has joined us together. Misfortune is not foreign to either of us. Unhappily, I have known my share of it. I have experienced it from childhood. Yet today we share a certain feeling of sympathy, a sense of destiny, and a common interest. Why would we resist the will of God? Why would we allow stubbornness in evil, or habitual weakness, to keep us apart? Isn't it about time to put aside both the one and the other forever? Yes, it is! The language of love and friendship leaves no room for even a hint of falsehood or deceit; neither can we allow silence to lend itself to that interpretation. I must admit that, after I have recalled and reflected upon this whole sequence of events in our relationship, up to the very last moment, I am overcome by a kind of despair, and beset by certain qualms. But, dearest Alexandra, just as a person cannot cut off his head in order to destroy his memory, neither can he tear out his heart in order to cease feeling any emotion. It is one thing to be aware of a passing emotion, and quite another to begin to feel total aversion for a person - to want to avenge oneself upon her and make her unhappy. I want no further detailed admission from you about these matters. You have neither reason nor need to deny them. It is quite possible for you to have erred in the past and to be a very decent person now. You may now wish in vain to avoid the taste of bitterness when you remember the circumstances of your past life; but it is precisely the memory of them that can provide lessons and counsels that lead to a more virtuous life. Rest assured, if I recall what [in my eyes as well as in yours] are reasons for condemning you, I immediately counter these with strong excuses and explanations. Thus, the feeling of aversion passes. It is as if it no longer existed. It gives way to a tender tear of sorrow for you in your misfortune; and in my heart I feel an ever greater desire for you.

I am convinced that if it were not for evil and deceitful persons who took advantage of your sensitivity, your natural goodness of heart, and your

unconcealed desire to enjoy the pleasures of life, itself a sign of your immaturity; if it had not been for the critical situation in which you found yourself after allowing yourself to be seduced; if it were not for the weakness that resulted from this seduction, which unwittingly became a habit; if it were not for the baseness of almost all of the people with whom you were in contact; if it were not for your conviction that the way of deceit and degradation chosen by these people was the road to happiness; if this error had not resulted in your coming to regard truth as deceit and deceit as truth; finally, if it were not for the excessive severity of your upbringing, and then being constantly exposed to carousing and luxurious living, I am convinced that you would never have committed such unfortunate and debasing errors, and that you would not have become so passionately attached to them.

Dearly beloved wife! I am aware of the bonds that unite us, and recognize the strength of my fidelity to you. I realize where our common interest lies. Would I, then, do anything to injure myself? And this is what I would be doing if, on the basis of past events, I had set out to offend you by crude and vengeful remarks, to the point of filling the whole of my last letter to you with them. No! No! Dearest Alexandra, my words are nothing more than an expression of my profound concern for you. Such counsels stem from true friendship - something that I greatly desire, and something that is very rare in this world. If this friendship finds hearts that are worthy, it guarantees happiness on this earth.

My beloved, it was only for this reason, and with this thought in mind, that I mentioned such matters in my last letter. I would judge that actually you yourself find little fault with my remarks. Moreover, the circumstances that led you into the abyss of error and misfortune have since ceased to exist. In place of the evil people who seduced you, you are now surrounded by people who love you: the innocent and thrifty Caroline, the prudent Teresa, your good and reasonable brother-in-law (Frank Grabowski). You are in contact with people who, by the very laws of nature, wish you only the very best. You must

strive to merit their blessing, along with that of your parents and grandmother. The future looks good. You are already reconciled with your worthy father; and your husband and faithful companion, separated from you by two hundred miles, wishes your happiness as much as his own. Maybe God will assist the both of us. I sincerely intend to seek his help: in my work, in fulfilling my responsibilities, and in the process of my intellectual formation. Every time I awake from sleep I send you most sincere wishes of prudence and happiness. I say these things to you, if only by way of the dead letter, to assure you of my friendship, my fidelity, and the support I offer you in the form of good advice. With every breath I whisper a fervent prayer, asking God in his providence to grant you health, virtue and prosperity. In place of the excuses that only indulge your weakness and support the involuntary confirmation of your bad habits you now find yourself surrounded by good example in a place of solitude where conscience and counsels that derive from experience can make themselves heard. The beauty of nature that surrounds you lends itself to gentle healing of the heart, to strength of character and lifting your spirit to the all-seeing and all-powerful God. Now that you have been saved from a relationship with the basest of hypocrites, you are in a position to recognize the high price you had to pay for following in the way of deceit and degradation. Now you can see that, in this age of human corruption and degradation, sweet words and seemingly sincere urgings to share in the use of the sensual world are seldom prudent, and even more seldom sincere. At the same time, be convinced that there are people who are deeply concerned about the happiness of others ... people who are moved by tenderest sympathy for those who suffer as innocent victims, either of the crimes of others or of their own mistakes. The words that they speak come from the heart. In their friendship you will find an assurance of happiness. You are no longer subject to the ill-conceived rigor that tormented you in your innocent childhood years and which prompted you to make irrational excuses in order to escape from it. You no longer need to witness the luxurious living, the profligacy and

imprudence of your elders. What, then, is there that can now encourage you to evil? What can possibly hinder genuine improvement with respect to your emotions, desires and actions? What is there that can keep you from achieving true happiness? Therefore, plant your feet firmly on the way of virtue and honor. And if any slightest weakness or bad habit remains in you, recognize it and destroy it as your enemy, an enemy that has already done you a great wrong, and who is still able to harm you. Don't let your former mistakes continue to be a source of shame for you when you meet a person who is living a good life, for you can show that person how well you have learned to profit by your mistakes. Boldly confront anyone who, encouraged by your past weakness, tries to tempt you to new errors. Let your words reflect your sense of responsibility and what you have learned from experience. Let them flow from a new-found sense of your own worth, and from the dignity of character that fosters integrity of heart, prudence and control over the initial stages of sensual pleasure. Let them reflect a harmony of conscience and responsibility within you. Let your former base seducer know that you have put an end to your corruption, and that you possess the basic sentiments that befit your birth.

Alexandra, my dearest wife, it is by such behavior that you will win respect - your own self-respect, and that of others. In this way you will contribute to your own true happiness, a happiness that combines peace of soul with a good reputation - happiness for you, and happiness for me.

Were it not for this hope - the hope that favorable surroundings will encourage you to seek real improvement and to persevere in it; the hope that will find you a completely different person than you were even in those last moments before my departure; the hope that favorable circumstances will make you worthy of me... Were it not for this hope, I would not take pen in hand today. Neither would I humble myself by revealing my devotion for someone who doesn't deserve it. Enough of this weakness! This hope alone serves to kindle my feeling for you. Will you fail me? Will this page on which I reveal all of my thoughts and feelings for you be shown to some vile seducer

and become an object of laughter, ridiculing my weakness in the same way that, once before, my all too sincere words were ridiculed? Will you allow yourself to be the source of new plots and scheming, of new lies and false declarations, of shallow discussion with the ladies - as happened once before when I was exceedingly frank with you? It makes little difference to me. For what can I do? I can still be happy. As for my obligations and my honor, in conscience I am at peace. I shall not abandon the way of true uprightness and frankness. If I did, it would be time to change mercy and sympathy to aversion and contempt; a desire to make you happy, to a desire for just punishment. In the end, there is a just and kind hand that guides the whole world. Sooner or later it rewards good, and punishes evil.

However, dear Alexandra, you possess an innate goodness of heart. Your behavior manifests a pleasant simplicity. There is nothing you cannot do if only you set your mind to it. You possess a happy lack of sophistication that enables you to distinguish good from evil, what is profitable from what is harmful. I flatter myself in believing that you are definitely attracted to me, and that you will accept my advice without bitterness. Profiting from this advice, you will set out with sincere good will to improve yourself. You will be careful to subdue your bad habits and acquire the good qualities that will assure our mutual happiness. No, my hope will not fail me! For I desire its realization too strongly, I pray to God for this too sincerely. As for you, you possess so many beautiful qualities of heart, even though these may have undergone some change as a result of your unfortunate experiences. God has made us one, and we shall be happy together. Therefore, from now on, let peace, sincerity, constancy of affection, strength of character and prudence guide your life.

Once again, please forgive me for my continued chattering. I did this only because you made such an unfair complaint against me. But now I have gone too far in pouring out my heart to you. Therefore, I beg you, make no response at all to what I have written above. Let this be the end of such mutual

exchanges. If you feel that these separate little notes are unnecessary, say so. On the whole I would have to admit that this time I have written too much, and as a result I am late in mailing this letter to you. In the future I hope to write shorter letters, more frequently. Likewise, I look for frequent responses from you. It might be better for you to write a little at a time before-hand - short items, so that when my letter arrives all you have to do is put these items in an envelope, seal it, and mail it. I beg you earnestly, do this always. Reconcile yourself to the cost of postage. You needn't stamp the letters yourself, since I know that you haven't got enough money for that. But let us write to one another as often as possible. In your separate note, please include some more intimate details about yourself: who you met, what you learned, how people accept you, what they say about me, what you are doing, the ways in which you amuse yourself, how you spend your day. Also, were my brothers in Pękowo for the holidays? You would never believe how much I appreciate such little bits of news! Thus, if you write a little bit at a time instead of all at once, a bit every day or every other day, you will be able to write everything. This is just as well, since you will be writing to me anyway.

In your response to this letter you can include fewer such items since I will be anxious to receive a reply as quickly as possible. But you can begin to prepare for a future letter by gathering materials immediately, in the afternoons or in the evening. My dear Alexandra, in your note you mention how miserable you feel when you recall the past and look forward to the future. I don't think you should be concerned about the latter. If you wish, your future can be a good one. I don't know what you had in mind when you wrote this. Apparently you want me to write that I am not angry about your visit to Warsaw. As a matter of fact, I am very happy that you are cured of such a small but disturbing weakness. In view of the circumstances in which you find yourself at the present time, I dare to hope that you will do nothing that might cause you shame, and that you will avoid whatever conflicts with your responsibilities. It would be wrong for me to suspect that you are meeting there

with someone whom God, your conscience, and your own interests counsel you to avoid. In my note from Płock I added the request that you name your son (or daughter) -to-be Charles or Caroline. You made no mention of having received this letter. You can scarcely believe how much each of your letters interests me! As to the name, I now renew my request. We will save Bogdan of Alexandra for a second child after my return. Agreed?

My dear little wife, I also want to remind you to take care of the collection of writings I left behind. See that they are not moved about from place to place, lest they be lost. For, although there are many dull pieces there, the collection includes others which I feel have a definite worth. About your trip to Warsaw when you are ready to deliver the child, pardon me if once again, as before, I offer certain cautions. I do this only because I am so very concerned. I know that you are weak and kind-hearted. I also know how evil and deceitful people can be. Moreover, your nature is such that you hesitate to expose yourself to ridicule. This can be dangerous, for no one can live at peace with all people. It is impossible to be worthy and unworthy at the same time. Your fear of exposing yourself to ridicule can have serious consequences. Thus, if someone were to approach you and begin to speak to you thinking that you are the same misguided person you once were, you might have the courage to tell him boldly that he is mistaken, that experience has taught you to behave differently, that honor and conscience do not permit you even to meet with him. And yet, this is the only way. Only by such dignified boldness and strength of character can you regain your own self-respect and the respect of others. Finally, because you are too unsophisticated, simple, happy and open, you can sometimes permit weakness to gain the upper hand over prudence and honor, especially when the people involved are very clever at explanations and persuasion. Then the worst possible things could happen: one meeting... one conversation. Inevitably the whole cycle would begin again: failure, degradation, betrayal of friends, and in the end you are more unhappy than ever before. You must arm yourself with honor, courage and boldness. You

need to be very careful, guarding against the slightest occasion [for, as the saying goes: "People who observe that their neighbor is weakening are quick to shove him into the fire."] Therefore, see that you keep yourself occupied with work and reading.

If it is absolutely necessary that you be in Warsaw, Tony /Jański/ can supply you with books. Alfons,¹⁴ Peter (Zawadzki),¹⁵ Stephen,¹⁶ my father (or one of my aunt's brothers), or Michael Jaroszewski¹⁷ would surely visit you frequently enough. Then there would be no need for you to go out, either to the theater or for a walk down the main streets. I am saying this not out of jealousy, or because I doubt the goodness of your heart, but because a real danger exists. For this is a matter that involves people, and people can often be very talented in the art of deception, especially when it comes to women. Of course you could receive visitors in your room. I'm not just talking about Caroline. I'm sure the kindly Tony would not desert you.

I recommend that you buy some cotton, for then I could look forward to receiving a dozen socks which you would sew by hand in your leisure. But, in conscience, they must be hand-made. If they are not, I can just as easily buy

¹⁴ Alfons Kropiwnicki /1803-1881/ - Bogdan Jański's friend from the time of Bogdan's stay in Warsaw. In 1825 he completed the course in Architecture in the Department of Fine Arts at the Royal University of Warsaw. From 1827 he worked as an architect for the city of Warsaw, and then for the Kingdom of Poland. He erected many buildings in the capital, e.g., he was one of those who collaborated in building the Grand Theater. His address in Warsaw was: Ulica Rymarska, 744.

¹⁵ Peter Jański /1773-1832/ - Son of Ignatius and Agnes (nee Brzeski). He fought in the Napoleonic Wars. He was Lord of the Manor, first at Domoślów, and then at Pękowo, on lands which the Crown had claimed from the monks. He returned from the war only in 1826, and never managed to provide secure material conditions for his family.

¹⁶ Stephen John Erasmus Jański (born May 29, 1809 at Pogorzelec, died November 22, 1835 at Przytyk). Blood brother of Bogdan. He studied at Pultusk, and went on to study medicine in Warsaw (1826-1830). At the time of the Uprising he was battalion doctor for the 3rd Corps of Mounted Riflemen. He remained in hiding in Poland until the time of the amnesty. He could not obtain permission to practice medicine in the capital and had to go elsewhere. While offering medical assistance during the cholera epidemic in Przytyk, he himself fell victim of the disease. Bogdan learned of his death only in August, 1839.

¹⁷ Michael Jaroszewski (1802-1870) - Son of Joseph and Bogumiła Theophile (nee Hryniewicka, the blood sister of Agnes Jański, Bogdan Jański's mother). He received the degree of Master of Law from the University of Warsaw in 1824, and served as Advocate in the Criminal Court in Warsaw (1837-1839). He was judge of the Appellate Court of the Kingdom of Poland (1848-1858) and President of the Civil Tribunal (1859-1860). After 1861 he was a member of Department IX of the State Government, with headquarters in Warsaw. He died in Warsaw on January 14, 1870.

silk socks here. However, I can wait until you have sewn a few pairs as a gift for my father. This would make him very happy. When I was in Warsaw, there were times when I didn't see him for more than a week. Here at a distance, affection for friends and family - and how much more for you - becomes immeasurably stronger. It's a pity that I can send you so little money at this time, for it is hard to sew socks without cotton. I am not asking you to skimp or deprive yourself of comforts. Not only will I not be angry, I even encourage you to borrow a few hundred zlotys from Alfons, or from anyone in a position to help. I will gladly return the money later. For that matter, the Szotarskis are in Warsaw. If you should decide to stay in Warsaw, there is something I want you to do for me. This is a must. I would ask you to learn to play the guitar from notes. Either Alfons or Michael Jaroszewski can provide a suitable teacher for you.

If you are in Warsaw, I suggest that you consult Doctor Stephen Fiałkowski.¹⁸ He is the best obstetrician there.

Further cautions, which you may have violated already. For the love of God, be on your guard! You are so good-natured that, as soon as you get used to someone, you immediately ask for advice, no matter who it is. Thus you may already have taken on Bońkowska as your servant in Warsaw, or you may be planning to do so. Please do not do this! What would people say? How improper it would be! You know well enough of what kind of affairs she was a confidante when she was in your service before. There are already many people who identify her as your lackey. There would be questions. Briefly, then, I beg you: If you have taken any steps in that direction, please withdraw. And if you haven't, for the love of God do not even inquire about her. Otherwise you would cause me great distress. Rather hire a girl from the village to accompany you should it be absolutely necessary for you to go to Warsaw. Yet there are surely many wealthier women giving birth to children

¹⁸ Stephen Fiałkowski - rather Ignatius Fijałkowski, was at this time a noted obstetrician in Warsaw. He lived at Ulica Miodowa, 483.

in the villages. Very well, then, hire a midwife to stay with you for a few weeks. Even in Pułtusk you will find doctors and midwives who are quite good, e.g. the trustworthy George Drozdowski and others. If you were to spend the period of your confinement in Pułtusk, you would save on costs and still be very comfortable, for you could bring all the necessary things with you from Pękowo. Moreover, Frank could make frequent inquiries for you from his Caroline. [You could also learn to play the guitar there if you chose to do so in the time before giving birth.]

If you love me, you will present this project to the Grabowskis, and you yourself will support it. Naturally you will not tell them that you are doing this for my peace of mind, but rather because it is cheaper, and because Pękowo is so near.

There is no danger involved. Surely there are many office workers and other respectable women in Pułtusk with husbands who are also worried about their wives' health. It follows then that good doctors, midwives and medicines can be found even in Pułtusk. It would certainly be cheaper and more convenient. Do not wonder that the very mention of Warsaw disturbs me. If I am overly concerned about you, it is because I love you, even to excess, and wish you happiness beyond measure. I know that in Warsaw there are people who have long hidden behind a mask of friendship for you, and who have stated that they are ready to do anything for you, but who are forever using honor and comrades as an excuse. These people were laughing within, even while externally they were being polite to you. For them, it was always a question of satisfying their own vanity, without any consideration for morality.

My dear little wife, my dearest Alexandra, I want you to be truly convinced of my sincere affection for you. Forgive me if I seem overly concerned. I would be very happy and completely at peace if you would do what I suggest, i.e., if it were at all possible for your journey to end in Pułtusk. There are others also who consider it better for you not to visit Warsaw again. I, especially, would be most grateful if you did not. Please answer me on this

point. I send you hugs and kisses without number. I ask for a speedy reply. My God! I put these hugs down on paper. Where did they go? I have no one here to kiss, and no children to fondle or frolic with. What can I do? Love me faithfully, even at a distance. I write with tears in my eyes. Love me. You will see. I will be grateful.

Your Bogdan

Letter Nr. 5

Paris, July 20, 1829

Dearest Alexandra,

From the time when you last heard from me in May, I have already received two letters from you; the latest arrived yesterday. Instead of making excuses, it is more proper for me to offer you my most sincere apologies. You write that I may have done this to punish you because you waited 8 days to answer my previous letter. No, dear Alexandra! I would never wish purposely wish to reciprocate the pain inflicted by another. It is true that I did experience considerable distress because I received your letter later than I had expected; but I never had any intention of reciprocating. On the contrary, when I received the first letter after your confinement, I was actually so thrilled that I forgot about my own duty to respond quickly.

Further, I have been meaning to write a few words to you for several days now. Actually I had practically nothing newsworthy to write to you. In my present circumstances nothing out of the ordinary has happened. Moreover, I was so occupied with the enormous amount of work to be done each day that I kept postponing my reply until today. In fact, for the last several days I feared very much being embarrassed, as I eventually was, by a second letter from you before I got around to answering your first. Well, it happened. I received the second letter. However, my conscience is clear as regards my obligation to you. I trust your goodness and your understanding too much not to sit down immediately to write a few words, and to ask your pardon for having delayed until now.

Dear Alexandra, from what you have read thus far you may conclude that I am still in Paris, and that to this time I have not left this city. The information you had, presumably from a letter written to Tony Jański - which letter I did indeed write - is pure fiction. I don't know how that rumor started.

In February, perhaps in March, a very serious question arose about our stay here in Paris. We had not received any government subsidy for some time. It was being said that the Emperor had not given his approval to the Polytechnic Institute,¹⁹ and that only enough money for our return to Poland had been sent. I then wrote to one of my colleagues in Warsaw that, in spite of all the planning, I might be forced to leave Paris soon. I had in mind my possible return to Poland. It might have been these words that gave rise to the rumor you heard. Later, I think in my letter to Michael Jaroszewski, I wrote that springtime here is very beautiful, and that I try to take advantage of it by short excursions into the countryside around Paris. It is a custom enjoyed by almost all of the young people in Paris, to go out into the countryside on Sundays and holidays in the spring. My health, the need from some recreation in order to keep working, as well as curiosity about the surrounding area, prompted me to join in the observance of this custom to the extent that my occupations and the fine climate allowed. However, from the time of my arrival here in November, I have not spent a single night outside the walls of Paris. And so, I don't know whether what I wrote gave rise to this rumor. Rumors are rumors; but I am a little amazed that you would have believed a rumor to the point of addressing your last letter to me and then adding "*Poste Restante*". By jumping to conclusions you upset yourself with all kinds of disturbing thoughts, with the result that your health suffers, as you yourself write.

My dearest Alexandra, let even the shadow of such thoughts be far from you. How could I change my place of residence without notifying you? Besides, could a change of residence on my part be enough reason to disturb you?

¹⁹ The scholars in Warsaw had organized a Polytechnic Council, and established a separate preparatory College at the Royal University of Warsaw for those who wished to enter the Polytechnic Institute. They also prepared a full staff of professors. However, the Tsar kept withholding his confirmation of this first Polish Technical School in Warsaw. It was even feared that he would withdraw the stipend of the professors who were on sabbatical leave.

No, dearest Alexandra. Since you are upset, you cause me to be even more upset. The fact that you are upset gives me reason to believe that you do not trust my affection for you and my character sufficiently. And yet, with reason, I should expect just the opposite. It is right and fitting, therefore, that I send you a little scolding on this account. If I were a real crab, I would have at least one more reason to be disappointed in you. In your last letter you wrote that perhaps, surrounded by so many novelties, I will have forgotten the treasure which true love provided for me. How unjustly, and without cause, you judge me!

Had you worried about my health when I failed to answer you for some time, I would not have been surprised, and neither would I reproach you. But that you should think my heart could be changed by the novelties among which I live is beyond all expectations. True, I am not, nor can I be, indifferent to new things. However, what sort of novelty do you suppose overpowers me? Can it possibly be mere knowledge of things about which I knew little or nothing before? It is new opportunities and new avenues for personal development, the ultimate fruit of which will be an adequate salary and a good reputation, in both of which you will always share? Dear Alexandra do not let yourself think otherwise! If you could only appreciate, fully appreciate, the depth of my affection for you, you would be convinced that notwithstanding such new experiences and innocent novelties, no day passes that I do not experience great sadness due to my separation from my native land, and persons to whom I am bound by so many holy ties. No day passes in which I do not look forward with eager anticipation to the time of a speedy reunion with them. No day passes in which I would not think of you. You judge me unjustly! Finally, it seems to me that our special relationship requires that we do not entertain even the slightest suspicion about one another without certain and serious reasons, for it is possible that a person can make himself believe almost anything. If you allow yourself to believe that I have forgotten you, I can with all the more reason begin to feel that you are treating me like one who

has been unfaithful. The inevitable result of such behavior can only be that after some time we would no longer greet one another as sincerely devoted married persons who have not seen each other for a long while, but rather as persons who do not trust one another and who vainly try to disguise their lack of trust with a tear or a hug. As a matter of fact, God knows that, as for me, this is not how I wish it to be.

There you have a little sermon. In any case, I would not wish to be as quick in judging you as you have been in judging me. I would like to think that your real convictions about me are very different from those that I seem to detect in some of the passages in your letter. Having waited so long for news from me, you probably write such things more out of pique and anxiety than to indicate your true opinion of me. Therefore, I do not wish to count them against you, or build sand castles with them. Once again I apologize, and once again I assure you of my deepest affection for you. I sincerely hope that, in the future, you will never again cause me distress by voicing similar suspicions. Moreover, I trust that in your heart you do not in fact accept what they suggest.

If good Papa has not already left for Galicia, offer him my most sincere thanks for the letter with which he honored me. The address he asked for is: His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor (L.M. Government, Hotel Juvelides) Cavalier of the Order of the Legion of Honor of St. Louis, Paris, Hotel des Invalides.

I send my humblest greetings to Mama, and also to Grandma. Give Matt, Teresa, Josie, and the dear Grabowskis a hug for me. You forgot to mention in your last letter whether little Bogdan is in good health. Please remember to mention this in your next letter. I am already savoring the delight with which I will embrace him on my return. Also, let me know the present whereabouts of Peter. My brothers have not written to me at all since March. I don't know what this can mean. In a recent letter I scolded them severely. I fear that my father may have reverted to his unfortunate weakness.

Dear Alexandra, in your last letter you sought a definite answer concerning how soon I would be returning to Poland. I can only share with you the most definite information available to me: I am presently expecting a final decision from the Polytechnic Council.²⁰ I expect to return to Poland, at the latest, two years from next September. I, too, do not relish this thought. But what can I do? I must submit to circumstances. The only road to happiness is to endure with patience the pain of not seeing each other for so long a time. Therefore, be patient!

Let us trust God that this is our final test, and that once we have been reunited, He will permit us to be that much happier. Only let us love one another sincerely, in mutual trust.

Dear Alexandra, I send you a million and more hugs. Moreover, I wish you health and peace.

Your husband and faithful companion,
Bogdan

²⁰ The question here refers to the final decisions regarding the length of Bogdan Jański's sabbatical leave, which originally was to end after one year in Paris. At this time he was expecting to have that leave prolonged to three years: two in Paris, a half year in London, and a half year in Berlin, according to the instructions he had received from the Polytechnic Council in Warsaw.

Letter Nr. 6

Paris, May 1, 1830

Dearest Alexandra,

I received your letter at the beginning of this month. The postmark tells me that it was written on the 21st of March. I could go on and on telling you how much pleasure it gave me to read it, assuring you that my heart greets your every utterance, and it is with joy that my eye reads every word written by you. The joy is always the same: great, greater than any other. It is as great as my love for you! It flows from that holiest of all human bonds, the bond that unites us. True faith and hope lead me to the conviction that you share my deep feelings concerning the sacredness and obligation of this bond. I also believe, and sincerely hope, that your trust in me is in no way hindered or weakened by any slightest shadow of suspicion. God, who blesses pure love and a persevering will, shall keep these untarnished throughout the time of our separation from one another. More than that, he will strengthen our love by this trial of our affection and will allow us to reap an even more abundant harvest of its fruits. That harvest will be our future happiness, the intimate physical and moral union of our lives.

As for news about myself, it makes me happy to feel that you will be interested in knowing that right now my health is excellent. I am pleased to repeat an expression you used in your letter: "The health which now belongs to you, and which it is my obligation to protect, not just for myself, but for you as well." Please remember that I have an equal concern for your health. Therefore, if I ask you to take care of your health, I am asking you not to injure it in any way through worry or anxiety. Don't worry about me. Bear the trials of our separation patiently. I am placing my trust in the providence of Him who cares for the suffering.

Dearest Alexandra, I ask this of you all the more urgently today since, without any further prelude, it is only today that I definitely can, and must, notify you: I will remain abroad for one more, a third year. It will be September of next year before I can throw myself into your arms, to share an embrace that is so dear to me, and so long desired. Only this month did I receive the letter informing me of the decision of the Board of the Polytechnic Institute [under whose direction I remain] which prolonged my stay in England to six months [originally I was to spend only three months in London]. Dearest Alexandra, I ask you to believe the intense desire to avail myself of this opportunity for study is prompted by the hope that it will ultimately lead to better conditions for us in the future. Yet this desire to profit by an extension of my stay is paralyzed by an agonizing loneliness for you, by a tremendous desire to be united with you this instant. At the very thought of the happiness that will be ours when we are reunited, I would like to take a giant leap and to stand by your side instantly, in order to be able to free you and myself from our tragic problems as soon as possible, and so mend our fateful separation. All of my work would be more bearable, and my life would be infinitely sweeter if, by some miracle, our mutual desire could be satisfied immediately. But, what's to be done? Unfortunately, this is totally impossible, and we must submit to the will of God with patience and hope.

Dearest Alexandra, your health is my concern as well. Therefore do not let this news distress you overly or be a cause of unrest. Fortify yourself with patience and resignation. Be renewed in hope. Be obedient to the will of God. The greater part of our separation is over. This year of affliction for us will also pass. We can expect a real profit from it in the future since the increase in my capacity to provide our daily bread will reward, at least in part, the misery we are presently experiencing. As for our mutual love, God knows how I feel about you. He knows of my sincere hopes for you. He will see to it that we both keep this love intact in our hearts.

Neither Mr. Plater nor Mr. Garbiński has kept his word relative to the statement made publicly last October, included in the clipping from the “*Polish Gazette*”²¹ which you sent to me. You can blame them for our most recent disappointment. But if you intend to complain to the Board of the Polytechnic Institute, you will not get anywhere, for the judges of your complaint will be the accused themselves. It would be better to denounce them for breaking a promise they made publicly. Yet here too you will encounter new difficulties. Legal procedures cost money, and that we do not have. We are faced with a problem that has no solution.

With regard to money, I am very much amazed by Jaroszewski's²² conduct. Even before I received your last letter I wrote to him, especially since I had not had any word from him for at least two months. Obviously we can no longer count on him for any cash subsidy. This set-back grieves me all the more because it affects you directly. It will be two months before I receive any advance on my future salary. Please believe me, right now I have barely enough to cover absolute necessities. However, as I love you, in July I will send you as much money as I can. You can count on that. If possible, please let me know, more or less, how much you will need for necessary expenses and to pay your creditors. I may even be able to send instructions directly to

²¹ . “*The Polish Gazette*”, Warsaw, 1829, No. 281, p.1224 (October 20, 1829). “A report on the 1829-1830 school year presented by the Honorable Garbiński, Director of the Preparatory School of the Polytechnic Institute, Professor at the Royal University of Warsaw, etc.” Alexandra had cut out the article because it stated: “Therefore, especially next year when the remaining professors return from abroad, namely those destined to teach the full complement of commercial subjects, the program of our Institute will include all of the practical sciences”. The Plater and Garbiński mentioned here were school authorities at Warsaw. Louis Plater (1774-1846) was a Senator and Palace Governor of the Kingdom of Poland, President of the Board of the Polytechnic Institute, and later a secret envoy of the revolutionary Political Mission in Paris (March 8, 1831). He was General Kniaziewicz's right hand man in work among the emigrants, and permanent vice-president of the Literary Society. Prior to the revolution he was a noted geographer. Cajetan Garbiński (1796-1848) was a noted mathematician, appointed professor of higher mathematics at the Royal University of Warsaw in 1824. From 1825 he was the Director of the above-mentioned Preparatory School of the Polytechnic Institute. He was author of several books on mathematics. After the failure of the uprising, and the suppression of schools of higher learning in Poland, he worked for the Zamojski Estate.

²² Mentioned once before, Michael Jaroszewski was a cousin of Bogdan Jański. He sold Bogdan's share of Pogorzelec, but he never turned the money over to Bogdan, in spite of many requests in time of need.

the Secretary of the Board of the Polytechnic Institute, asking him to transfer this amount to you through Tony before he sends my subsidy to me from Warsaw. In this way you would receive the money more quickly, and would not have to pay interest at the bank unnecessarily.

Returning once again to the card you sent me,²³ I just read the same message in the recent "Program of the Polytechnic Institute." I considered the statements in the Program issued by the school directors most uninteresting. The Board of the Polytechnic Institute would like me to provide some publicity for our school in Warsaw by writing articles for periodicals here. Recently they notified me that they would send me this "Program" by way of the bank. Usually, they send letters to me postage paid. I don't know whether they thought the bank would send the Program to me gratis, or whether the bank would pay the postage. The Board itself paid nothing. For its part, the bank simply wrapped the book, sealed it, addressed it to me, and then placed it in the mail. As a result, yesterday the letter carrier came to me with this enormous letter demanding that I pay him 15 francs and ten sous. Naturally I had to pay. I trust that the money will be refunded to me. However, as it stands, I had to spend 60 zlotys for some printed sheets which I did not find at all interesting. I am not at all happy about the situation.

From what I have already written, you probably guessed that I will soon leave Paris. As a matter of fact, I was beginning to be bored here. As soon as I receive my subsidy in July I will leave for England, and will remain there until December. Along the way I may make a slight detour to Holland. After England I plan to spend 9 months in Germany. I may go to Hamburg directly from England. Before I leave Paris, I would like to make brief visits to Havre and Edinburg. Since I do not wish to pay for a room in the month that I will be away, I will simply leave my things with a friend. For the next two months I will have no stable address, and so please address your letter: "a Paris, Poste Restante." In that way I will surely receive your letter, whether I am in Paris or

²³ He speaks here of the excerpt from the "*Polish Gazette*" mentioned above.

away. I will look for your reply,²⁴ at the latest twelve days or so after you receive my letter.

Bogdan

²⁴ In the rough draft of this letter that has been preserved the usual conclusion is missing.

Letter Nr. 7

London, September 9, 1830

Dearest Alexandra,

In my last letter from Paris on July 24th, I told you that I was leaving for England within a few days. I asked you to write to me in London, "*Poste Restante*", and I promised that I would write to you as soon as I arrived there. I am surprised that your letter was not waiting for me at "*Poste Restante*" and you are probably wondering why you have not received the promised letter from me. As for me, I wrote on the 24th of July that I would leave Paris within a few days. However, local circumstances²⁵ would not permit me to leave at that time. Moreover, I was in bed with a fever for a few weeks. As a result, I could not leave Paris until the end of August. I have been in London only 10 days. This explains why you did not yet receive a letter from London. But I cannot explain why there was no letter waiting for me at "*Poste Restante*". Is it possible that you did not know you would have to pay for the postage across the water and that your letter would not be accepted here with postage due? N.B. When sending a letter to London, postage must be paid from port to port through which the letter passes. Or could it be, God forbid, that you have suffered another attack of the fever? I cannot guess your reason for not writing, and I am very much disturbed. Before all else therefore, I beg you: Please write at least a few words quickly, within a few days of receiving this letter. However, remember what I mentioned above. You will have to pay the additional postage.

I had made the acquaintance of several Englishmen while I was still in France. These in turn gave me letters of introduction to persons here who can be very helpful to me in my work, especially in the area of studies that is my primary concern. Since it is practically impossible to learn English, or have the

²⁵ He alludes here to the so-called "*July Revolt*" in Paris in 1830. The July letter has been lost.

opportunity to speak it, anywhere else but in England, I plan to spend a few months here and depart some time in February or March. Then as I travel through Germany, I will be drawing closer and closer to you, dear Alexandra. This is a very happy thought! In one year we will be together, and at last I will be able to hug you, and thank you sincerely for the sacrifice you made in my behalf when you agreed to our quite lengthy separation. I will try to make it up to you, with happiness, for your past and present sorrows. Do not be disturbed. Love me as much as I love you and desire your happiness. Be patient, placing your confidence in God. The portrait of which I wrote in my last letter has finally been completed. However, the people who saw it judged that it was not at all like me. As a result, I decided not to send it, and left it with the artist. I feel very embarrassed at not being able to satisfy your long-standing desire and fulfill a promise I made so long ago. But a good portrait is very expensive, and I would not want to send you a bad one. If it pictured me as uglier than I am in reality, you would not be happy with it. On the other hand, if it pictured me as more handsome than I really am, you would not at all be pleased with me on my return because I would not match the portrait. In any case, in spite of all the problems, since I made a promise, I feel bound to fulfill it, and so I hasten to assure you that I will fulfill it. To tell the truth, promise or no promise, it has been my intention for some time now to see this task completed. For, if you had such a portrait, you would remember me every time you looked at it, which would be to my benefit. Yet somehow I have gotten it into my head - and my heart as well - that even without a portrait you think of me often, even every day, as I think of you. Please tell me: Am I wrong in thinking so? Am I flattering myself too much? But an end to this! Since I love you, I promise that, circumstances permitting, I will be very happy to keep my pledge to you.

I expect that you already received the note for some 300 zlotys that I sent to you through Stephen. As I told you, I received my subsidy only on the 20th of July. For several days after that circumstances prevented me from doing

anything about the transfer of funds. I obtained the bank note for you only on the 6th of August. I intended to send it through my brothers, but they had not notified me of their address in Warsaw. Since they do not attend classes during the vacation period, I could not send it in care of the University. Thus, I had to wait until, when writing to the University authorities, I was in a position to include a short note with the draft, asking them to deliver it to Tony, who is a student at the school. I had intended to write to the University authorities immediately after my departure from Paris; but since that departure took place only at the end of August, the whole chain of letters was delayed. I sincerely ask you pardon, not solely for the delay in mailing the money, but also for the small amount that was sent. Please be assured that I would gladly send you more if it were at all possible. Travel in England is much more expensive than anywhere else. However, it won't be long now, and we will be able to have a long talk together.

With regard to the matter that concerns Joey: You have not written, and so I have not received the information I asked him to send through you. If, as I understand, they were able to write to me and include the letter I asked Joey to write, they might just as easily write to the person whose address I gave him. If this is not possible, have Joey send an answer to my questions. I will make a copy of a letter which he can use as a guide when writing to Paris. The person whose help we were seeking has finally arrived in Paris, arriving just as I was about to leave. However I did not feel that I needed to contact him, for he no longer possesses any influence.

My dearly beloved Alexandra, at the end of this letter I ask you once again, for the love of God, write as quickly as you can. N.B. Do not make a special envelope, and do not include any special notes with this letter. Simply do what I have done. Write your letter on thin paper, for here you have to pay double for everything.

I send you kiss, after kiss, after kiss. Greetings to the family. Kiss them all for me. Write soon. Do not be disturbed. Next September we will be together. Your ever devoted husband and true friend,

Bogdan

Letter Nr. 8

London, November 22, 1830

Alexandra, dearest one in all the world!

What does it mean? What can it possibly mean? After all my pleading, and in spite of all my urging to write as soon as possible, I have not received any letter from you for the longest time. I simply cannot understand this. In July I wrote to you from Paris, asking you to write to London "*Poste Restante*". I arrived in London and there was no letter from you. I wrote again from London, and waited once more impatiently for an answer. One, then two months went by. If you had written I would have had your answer within a month. It is now the third month and still I have not received any word from you. My letter from Paris may not have reached you due to the circumstances at the time. However, the letter that I wrote after my arrival here in September should have reached you. What extraordinary set of circumstances could possibly have ended our correspondence? I can find no explanation, and I am very disturbed.

Forgive me for beginning this letter so abruptly; but really, as I write to you today, I can write of almost nothing else except of my worry about you - asking you, begging you, to send me some word about yourself, pleading with you to put an end to my anxiety by a few words from you. My address here, as I noted previously, is: London, No.8 Charterhouse Street, Charterhouse Square.

It was only at the end of August that I left Paris. I explained the reasons for such a late departure in my last letter. Ultimately it was the general state of unrest there /in Paris/ at the time that was responsible. I have already spent 3 months here. I plan to leave for Germany in January. At the beginning of August I sent you a few hundred francs through Stephen. I do not know whether or not you received them.

Dearest Alexandra, could you possibly be so angry with me? Could you purposely allow me to worry for such a long time for a only slight delay in my correspondence with you? Circumstances should have excused me. If I was at fault in any previous delays, the fault was surely nothing more than a slight procrastination, even a slight laziness when it comes to writing letters - unfortunately a situation that is quite common among young enthusiasts. But the fact is that I have not been guilty of any great delays. If I put off writing for a week, this cannot be ascribed to laziness. It might even be explained by my confidence in you, something I felt sure that I always enjoyed. But I never put off writing for any greater length of time. In conscience I feel that I have a right to your confidence, because I have always loved you most sincerely. I love you as my wife. I see my lot in life as bound up with yours forever. If I dream of the future, it is always yours as well as mine. I desire no other happiness, except happiness with you. My behavior toward you can surely offer you no reason to think otherwise! What I have just written was written most sincerely, from the depths of my feeling for you. How can you possibly hold anything against me?

I can find nothing. I am unwilling to accept - I cannot accept the idea that you could be angry with me, or that your love for me could have grown cold. And so, I cannot even guess why I have not received a letter from you. I simply cannot. Dear Alexandra, beloved wife, have pity on me! Restore my peace of mind as soon as possible. Tomorrow, immediately after you receive this letter, write a few words to me!

The character of the city and country in which I am now living, and the customs of the people, are definitely such that I could write at length about them. Under other conditions, I would share my impressions with you. But now I am constantly troubled by the fact that I have not heard from you for such a long time. As a result when I write, I cannot focus on anything else but the situation as it involves you and me, and I continue to fill this letter with pleas for a quick response to my letter - at least a few words from you. It

takes about 14 or 15 days for a letter to travel from here to Warsaw. If you do not write immediately after receiving my letter... If I do not receive a letter from you within a month, I hesitate to think what will become of me! Moreover, you must reply quickly, for I will definitely leave London early in January, after I receive my subsidy. All my interests indicate that this is what I should do. As of now, I plan to go directly to Bonn, in Prussia; but this is not definite. Therefore, in order that your letter may still find me here, please write within 2 or 3 days after you have received mine.

There is no doubt in my mind that we should be together within a year. Dear Alexandra, you can hardly imagine how much this thought cheers me! You cannot imagine how great is my desire to change the rest of my trip to a single day, even a single moment, in order to be able to greet and embrace you sooner; to thank you for the sacrifice you have made for me, and to live together, merging our destinies completely! My stipend for next year will include nine more months. I am obliged to finish my sabbatical in September. However I cannot see myself remaining away from you for that length of time. I will surely see you in August at the latest. Be calm! Be patient! The end of our troubles is not far off. Live in hope. Remain always the one I love as I imagine you and your relationship with me. Evil can be a condition for good, if we only know how to profit by it. The sacrifice we both made by separating for a time, along with the suffering this separation has caused, can make our future all the more pleasant, perfect and happy, if only because the road leading to it was thornier.

My health continues to be good. Every thing is expensive here. My budgeting has not been the best. [Remember: admitting a mistake is already half-way toward correcting it. Do not let a lack of thriftiness, to which I admit, cause you to be angry, for, honestly, I have already begun to reform. It will be up to you to complete the reform by handling our common funds in the future]. I repeat: Everything here is expensive. As a result of my former financial difficulties and lack of economy, I had very little money left after paying my

debts. Now, as before, "I am short." But I have already become accustomed to this. Ultimately there is always the hope: It has to get better! As husband and wife, and God willing, as father to children, I will definitely settle down and begin to save. I will soon be with you. You will be the mistress of my house. Here I am living in a boarding house where, along with a room, I receive breakfast, lunch, dinner and tea.

N.B. Englishmen eat every two hours, and always it is beef, beef, beef. The meals are very simple, but healthy and solid. They never use gravies, sauces or vegetables. A roast, a piece of bread and dessert make a meal. And so I am healthy. I experienced no problems, either in Paris or on the sea voyage. I cannot tell you more at this time. I cannot begin to describe the many points of interest here. One thought continues to bother me: Why haven't I had a letter from you for such a long time? I continue to plead with you: Write a few words as quickly as possible. I hope to read these few words before the month is over.

Dearest Alexandra, I send you countless kisses. Give my greetings and my love to the family. Be at peace, and write soon to your loving companion and husband,

Bogdan Jański

P.S. In previous letters I included a note to Joseph (Zawadzki) concerning the matter he asked about several months ago. If you received those letters, I am still waiting for a few words from him.

Letter Nr. 9

Paris, March 2, 1831

Dear Alexandra,

Will this letter reach you? Why have my last eight letters gone unanswered? To me this is a great mystery - a very sad mystery!

My God! I have had no news since June! At the end of August I went to London, where I remained for five months. Three weeks ago I returned to Paris. I have already written one letter from here since I returned. I have no way of knowing whether that letter reached you.

I am healthy physically.

I am writing this, and I will continue to write, on the off chance that one of my letters will reach you. My address is: "a Paris, rue Monsigny No.6, 6 la redaction de L'Organizateur."

Lately, I have been writing to various people in Poland, obligating them to see to it that you get my address. When you receive it, write to me. Write the very same day! I beg you by all that is dear in life! On the chance that Alexandra may not be at Pękowo... For the love of God, Grabowski or any member of the family, please let me know what is happening there!

If this letter reaches you, give my address to one of my brothers [if they are alive], and ask him to write to me as soon as possible.

Dear Alexandra, I will not write any more, in the hope that this short letter will have a better chance of reaching you. I send greetings and embraces for you and the family.²⁶

Bogdan Jański

²⁶ This letter testifies to conditions of war in Poland, particularly in the area where Bogdan's closest relatives lived.

Letter Nr. 10

Paris, April 18, 1831

Dear wife,

This is my eleventh letter since I last heard from you. Maybe, just maybe, it will reach you! What's wrong? Why have you not written to me at all? I find this hard to understand. It is a source of much distress. It worries me greatly. I cannot tell you how much it worries me! For the love of God, if you receive this letter, sit down the same day and write to me, at least a few words. The first letter which went unanswered was written last year, at the end of July, during the uprising. I left for England shortly after that. From England I wrote one letter after another to you but received no answer. It was in England that I learned of the political situation in Poland. I wanted to come to you immediately, but I lacked the money to do so. Only at the end of January was that hindrance removed; but by then, as you know, travel through the countries between England and Poland became almost impossible for Poles. As a result, I left London and returned to Paris, trying to figure out what I should do. Here I found opportunities to serve the national cause²⁷ by way of my relations with publishers. This kind of activity is best suited to my sensitivities and to my sense of loyalties to my friends. I am sure that at one time²⁸ you were aware of these inclinations, even though you knew them then only in embryo. You ought to share and support these inclinations. This is what keeps me in Paris until now.

There is much to tell you about myself, and also about my present situation - much that is good for me, and so much that is good for you as well.

²⁷ During the uprising he served as a correspondent in Paris.

²⁸ He alludes here to his philanthropic views and his quest for social justice by way of necessary reforms.

If I say it is good for me, you must realize that I do not consider my happiness as something separate from, but rather tied to the happiness of my friends.²⁹

However, what I want especially is news - news from you, as quickly and in as great detail as possible. Perhaps I too will have an opportunity to write to you at greater length and more openly. For now, I simply want to let you know that I am alive, that I continue to love you as my wife, and that I would very much appreciate a few words from you.

My address in Paris is: a Paris, Rue Monsigny, N.B., a la redaction du “*Globe*”. I have not heard from my brothers at all. Send me some information about them.

Last month I wrote to Anthony Szotarski at Piotrków. I felt that, since that region was quiet, my letter would have a better chance of getting through, and that this would certainly be a source of some news about you. Yet, up to now, I have waited in vain for an answer.

My very dear Alexandra, I send you a million and more hugs. My greetings to you and to the whole family. For the love of God, write to me as soon as possible!

Faithful until death, your husband,
Bogdan

²⁹ Therefore, already in Warsaw, Bogdan Jański had shared his views for society with Alexandra.

Letter Nr. 11

Paris, March 16, 1832

Dear Alexandra,

Where are you? What are you doing? Why don't I hear from you? This is all a horrible mystery to me, and my inability to find an answer is very painful. In a letter written in December, Stephen tells me that you are in Warsaw. Where in Warsaw? Why don't you write to me? Stephen has my address. Alexandra, what is the meaning of this?

As for me, many serious considerations prevent my return to Poland. But I don't want you to lose hope. I will surely find a way to bring you here soon. At the present time I am completely caught up in this ardent desire. I hope to realize it as soon as possible. But for the love of God, write to me before then, and tell me where you have been until now, and where you are at present. Send me your address.

I wrote my last letter to you in care of Mrs. Jaszowski, but there is no way of knowing whether or not you received it. So far my health is good, thank God. But the fact that I do not hear from you disturbs me greatly. With God's help I will find a way to provide the means of support. Only write to me without delay. I beg you most urgently. My address is: Rue des Marais etc. [Please do not delay!] In closing, I embrace you with all sincerity.

Bogdan

Rough drafts of letters to Professor Frederick Skarbek

Letter Nr. 12

Paris, December 26, 1828

Honorable Count!

This is my first letter to Your Honor since my arrival here in Paris. Sorry to say, I feel I need to justify myself to Your Honor on account of this delay. Your gracious favor is very dear to me. I would be deeply touched if you were to ascribe this delay to laziness on my part, since the gratitude I owe you requires greater diligence. There are circumstances which will surely diminish my apparent culpability, and may even erase it completely.

I arrived in Paris, on the 18th of November, with a sincere intention of fulfilling the tasks assigned to me by Your Honor as quickly as possible. In fact, within a few days of my arrival I had arranged see the people Your Honor had instructed me to contact. I was amazed to learn from them that Your Honor's work³⁰ had not yet been published, but that it would soon appear in print. As a result, I decided to hold off writing to Your Honor for a few days, hoping to bring you the information that the book was already published.

About the first of December, Mr. Sautelet included a notice in the "*Constitutionnel*" that Your Honor's work would surely be ready by the 15th of the month. On the basis of this notice, or for other reasons of which I am unaware, Your Honor was wrongly informed that the book had already appeared on the first of December. I waited with my letter to you until I could provide exact information. Meanwhile, I entrusted a letter to Mr. Łabęcki.

³⁰ F. Skarbek, *Theorie des richesses sociales*, Paris, 1829, Vols. 1 and 2.

Along with the declaration of his kindness, he assured me that the letter to Your Honor would be sent by courier immediately after I delivered it to him.

As yet you have not received a letter from Mr. Fourier.³¹ First the 15th of December passed... then the 20th, and still no news of the publication of Your Honor's book. Yesterday, December 25th, Mr. Sautelet included another notice in the “*Courier*” stating that Your Honor's work is “at the printer, and will appear on either the 10th, or the 15th, of January, 1829”. The delay may be explained perhaps by the fact that local printers are busy printing many books *pour entrennes*, as well as a great number of pamphlets and treatises which are being issued in conjunction with the proximate opening of Parliament. Mr. Sautelet is printing many of the latter. In his latest notice, yesterday, along with Your Honor's work, he also announced the publication of the *Histoire des communes en France* by Reyneuard³², and a second edition of *Des communes et de l'aristocratie* by Barante³³. He made no mention of these in his notice of December first, inevitably, they will be released before Your Honor's work since they meet a specific need of the times, whereas Your Honor's work is not geared to the needs of any one day, or month, or year; it can be sold profitably either now, or somewhat later.

The “*Systeme Communal*”, scheduled to be changed during the next session of Parliament, has totally absorbed the attention of both politicians and journalists in Paris at this time. The most recent work on this topic, by Minister of State Vaublanc,³⁴ is criticized universally. The *Histoire Critique du pouvoir municipal* by Leber³⁵ is a better work since it is based on extensive knowledge

³¹ Charles Fourier (1772-1837) - A French social reformer; the founder of communities that would become famous a few years later.

³² A less known participant in the constitutional debates going on in France at the time.

³³ Peter Barante (1782-1866) - French politician, historian, and author of various historical books besides the one mentioned in the letter.

³⁴ Vincent Vaublanc (1756-1845) - French politician, economist, and author of many books in these fields, including the one mentioned by Jański. His *Du commerce maritim considere sous le raport de la liberte entiere du commerce et sous le rapport des colonies* appeared in Paris in 1828.

³⁵ John Michael Leber (1780-1860) - French political writer. The complete title of the work mentioned is: *Histoire critique du pouvoir municipal; de condition des cites des bourgs et*

of the Law and of present needs in society. So far, this work has received only the highest praise.

Taking all these circumstances into account, and considering that Mr. Sautelet has already once reneged on his promise of December first, it is very unlikely that he will have Your Honor's work ready by the 15th of January. Whatever happens, I will not wait for either early or late notices and reviews, but will send Your Honor notice of publication immediately after the book makes its appearance in print.

As for periodicals containing comments on Your Honor's book: Not all will review the book immediately. With some it is the custom to wait 2 or 3 months after a book has been published. Others must wait until their debts are paid (e.g., "*Revue Encyclopedique*" and the "*Bulletin Terasmo*" have only now published their October issue). This will take about a month. Moreover, the opposite sides of the pages I will send may contain articles which it would not be opportune to send. Finally, some of the periodicals are fairly thick, while articles of interest in them may be fairly short. I am not sure that it would be worth while purchasing the entire copy in order to cut out a single item.

And so, I am asking Your Honor for instructions. Should I collect such articles as they appear and at intervals give them to Mr. Łabęcki³⁶ so that he might send them to you by courier? Or, should I wait until I collect a certain number of such articles and then send them all together? Should I send articles which include censorable material on the opposite side together with items clipped from larger periodicals in a single package by courier? Or, should I copy such articles faithfully and send them to Your Honor in a personal letter as soon as they appear?

d'administration comparee des communes en France depuis l'origine de la monarchie jusqu'a nos jours, Paris, 1829.

³⁶ Cf. explanation in the following letter

Letters are not likely to be censored as readily as a special package of printed material. Censorship at the post office is notably lighter. In that case Your Honor would receive all of such notices in a few letters, not only more cheaply, but also more surely. I ask Your Honor for clarification as to how I am to proceed. Kindly send me the necessary information, so that it will reach me prior to the publication of the book. Your Honor can be sure that I will fulfill his wishes to the letter. My address is: “Quai de Celestines, No.18, Hotel du Loiret”.

Your Honor once mentioned that, with the beginning of 1829, he planned to publish a periodical which would be dedicated to Economic Studies. If you still plan to do so, would Your Honor please give me an indication of the kind of articles that might find a place in this periodical, and also permit me to send him some of my poor literary efforts? Under your illustrious guidance, I might hope to make some small contribution to spreading our work among the emigrants. Thanks to your civic activities, Your Honor has already established the main lines of thought on this subject. Favorable conditions here where I am now living would favor such a project.

After my arrival in Paris, two new books on Political Economy were announced in the local papers: one by Mr. Droz,³⁷ the other by Mr. Vazareinques.³⁸ There is also a second edition of letters by Mr. Rey,³⁹ *Sur le system cooperatif de Mr. Owen*.⁴⁰

If you would be so kind, I would appreciate any bit of news from Poland that is of interest to you as an administrator. Has the Administrative

³⁷ Cf. explanation in the following letter

³⁸ A little known economist.

³⁹ Joseph Philip Rey (1779-1860) French journalist and jurist. Among other works, he was the author of that mentioned in the letter: *Lettres de system de Mr. Owens*, Paris, 1828. Jański has somewhat twisted the title of this book.

⁴⁰ Robert Owen (1771-1858) - A well-known English social reformer of these times; he was the initiator of socialism and the cooperative movement.

Board made any definite statement⁴¹ about the future of the Polytechnic Institute?

Before I left Warsaw, I submitted a petition to the Board of the School of Forestry requesting that I be relieved of the obligation of returning the 400 zlotys I received as a stipend.⁴² If this matter has not yet been settled,⁴³ I presume to ask Your Honor to intercede in my behalf, in order that I may receive a favorable response. Mention of the School of Forestry leads me to another request. Your Honor, permit me to remind you to intercede for my cousin⁴⁴ who attended this school, especially since this is the time for distributing grants and for appointments to practice.

Please give my regards to Mr. Kunatt⁴⁵ and Mr. Kowalski.⁴⁶ I send regards to Your Honor from Barciński, Rybicki, and Królikowski.⁴⁷

I beg Your Honor not to regard this as a mere ceremonial custom if I close this letter with an expression of the esteem with which you are held in the hearts of your compatriots by reason of your public service, as well as with an expression of sincere personal gratitude.

Your Honor's most humble servant,

Bogdan Jański⁴⁸

⁴¹ Bogdan Jański has in mind the Tsar's confirmation of the new school in Warsaw where he was soon to teach.

⁴² He was scheduled to teach there in the next school year; however, his sudden departure, as well as organizational difficulties encountered by the school did not allow this plan to be realized.

⁴³ This school of higher learning also experienced difficulties in obtaining approbation.

⁴⁴ One of his cousins.

⁴⁵ Cf. explanation in following letter.

⁴⁶ Adam Kowalski - a lesser known colleague of Jański at the University of Warsaw. In 1826 he suffered greatly at the hands of the school police.

⁴⁷ Three Parisian colleagues - Cf. clarification in the following letter.

⁴⁸ This letter was preserved in the form of a rough draft in the Roman Archives of the Congregation of the Resurrection, cf. 8568/8, pp.203-206.

Letter Nr. 13

Paris, July 15, 1829

Honorable Count!⁴⁹

Your Honor, the letter you sent by way of the Embassy on the 25th of May did not reach me until June 17th. I immediately delivered the note which you had included for Mr. Sautelet.⁵⁰ The very next day, the 18th, I took the copy of Your Honor's book to the publisher. However, despite constant checking, I had to wait until now to receive the bound copy. The binding is beautiful. The cover is purple morocco leather. The edges of the pages and portions of the cover and spine are gilded. The spine bears the title of the work and the name of the author. It seems to me that the paper in this copy is better than it is in the others, but not that much. It could have been a little finer. In fact, today I will entrust this copy to Mr. Jabkcki,⁵¹ along with my letter and a copy of the "*Journal de Rouen*" which I received from Mr. Sautelet.

The May issue of the "*Revue Encyclopedique*" carried a lengthy article about Your Honor's book.⁵² Two weeks ago I happened to meet someone going to Warsaw. I tried to take advantage of this opportunity, and I expect that by the end of this month Your Honor will have received the article, for the person who agreed to deliver it should be in Warsaw by then. The person I speak of is a very worthy young compatriot, Mr. Brzostowski.⁵³ He attended the University of Warsaw for several years and one of the courses he took there was that given by Your Honor. However, I'm not sure that Your Honor

⁴⁹ author of many works in the field of Political Economy; an advocate of economic liberalism; author of many novels and plays; statesman in the period after the November Uprising; collaborator with Russia. The original letters of Jański of August 15 and 19, 1829, can be found in the Ossolineum in Wrocław under No. 5540, pp.21-26.

⁵⁰ A Parisian bookseller and publisher. He printed the works that Skarbek wrote in French.

⁵¹ Xavier Łabęcki (1790-1855) - General Consul representing the Kingdom of Poland in Paris.

⁵² *Theorie des Richesses Sociales*, Paris, 1829.

⁵³ Michael Brzostowski (1805-1867) - An old colleague of Bogdan Jański at the University of Warsaw; later, as a professor of mathematics, he gave lessons in private homes and taught at the Sandomierz grammar school.

will remember him. Here in Paris he worked hard in the area of economic studies, or rather technical studies. The article I mentioned was written by a certain J.D., who I understand is Joseph Droz, the author of a recently published treatise on Political Economy.⁵⁴ But Mt. Julien,⁵⁵ who did not want me to reveal the name of the author, told me that it was someone else.

“The Globe”⁵⁶ of January 25th offered a simple presentation of Your Honor's book and recommended it. The tone of this publication leads me to conclude that, if the editors decide to print a lengthier review of Your Honor's book, the review may not be altogether valid and true; but at least it will not be as shallow and general as the majority have been. The fact that the editor has not yet gotten around to reviewing Your Honor's work probably stems from his normal policy of waiting some time before reviewing any new books. For example, Say's⁵⁷ *Cours Complet* has been on the market for quite some time, yet it was only in March that “*The Globe*” offered an analysis and critique of Volume I. The bi-monthly “*Revue Francaise*”, though only a year old, has already achieved a very fine reputation. It is regarded by many as the number one literary publication. Yet, so far it has made no mention of Your Honor's book.

A few months ago a new periodical entitled “Universel” made its appearance. It is a daily paper concerned solely with new publications. A current issue reviews the work of Mr. Ferrier,⁵⁸ who is known for his *Du Gouvernement Dans Les Reports Avec Le Commerce*, a book about the system of trade in England during the 19th century. In one of the outstanding sections

⁵⁴ Francis Xavier Joseph Droz (born 1773) - A French economist. The work referred to here is *L'Economie Politique au Principes de la Science des Richesses*, published in 1829.

⁵⁵ Mark Anthony Julien, Julien of Paris, (1775-1846) - A French journalist; editor of “*Revue Encyclopedique*”; defender of the Polish cause and friend to many emigrants.

⁵⁶ At this time, the daily “*Le Globe*” was already under the influence of the revived Saint-Simonism. A little later, Michael Chevalier, a friend of Bogdan Jański, became the editor and added the sub-title: “*Journal de la doctrine de Saint-Simon*”.

⁵⁷ John Baptist Say (1767-1832) - French Economist and the author of, among others, *Cours Complet d'Economie Politique Pratique*, Paris, 1828-29, 7 volumes.

⁵⁸ F. Ferrier - a French Economist. The complete title reads: *Du Gouvernement Considerü dans ses Rapports avec le Commerce ou de l'Administration Commerciale Opposee aux Economistes du XIX Siecle*, 3rd edition Paris and Lille, 1828.

of the book, with all the force of enlightened judgment, the author declares himself in favor of a carefully and studiously masked mercantile system. Although, in their evaluation of new publications, the editors of this paper see many things in a wrong light, they do, nevertheless, manifest a wide acquaintance with critical bibliography, and often show a knack for uncovering the genuine merit of an author, while determining the extent to which the latter has made a contribution to scientific studies. However, so far I have not noticed any mention of Your Honor's book in this periodical.

Some of the new books on Economics are: Droz, *Principles de L'Economie Politique*,⁵⁹ Bresson,⁶⁰ *L'Histoire Financiere de la France*, and Ferrier,⁶¹ *Sur le Systeme Commercial de l'Angleterre*. A few books published in France have dealt with conditions of poverty and methods of remedying the situation: one by Manssion⁶² and a second by Perigot.⁶³ Currently the papers are advertising another work by Duchatel,⁶⁴ *De la Charite Sous les Raports de la Morale et du Bien Ktre des Classes Inferieures de la Societe*. Duchatel writes articles on Political Economy for "The Globe". I have not read any of his writings⁶⁵ as yet, but they generally receive high praise.

A very complete history of Political Economy, written in Italian by Joseph Pecchio,⁶⁶ was recently published in Italy. Mr. De Generando⁶⁷

⁵⁹ Cf. footnote 6. Bogdan Jański cites an abbreviated title.

⁶⁰ Charles Bresson (1798-1847) - follower of Saint-Simon, later a French politician; Prime Minister during the reign of Louis Filipe.

⁶¹ 13. The complete title of the work is: *Du Systeme Maritime et Commerciale de l'Angleterre au 19-me Siecle et de l'Enquite Francaise*, Paris, 1829.

⁶² H. L. Manssion - *Essai sur l'Extinction de la Mendicite en France*, Paris, 1829.

⁶³ Perigot - *Project d'Extinction de la Mendicite et du Vagabondage en France Precide de Considerations sur les causes de l'Inegalite des Fortunes et de la Mendicite Parmi les Hommes*, Paris, 1829.

⁶⁴ Charles Duchatel (1803-1867) - An old colleague of Janski from the time when he studied in Paris. He was later a French politician and statesman. The reference here is to his first publication in 1829.

⁶⁵ His "writings," that is, his "uorks."

⁶⁶ Joseph Pecchio (1785-1836) - Italian patriot and economist; reference here is to his work: *Storia dell'Economia Publica in Italia, Epilogo Critico degli Economisti Italiani*, Lugano, 1829.

⁶⁷ Joseph de Generando (1772-1842) - French Baron, philosopher, professor of Law; he was of Italian extraction. Reference here is to his *Institutes des Droit Administratif Francais ou Elements du Code Administratif*, Paris, 1829-32, 4 volumes.

continues to offer his course in Administrative Law in France. A number of pamphlets on taxes, and a few on prisons, have also appeared recently. The Minister of Commerce has permitted results of the work thus far completed on “*Enquete Commerciale*” to appear in print. The “*Enquete*” includes contributions by some of the principal businessmen and entrepreneurs of France: e.g., worthy of special note, “*Sur les Sucres et Sur Les Fers*”. This work is important from statistical, economic, and commercial standpoints.

Your Honor is undoubtedly aware that at present Paris is hosting a new and surprising artist, who has so captured the fancy of local show lovers that, next to him, even some more famous colleagues of his have lost their glamor. This new star is Franconi’s⁶⁸ elephant. It is really amazing how skillfully he performs the principal role in the Olympic Circus’ presentation of the play “*The Elephant of the King of Siam*”. Almost every day at the end of the play there is a curtain call. As he comes out for a solo bow, he is greeted by thunderous applause. After making several bows to the audience, he calmly takes his leave. Today he is to make an appearance before the Royal Family at St. Cloud, on the occasion of the nameday or birthday of Prince Bordeaux.

At Porte St. Martin, Delavigne’s⁶⁹ new drama, “*Marino Faliero*”, continues to attract large audiences. The Grand Opera is preparing to stage Rossini’s⁷⁰ ne plus ultra “*William Tell*”. It is said that Chateaubriand⁷¹ has written an excellent tragedy entitled “*Moses*”. There is a rumor going around that it will be presented in the Theatre Francaise. In fact, the daily papers have already printed how much the author was paid for his work. In the meantime, however, Chateaubriand, considering the theatrical world not yet ready for his

⁶⁸ Anthony Franconi (1738-1836) - Director of a famous European circus. He was originally from Venice. He died in Paris.

⁶⁹ Casimir Delavigne (1793-1843) - French poet and dramatist; a romanticist. The play “*Marino Faliero*” was published in 1829 in Paris.

⁷⁰ Gioacchino Rossini (1792-1868) - Great Italian composer, and the author of many operas. “*William Tell*” was published in 1829; but, as the work of this famous Italian, it was staged very soon after publication.

⁷¹ Francis Rene Chateaubriand (1768-1848) - One of the greatest French poets, he was likewise a statesman with a title of Viscount.

play, has withdrawn it from their judgment and has only granted permission for it to be printed. To the outrage of rabid classicists, the Theatre Francaise has added the following historical dramas to its repertoire: “*Henry III*”,⁷² and more recently “*Christine, Queen of Sweden*”.⁷³ These plays have been greeted with great enthusiasm. Madame Mars⁷⁴ will make her first appearance since her return to the city. The Odeon, closed for the past half year, will re-open in October under the direction of the famous Miss Georges.

Honorable Count! It was proper for me to begin this letter as I did, with an accounting of how I had fulfilled the commissions given to me by Your Honor. If to this time cold reason had not successfully managed to control an exuberant expression of my feeling, by curbing their insistence, I might have committed a genuine impropriety⁷⁵ in writing this letter, as a consequence of which to this point Your Honor would have read nothing but new and repeated expressions of my gratitude to him.

As a matter of fact, I have already received so many favors from Your Honor! If I add these to the letter I received recently, along with Your Honor's kind disposition toward me - I cannot fail to note this - and the promise Your Honor has made to find a suitable position for me in the future,⁷⁶ I find myself at a loss for words to express gratitude to Your Honor. A tear of emotion consoles my heart. I can only hope that my accomplishments in the future will manage to prove to Your Honor how strong and sincere this emotion is.

⁷² “*Henri III et sa Cour*” - An historical drama by Alexander Dumas. It was published in February, 1829, and apparently was put on stage almost immediately.

⁷³ “*Christine de Suede*” - A Drama written by Alexander Dumas. Already accepted by theaters in 1827, but was staged only in 1830.

⁷⁴ Anne Frances Mars (1779-1847) - famous French actress. During Jański's stay in Paris she received particular acclaim for her acting in the principal role in Alexander Dumas' “*Henry III*”, which was presented in 1829.

⁷⁵ I.e., lacking tact

⁷⁶ Professor Frederick Skarbek had apparently hinted at the possibility of a job teaching with him at the University of Warsaw in the event that the Tsar did not approve the Polytechnic Institute.

I welcome the news concerning the office and honors recently conferred upon Your Honor.⁷⁷ If this announcement filled me with great delight as a Pole, it made me all the more happy as one who always has been most sincere in wishing Your Honor the very best.

Mr. Jędrzejewicz⁷⁸ leaves Paris today. He asked me to send Your Honor the enclosed note along with his best wishes. Messrs Barciński,⁷⁹ Miaskowski,⁸⁰ and Louis Królikowski also send Your Honor most sincere greetings. Would Your Honor please extend my greetings to Mr. Kunatt?⁸¹

I presume that there is not need to repeat the request I made to Your Honor⁸² - continue to send commissions to me. I promise to do whatever you ask me to do. In fact, I shall consider it a genuine pleasure to fulfill these assignments.

I remain, respectfully, Your Honor's grateful pupil and humble servant,

Bogdan Jański

⁷⁷ Reference here is to his appointment (January 9, 1829) as a member of the General Council, with supervision over hospitals, an arm of the Government Commission for External and Police Affairs.

⁷⁸ Joseph Calasanz Jędrzejewicz (1803-1853) - An old colleague of Jański from Warsaw years. He received the degree of Master of Economy from the University of Warsaw. He was also a Doctor of Philosophy in Civil and Ecclesiastical Law. In later years he was professor of Law and Administration at the Institute of Rural Commerce in Marymount. He was a brother-in-law of Frederick Chopin. His wife Louise, nee Chopin, wrote children's stories

⁷⁹ Anthony Felix Barciński (1803-1878) A colleague of Bogdan Jański at the University of Warsaw, who was now studying in Paris. Originally from Lublin, he studied in Warsaw and abroad, especially in France where he completed the two-year course in Commerce and Industry. During the Uprising he returned to Poland in June, and was a director of a bank in Warsaw. Later he was a professor of mathematics in secondary schools, and finally director of steam traffic on the Wisła. He too was a brother-in-law of Chopin, and his wife, Isabelle, nee Chopin, also wrote stories for children.

⁸⁰ Felix Miastowski (born 1809) - He graduated from the University of Warsaw in 1827, and was sent to France for further studies. After he returned in 1830, he held important government positions. He was a director of industry. After 1828, he lived in Petersburg, where he worked in the Secretariat for Polish Affairs. He was editor of the "*Daily Paper*", and author of popular articles in the field of economy. His distinguished individuality was diminished by his collaboration with the Tsar. His youth is more commendable. While in France, he translated Mickiewicz's poems into French: "*Conrad Wallenrod*", "*The Arabian Horsemen*", and "*Crimson Sonnets*".

⁸¹ Stanislaus Kunatt (1799-1866) - Professor at the University of Warsaw. He taught Jański Administration, Business Law, and Statistics; took part in the Uprising of 1830-1831; emigrant and right-wing member of the Czartoryski party.

⁸² One of the words here is either illegible, or has been crossed out.

Letter Nr. 14Paris, July 19, 1829⁸³

The letter that I am now sending to Your Honor was written on the 15th. I had hoped to entrust it to Mr. Łabęcki along with the copy of Your Honor's work. However, for the last several days I was free only in the afternoons, and as luck would have it, I could not contact him in the afternoon. I was only able to reach him this morning, this being a Sunday. He told me that he would send both the letter and the "*Journal*" to Your Honor in the near future.

As for the book: He stated that Your Honor had written that he intended to dedicate it to the King of France, and that Your Honor had connections that would open the way for him to make the presentation. However, since he had not received any specific directives from Your Honor, he does not know how he should proceed. I am relaying this information to Your Honor, with the understanding that Your Honor will provide proper directives: either directly to Mr. Łabęcki, or, if Your Honor has other requests to make of me, in a letter that can reach me through the Secretary of the Polytechnic Council. Should Your Honor find it useful, My address is: Rue Git le Couer, Nr.3.

At the same time, I beg Your Honor to forgive anything that might be out of order in my letters - frequent errors of style, to be sure - and not hold this against me. I am not using the lack of time as an excuse, for in any event there can never be a lack of time when it comes to caring for Your Honor's interests. Unfortunately, I may be presuming too much on Your Honor's goodness to me. Once again I send Your Honor expressions of deepest gratitude. At all times and in all things I remain ready to serve Your Honor.

⁸³ A postscript to the preceding letter. The original is in the Ossolineum. Cf. footnote 1 in the previous letter.

Bogdan Jański

Letter Nr. 15

Paris, February 18, 1830

Honorable Count!

I received Your Honor's letter of January 20th on the 15th of February. From the tenor of that letter I gathered that, at the time Your Honor was writing it, he was not yet aware of how his book had been received by the French critics. However, since the "*French Gazette*" carried an item on this subject about a month and a half ago, Your Honor has surely learned of the reviews by this time. As yet I have not had an opportunity to meet with Mr. Łabęcki to thank him for the good wishes which Your Honor so graciously mentioned.

I think that Your Honor's wish will be realized more quickly with the presentation of the third volume. However, before this can be done, it may be well to discuss ways to effect such a presentation with Mr. Łabęcki. I suggest that Your Honor avail himself of friends here who have some influence at the Court. Should Your Honor find this suggestion acceptable, he might present all three volumes to the one who wields the greatest influence.

In reference to Mr. Sautelet, I have gone to his shop to buy a few pamphlets. I wanted to speak with him about the sale of the two volumes already published, and also about procuring the third volume, but I could not find him in the store. At the present time he occupies himself primarily with editing the newspaper National. I did not feel that I could approach him directly for an answer to some of the questions Your Honor presented in his last letter, since I was not authorized to do so, and so I am waiting to meet him by chance, to catch him at the store, or to receive authorization from Your Honor to discuss these matters with him.

The periodicals here have carried no other review of Your Honor's book other than those which I have already sent. As for Mr. Say, I am sorry to have

to tell Your Honor that, in spite of his polite assertions, he has not made a very good showing. Two months ago he published the sixth and last volume of his *Cours d'Economie Politique et Pratique*. In section 8 he speaks about public finances, and in section 9 about auxiliary information that can be helpful to the political economist: e.g., the relationship between statistics and political economy; the primary and secondary organs of social economy; and finally, a sketch of the progress of political economy, divided into five periods. N.B. Not without reason, he has assigned no precedence to any of these periods other than numerical precedence. The first period deals with antiquity; the second is especially concerned with the mercantile system; the third discusses the School of Quesnay;⁸⁴ the fourth considers the School of Smith;⁸⁵ in the fifth section he seems to be speaking about the Say School although he shies away from naming it explicitly. In this last section he discusses recently published books and their authors. Here he very adroitly plays down the merits of others [e.g. he lumps Storch⁸⁶ and Culloch⁸⁷ together. He considers them important for Political Economy, but does not consider them to be good authors], while notably advancing his own. Further, whereas he devotes one whole page to the praises of his friend Drottye,⁸⁸ [who published his manual after Your Honor's was already in print], he makes no mention at all of Your Honor's book. Thus he quotes from Drottye's book: "There are so many opinions in political economy because on every question there are true and false opinions." However Your Honor is not alone. Ganilh⁸⁹ and a number of German authors,

⁸⁴ Francis Quesnay (1694-1774) - a French economist, originator of the theory of so-called "physiocracy", which he describes in his work *Tableau Economique*.

⁸⁵ Adam Smith (1723-1790) - an eminent English economist. His principal work is *The Wealth of Nations*, 1776. He preached that it is in our own interest to help others.

⁸⁶ Henry Storch (1766-1835) - A German-born economist, tutor of the Tsar's children. He wrote in French. His principal work is *Cours d'Economie Politique*, 1815, in four volumes

⁸⁷ John Ramsey MacCulloch (1789-1864) - An English economist, professor at the University of London, and later a high official in the Stationary Office; author of *Dictionary of Commerce and Commercial Navigation*, London, 1830, and *Principles of Political Economy*, London, 1849.

⁸⁸ Drottye - little-known French economist.

⁸⁹ Charles Smith (1858-1836) - A German-born politician and economist who wrote in French at Paris; author of several works in the field of economy.

unknown to Say, suffer the same fate. It seems that, as far as Say is concerned, a person who doesn't agree with what he has to say about political economy [or anything else for that matter] is either wrong, or has nothing to say.

Should Your Honor happen to meet Mr. Jędrzejewicz please give him my greetings. Ask him to write to me with instructions about what I am to do with his "*Bulletins of the Geographical Society*": How I should send them to him and to whom I should commit the responsibility for obtaining further issues; for I am leaving Paris in August, stopping briefly in Holland, and then going on to England.

The Council of the Polytechnic Institute has prolonged my stay abroad until September of next year. After England, I will spend the rest of this time in Germany. Since this is the first letter I am privileged to write to Your Honor in the New Year, I am sending Your Honor a thousand and more very sincere wishes for success in all of his undertakings. Once more I ask that Your Honor feel free to request that I fulfill whatever commissions he may send to me. I am at your service in whatever way I can be useful.

In closing, I add the expression of my true regard for and gratitude to Your Honor. Your humble servant,

Bogdan Jański

Letter Nr. 16

Paris, October 23, 1831

Gracious Count!

Without a doubt the first thing I should do at the beginning of this letter is apologize to Your Honor for my lengthy silence. Since Your Honor is aware of the problems that confront a scholar on a sabbatical journey, I presume to offer this as an excuse. I feel that up to now I have enjoyed Your Honor's gracious favor and confidence, but I am always anxious to deserve such favor. I do not consider that I have lost it up to now. If my supposition is correct, I trust that it will be enough to obtain pardon for me from Your Honor.

Here is a brief account of my activities since I last wrote to Your Honor. I stayed in Paris until August of last year, applying myself diligently to the study of the material I was to teach at the Warsaw Polytechnic Institute, e.g., Commercial History and Law, and Political Economy. I left for England in August. Letters of recommendation from several scholars here helped very much to pave the way for my meetings with MacCulloch, Cooper⁹⁰, Senior⁹¹, Mill⁹², etc. With their help I was able to achieve very satisfactory results from my studies during my stay in England. In February I returned to Paris. By reason of the conditions in Poland, as well as for purely personal reasons, I have remained here. I keep trying to use the time of my stay here to the best

⁹⁰ Charles Purton Cooper (1793-1873) - Lawyer, advocate, antiquary and English writer. He collaborated in the publication of "*The Law Magazine*", and was the author of many works in the field of Politics and Law.

⁹¹ William Nassau Senior (1790-1864) - An English economist and promoter of the so-called "*Vulgar Economy*". He was a professor of Economy at Oxford, and the author of several works in this field. He taught that economy is independent of politics. He also taught: the steady decline in the productivity of the earth, and a growth in the productivity of industry; the need for a long work-day; the capitalist's right to income based on so-called "abstinence", i.e., renunciation of the right to the immediate consumption of capital.

⁹² John Mill (1806-1873) - An eminent English economist, journalist and philosopher. At this time he was a collaborator in the "*Revue de Westminster*". He continued the work of Ricardo in the field of Economy. He was an advocate of liberalism. His principal work was *Principles of Political Economy*.

advantage when it comes to the studies that I am pursuing so that I may be able to teach these subjects when I return to Poland.

A few days ago, the *Berlin Gazette* contained an item informing us of Your Honor's appointment to the Ministry of Education. This item tells me more about the Tsar's intentions with respect to our Country and its future than many other things I have been hearing.⁹³ Ultimately, this is the reason why I have undertaken to ask the Honorable Minister of Education only recently appointed by the Tsar for Poland to send me directives concerning my own further assignment.

Your Honor is aware of my situation at home. I was sent abroad at the government's expense. In the ordinary course of events, I should have returned to Poland last month, in order to occupy the chair assigned to me at the Polytechnic Institute. Is the Polytechnic Institute still in existence today, and what is the situation of the professors who were assigned to it?

As for myself, since I am the only one from among my colleagues who is still abroad, in Paris: Can I, should I, return to claim the position assigned to me? If I can return, then I must ask the proper authority to make my return home possible.

N.B. The subsidy that I received in London was good only until the end of last month. Right now my only possibility is to live in dependence on future income.

These are the problems with which I am confronted; they will remain unsolved until I receive some guidance. In this letter I sincerely ask Your Honor for such guidance, and I trust that Your Honor will not refuse to offer such counsel to his former student and client.

In my present situation I need someone to give me friendly - I stress friendly - advice. No one can do this better than Your Honor. In spite of the gap between us in the Polish educational hierarchy, I place great confidence in

⁹³ It was proper to write in this fashion to a Minister newly appointed by the Tsar.

Your Honor's character, and so in the effectiveness of my request. I ask Your Honor for the advice I need.

Some time ago, in one of your letters to me, Your Honor hinted that I might fill a teaching position other than that at the Polytechnic Institute, and that Your Honor would be willing to help me obtain that position. Is this position, or another like it, still open to me now? Does Your Honor think that I could be of service to my Country in that position, and would I myself benefit from it? In the generally critical situation in which I find myself today I need Your Honor's gracious assistance and friendly advice. My address is: Paris, Rue Sainte Anne, Hotel Choisel.

With this letter I include a formal petition, as a professor of the Polytechnic Institute. It is addressed to the Minister of Education. Your Honor can use this petition if he judges that it is necessary.

With regard to the matter of my subsidy: In London I received 6,000 zlotys at the end of January. This was to take me to the end of last month. Since I cannot expect a reply from Your Honor earlier than toward the end of next month, I really cannot return to Poland at this time. The subsidy I received for the final quarter of last year simply will not suffice once I have paid my debts. Therefore, I must ask for an advance of one half year's salary, that is, from October 1 of this year to April 1 of next year.

One more request. Please pardon me, Your Honor, if I seem to presume on your goodness, and if, in spite of your many occupations, I dare to bother you with my little troubles. I have not had a letter from my brothers for several months now, and I am not sure where they are living. Therefore, I am including a little note for them with this letter. One of them was a student in the School of Medicine; the other was registered in the Polytechnic Institute. Is it possible for this note to reach them by way of the directors of these schools?

Again I beg Your Honor's pardon for bothering him with my problems. I can only hope that very soon I may be able to thank Your Honor in person for past favors, as well as for favors I might yet expect to receive in the future.

Grateful until death, Your Honor's pupil and sincerely devoted servant,

Bogdan Jański⁹⁴

⁹⁴ This letter and those that follow have been preserved in the form of rough drafts in the Roman Archives of the Congregation of the Resurrection under No. 8568/8.

Letter Nr. 17

Paris, October 25, 1831

Gracious Count!

Several days ago the Berlin Gazette announced Your Honor's appointment to the Ministry of Education. I was about to ask Your Honor to send me instructions about my future assignment as a professor at the Warsaw Polytechnic Institute: Commercial History and Law, and Political Economy. In August I left for England. Letters of recommendation received from a few scholars here helped me to make the acquaintance of Messrs MacCulloch, Cooper, Senior, Mill, and others. Their assistance made my stay in England a fruitful one, fulfilling all of my desires. This past February I returned to Paris. For purely personal reasons I have chosen to remain here. While here, I make every effort to use my time so as to gain maximum benefits from the study of the field in which I am presently working, and which I was to teach on my return to Poland. In the ordinary course of events, I should already have returned to Poland last month in order to take over my appointed teaching assignment.

Is the Polytechnic Institute still in existence today? What is the situation of the professors who were formerly assigned to teach there? As for me [the only one from among my colleagues to remain in Paris], can I, and should I, return to assume my assigned teaching position? These questions pose problems for me, and their solution concerns me greatly. They will remain unsolved until I have received your reply. In this letter I am asking Your Honor's advice. I feel quite sure that, in spite of his many occupations, Your Honor will not refuse such advice to a former pupil and client. Either if I am to return to my former teaching assignment, or take a new position, I will need money for the trip home. N.B. The Last stipend I received took me only to the

end of last month. Funds which I received for the last quarter of this year will not suffice for my return trip after I have paid the debts I was obliged to incur in order to sustain myself. Therefore, if I am to return, I must ask the proper authority to advance my salary for the next six months, i.e., until April 1 of next year.

In the generally critical situation in which I find myself, I need friendly - I stress, friendly - advice. No one can offer such advice better than Your Honor. Despite the great gap that separates us in the Polish educational hierarchy, I am asking Your Honor for such advice. Since I trust in the character of Your Honor, I also trust in the effectiveness of my plea. My address is: etc.

Undoubtedly I should have begun this letter by apologizing to Your Honor for my lengthy silence. However, since Your Honor understands the situation of one who is on sabbatical leave, and is also aware of the extraordinary circumstances that have engulfed us in recent times, Your Honor will surely excuse me. I feel sure that I once enjoyed Your Honor's gracious favor and trust. I wish always to be worthy of that trust. I continue to believe that Your Honor has not withdrawn either his favor or his trust, and that these will prompt him to forgive me.

I ask Your Honor's pardon now, especially when I presume to bother him with my troubles. I hope to be able to thank Your Honor in person very soon - for past favors, for a response to my present request, as well as for the favors I expect to receive in the future. I am ever grateful to Your Honor.

Your pupil and friendly servant,

Bogdan Jański

P.S. Messrs Szyrma⁹⁵, Mochnacki⁹⁶, Kunatt and Plater⁹⁷ arrived in Paris yesterday, the 24th. Should Your Honor have an opportunity to communicate my address to one of the professors at the Polytechnic Institute, or to one of my brothers [one was a student in the Medical School, the other in the Polytechnic Institute], you would be doing me a great favor. Oblige them, in my name, to write at least a few words to me.

1. This is another version of the preceding letter, with changes that were the result of meeting and talking with some of the first emigrants. It was in this form that the letter was sent.

⁹⁵ Christian Lach Szyrma (1791-1866) - Originally from Mazowsze, he studied in Królewiec, and was professor of philosophy at the Royal University of Warsaw [where he taught Bogdan Jański]. He participated in the Uprising, and later worked among the emigrants in France and England.

⁹⁶ Maurice Mochnacki (1804-1834) - Literary critic, historian and politician in the November Uprising; he and his brother Camillus were close friends of Bogdan Jański in Warsaw and Paris. It was from them that he contracted tuberculosis.

⁹⁷ Caesar Plater (1810-1869) - Captain of the military forces in Lithuania during the Uprising; member of the Diet of 1831; active among the emigrants, first in Jański's circle, then in that of A. Czartoryski, and finally with the Resurrectionists. From 1843 he was the Lord of Góra koło Śremu.

Letter Nr. 18

Paris, May 18, 1832

Gracious Count!

I received Your Honor's letter of December 26th only on March 15th. I did not answer it immediately, primarily because I wanted to include my response together with a dispatch I was sending to the Commission on Education. But, also because, for some a longer time, I could not reach any firm decision as to what reply I should make to the Commission. At the present time, for various and very important reasons, I have decided to stay here. I have already notified the Office of Education for the Kingdom of my decision.

First of all, I would like to assure Your Honor that as far as the future is concerned, I am completely at your service. In reference to the publishing business, the situation here is more and more remarkable, and to this time apparently without precedent. It seems that the entire reading public lives now for nothing more than the thrill of the moment. There has been no recent publication of any book dealing with morality. Only newspapers, leaflets, or business papers that keep changing from day to day are still very much in demand and read with any curiosity. When it comes to other, more scholarly, works, booksellers either make very little profit, or are being forced into bankruptcy.

As for Political Economy, the only interest shown recently focuses on very subtle questions: "the relationship between the system of private property and the development of national industry"; "methods for radical improvement in the material conditions of the working classes by changing elements which, until this time, were considered basic in Constitutional Government and Politics"; etc. What I am saying is, that only hitherto undeveloped areas arouse any livelier interest among economists here. When it comes to general theory, very few scholars are paying any attention to new methods of harmon-

izing and complementing the economy according to the ideas of Smith, even if his ideas are important from a scientific standpoint. Changes in political, philosophical, and historical concepts are felt very strongly here. The whole crisis of the society in which we live is reflected very vividly in this, as well as in other branches of scientific literature.

I spoke with Mr. Paulin about Your Honor's affairs. First, in regard to the manuscript of Essai de Morale Civique²: He received the copy from Mr. Simpson³. Having read it, he is of the opinion that present circumstances, along with present tastes of the reading public, do not allow him to risk the loss he would surely suffer if he were to publish the work at this time. He will return the book to me. I will remain with me to await Your Honor's discretion.

As for the third volume of The Theory of Wealth⁴, I saw to it that he received the table of contents which Your Honor sent to me. In speaking with him, I tried to point out some of the intrinsic values of the previous two volumes, and gave him an indication of how they had been received. I then presented Your Honor's wishes concerning the third volume... I even mentioned something about price. He readily admitted that this volume is very important in order to complete the presentation of the theory. With regard to the scholarly merits of the first two volumes, he is convinced that, while what the papers said was both valid and true, generally they did not render adequate and due justice to the work. However, for serious reasons, since he did not do too well on the purchase of the first two volumes, he declares that he cannot publish the third volume at his own expense, /even without payment to the author/. N.B. I must confess that Mr. Paulin is known to me on many counts. I also know of him from many people who have frequent business contacts with him. He is generally regarded as a conscientious man. I am sure that the basic reason for the answers he was given is not any attempt to swindle Your Honor, or to haggle about price, but simply the present condition of the local publishing business.

He received Your Honor's letter. His address is: Paulin, Libraire, Place de la Bousee. With regard to Ruszczyc⁵: Paulin publishes novels only by exception. Someone else would have to be contacted - perhaps Gosselin⁶ or Renduel⁷. But even on this level, today's unsettled society seems to have an appetite only for stories of monsters, passion, and the unnatural. Its craving is sated only by tales of horror, the exotic, or the extremely unusual. The best proof of this can be found in the books of today's most highly regarded novelists: Hugo⁸, Janin⁹, Balzac¹⁰, Paul de la Croix¹¹, and others.

I really think that the publication of Your Honor's own novels would be easier here. Moreover, if Your Honor were to adapt them a little more to the French style, he might even realize a sizable income. More serious considerations suggest that Your Honor do this, not only for books you have already published in Polish, but also in larger editions of books on the same themes written especially for French readers.

While I personally could not be very helpful in adapting these works to the French style, I could easily engage one of my French acquaintances¹² to perform such a service.

If Your Honor is ready to sacrifice himself, he might begin to dig into dusty archives in an effort to breathe life into our ancient customs. In this way he would initiate the publication on a large scale of materials that are of great significance to us. I could make arrangements with one of the better writers here to cooperate in polishing the language with a view to profit. This would insure the possibility, and the success, of such a project. I have more to say on this subject, but I await Your Honor's reply.

As for sending the manuscript of Ruszczyc... Since certain Polish books are absolutely necessary for my work, especially books that refer to our history, I have already contacted individuals to obtain them for me. I expect these books to be shipped from Warsaw in about a month. Should there be no occasion for Your Honor to send his manuscript before that time, he might keep this shipment in mind. His book could easily be included with the others.

My correspondence with the Education Commission has been interrupted temporarily. Therefore, I need some information from Your Honor. How should I address my letters to this Commission in the future? My address is... etc. My brother will deliver this letter to Your Honor. Taking advantage of this circumstance, I wish to recommend him to Your Honor's gracious protection.

I am, as always, Your Honor's ever faithful servant,

Bogdan Jański

Footnotes

1. Alexander Paulin /1793-1859/ - French publisher and politician; co-founder of the daily "National"; founder and editor of "Illustration".
2. Skarbek was able to publish this work much later, in 1860, in Brussels.
3. A less-known Parisian publisher.
4. Jański had in mind the two volumes of his Theorie de Richesses Sociales, Paris, 1829. He himself supervised the printing of this work at Skarbek's request.
5. Damian Ruzszyc, Warsaw, 1827 - an historical novel from the pen of F. Skarbek.
6. Charles Gosselin /1792-1859/ - Parisian publisher and bookseller, involved primarily in the printing of French literary works.
7. Eugene Renduel /1798-1874/ - Publisher and bookseller of famous French novels.
8. Victor Hugo /1802-1885/ - Famous French author and poet of the Romantic Period. A number of his books were known in Poland, e.g. Les Miserables, and The Hunchback of Notre Dame.
9. Julius Janin /1804-1874/ - French literary critic, journalist and writer. Janski has in mind his macabre stories: "L'Ane Mort et la Femme guillotinee", 1829; "Barnave", 1831; and "Contes Fantastique", 1832.

10. Honore Balzac /1799-1850/ - Eminent French novelist; originator of literary realism; author of the famous story cycle entitled "The Human Comedy".

11. Paul Lacroix /1806-1884/ - His pseudonym was "Jacob the book-lover" - a noted Parisian publisher, historian, and author of historical novels.

12. Jański had in mind John Henry Burgaud de Marets, with whom he had worked translating the poems of A. Mickiewicz /"Conrad Wallenrod" Paris, 1830/ into poetic prose.

Letter Nr. 19Paris, June 7, 1831¹

To Count Frederick Skarbek, Warsaw

I am delighted to have this opportunity to send these few words to you, gracious Count! With these few words, I would like to assure Your Honor once again of my constant high regard for him, and also to express my gratitude, and my most sincere devotion. In my heart I guard and preserve these sentiments faithfully, as I would a most precious treasure.

Mr. Sainte Marie², who will deliver this letter, is planning to tour Poland for purposes of study and pleasure. He is a friend of some friends of mine, people who have been very good to me and to our countrymen. Allow me to explain. About a year ago, a few of our young men enrolled at the College Stanislas here in Paris. Not only did the College administration free them from paying the ordinary costs because they were my friends, they even went so far as to provide these young men with paid positions. Mr. Sainte Marie is a friend of the priest³ directors of that Institute.

Your Honor's long-standing consideration for me prompts me to hope that Your Honor will accept my recommendation, and will see that Mr. Sainte Marie receives the information and assistance he requires during his visit to our country.

I presume to add a second recommendation. I doubt that you have heard of them, but the works of Mr. De Coux⁴, professor of Political Economy in Malines, are definitely worth reading. So also is the Course on Political Economy by Mr. Alban de Villeneuve Bargemont⁵. The "Universite Catholique", one of the outstanding local periodicals, considers this latter work equal to that of Mr. de Coux.

I ask once more, simply by way of a request, that Your Honor communicate my friendly greetings to Barański and Jędrzejewicz.

In conclusion, I commend myself to Your Honor's gracious remembrance. Your ever faithful pupil and servant.⁷

Bogdan Jański

Footnotes

1. This date was determined from the context and from the "Diary" of Bogdan Jański.
2. An acquaintance of Bogdan Jański and a friend of the priests in charge of the College of Stanislaus Leszczyński in Paris.
3. In the manuscript "priests" is indicated by the Polish abbreviation "XX".
4. Charles de Coux /1787-1865/ - collaborator of the Rev. F.R.H. Lammenais, a professor of Political Economy, Louvain.
5. John Paul Alban de Villeneuve Bargemont /1784-1850/ - A high French official and economist; the author of Christian Political Economy, 1834, 3 volumes.
6. A scholarly Catholic periodical.
7. Edmund Callier printed this letter in his book, Bogdan Jański. Callier had the original; the rough draft is in the Archives of the Congregation of the Resurrection in Rome, No.8568/9.

Letter Nr. 20

Paris, June 7, 1837

Please pardon my insistence, Your Honor! I am not to blame. It is Your Honor's gracious kindness, lavished on me on occasions in the past, that has left me with such vivid memories! Consequently, I now dare to lay claim to it. Confident of your goodness, and pressed by urgent need. I presume to seek Your Honor's assistance.

This is the situation: I have had no news at all from my family for three years. I don't even know where to address my letters. I wrote to my brother several times, but received no answer. And so, I respectfully include a few letters with this one, earnestly begging Your Honor to see that they are delivered. Where? I would hope that one of my former colleagues, also students of Your Honor, might provide that information. Surely Dean Radomiński² will know my brother's address. I am not writing to him today because I have already written to him several times without any result. Perhaps he finds such an intervention unpleasant. Joseph Lubowidzki³, or one of the members of the judiciary, must have some definite information about my cousin, Michael Jaroszewski. Such is my plea.

I am embarrassed to trouble Your Honor with this small concern of mine, practically a commission; but a drowning man will even snatch at a razor. As a matter of fact, I no longer know whom I can ask to serve as an intermediary. Indeed, I am concerned about saddling the person who is to deliver this letter with the impossible task of finding an unknown person. And that is why, most gracious Count, like a pest, I turn to you with my petition.

At the same time, there is no reason to conceal a further reason, and that is a big one. I wish to remind Your Honor, and offer him an evident sign of my love for him, the love of a student for his master. This love is combined with gratitude, respect, and special confidence. It is always young, sincere, and

heart-felt. Being a young love, it is sometimes inconsistent. The tone of this letter is surely an indication of that.

May God pardon this inconsistency, and may He grant my dear Count health, a long and happy life on earth, and eternal salvation.

N.B. The expression "God grant" is no longer a mere poetic exclamation for me. Thank God, it is not! This old sinner and apostate has grown weary of traveling the wild and devious paths of error in search of earthly rewards. It has been three years now since this prodigal son has returned to the home of his Father - with humble faith a Catholic once more. This is the most important news from me and about me. This is my only joy and consolation in the midst of the poverty and troubles that have so unexpectedly engulfed me here. But this has not been in vain. I feel it would have been difficult, almost impossible, to escape from the despotism of philosophical prejudice anywhere else, and so regain the true faith which make my hope eternal.

Once again, Your Honor, forgive a school boy's love, and keep me in your loving memory.

Bogdan Jański

Paris, June 7, 1837

Address: Count Frederick Skarbek

State Councillor and General Director of Social Welfare for the
Kingdom of

Poland, Warsaw

Footnotes

1. The date of this letter is found at the end. The rough copy of this letter is found in the Archives of the Congregation of the Resurrection, No.8642.

2. John Aloysius Radomiński /1789-1864/ - A mathematician who studied in Cracow and taught in Bydgoszcz. He was the Head of the Commission for Public Education and Religious Beliefs. Later he was an administrator and general visitator /the Minister of Education/.

3. Joseph Lubowidzki /1788-1871/ - Lawyer and president of a bank in Warsaw; President of the Diet of 1830. He was a bachelor, much decorated, the heir of Lubowidza and Osiny. He was Bogdan Jański's cousin.

Rough drafts of letters to Anthony and Stephen Jański

Letter Nr. 21

Berlin, November 6, 1828

Dear brothers,

This letter is meant for the both of you. Read it yourselves. Where should I begin, if not by revealing what you surely already know. Do not be angry with me. In reality, what I did, Anthony, is something that you undoubtedly suspected, and which I tried to hide from Stephen. I did it because I felt I had to. A promise and the anticipation of what pertains to marriage, perhaps even a kind of personal weakness, prompted me to do it.¹ I knew that I was doing wrong, even when the wrong could no longer be undone.

However, this act cannot be allowed to hinder my career and the pursuit of my goals, and I pay no attention to false rumors. It finally happened. Please, do not be angry with me, or with her. Be convinced that, as a brother, I am as devoted to you as any brother could be. I am forever thinking of the most effective ways to assist and direct you. You will definitely receive a small semi-annual allotment in January. Please write a few words to me. Let me know where you are living. Send me news about yourselves, and what people /especially the family/ think about my escapade - if they know about it. Note: Our good father is aware of all that happened.² Give him my most sincere greetings. You can show him this letter. As soon as possible upon my return, I would like to relieve him of some of his difficult responsibilities.

I beg you to write to me - briefly of necessity, but succinctly. Have father add at least a few words. Anthony has been invited to Pękowo for

Christmas. I would urge him to go - to observe Alexandra's behavior, and to report even the slightest incidents to me.

Is she still a scatter-brain? Is she hard-working? Does she indicate any love for me? I would ask him to supply such information, even though I suspect that he will be better disposed towards me than her. I will be grateful for any such news, and promise to keep a secret. Also, I would very much like to know what people are saying.

I send you greetings, and I embrace the both of you sincerely. Do not let this escapade cause you to be angry with me. Work hard, and persevere. That is your road to success. Write to me! Best wishes to Stanley and Theodosius.³ Give my greetings to both uncles, and beg their pardon, since, with all the things I had to do, I did not get to say goodbye to them. Keep this letter before you when you respond to make sure that you touch on all the points mentioned in it.

Anthony, please let me know whether you have had any news from either Michael or Andrew.⁵ If you find yourselves in any real need, have recourse to Michael, Górecki, or Kropiwnicki. I will be responsible for any loan you have to make.⁶

I wish you good health! Your devoted brother and friend.

N.B. I am leaving Berlin tomorrow. I ask Anthony to inquire of Chrzyszczewski, or at one of the bookstores /but in his own name/ about the price of the complete set of "*Rozrywki dla dzieci*", a recent publication, and about what the price of a subscription to this publication is in Poland. Let him send this information in the next letter.

Bogdan Jański

Footnotes

1. Bogdan is lying here in order to convince his brothers about the propriety of his marriage to Alexandra. He says nothing about her relationship with Witold Juszczewski and its consequences, and he makes it seem that his own action was compelled by honor. This is understandable if we realize that his brothers were constantly looking for help from him, and did not take kindly to the need of sharing with Alexandra.

2. His father had even served as a witness that he was free to marry, and had given his consent to the hurried marriage.

3. Theodosius Jański /born c.1810/, the son of John and Marianne, nee Żółtowski /possibly Złotowski/, Jański, one of the many first cousins of Bogdan Jański. In 1822 he was a pupil of Bogdan at the Provincial School of the Benedictines in Pułtusk. He was then in his first year.

4. Bogdan had five uncles, but he is here thinking of the above-mentioned John Jański /1776-1850/, tenant of Goładkowo, Olszywka, and Lord of Świerki. Later he lived in Warsaw, ul. Piwna 109, and it was there that he died. Another uncle, Adalbert Jański, took part in the Uprising. The father of Thaddeus and Maximilian, he lived in the vicinity of Pułtusk.

5. The previously mentioned Michael Jaroszewski and his brother Andrew were commissioned to sell the inherited lands at Pogorzelec, sharing the money among the brothers in Warsaw, and sending a portion to Bogdan in Paris.

6. Bogdan is authorizing his brothers to borrow money in his name, either from the above-mentioned relative or from his colleagues, Joseph Górecki and Alphonse Kropiwnicki.

7. Editor in Warsaw with whom he worked.

8. A Warsaw periodical, which he planned to present to his wife as a gift.

Letter Nr. 22

Paris, August 25, 1830

Dear brothers,

Please pardon me if, in responding to your very long letter I send you only such a tiny note. My excuse is that, with departure imminent, I lack the time. However, I will try to make up for this in the near future. I believe that I told you I would leave Paris for London at the beginning of July. Why, then, is my departure so long delayed? First, because I received my stipend only at the end of last month. Then a few days later disturbances¹ in the city hindered my fulfillment of several commissions for the Board of the Polytechnic Institute.² Finally, two weeks ago, as I was about to leave, I was laid low by a fever. It is only two days now that I am up and about; however, I expect to leave the day after tomorrow.

After this explanation I will get down to business. With this note I am including a draft of 200 fr. /320 zlotys, less the banker's fee/ for Alexandra. This is addressed to Stephen. Let him take this draft and identification papers to Frankel,³ and he will receive the money. Try to see to it that Alexandra receives the money as soon as possible. It would be best if one of you could deliver it to her.⁴

/The letter is left unfinished./

Footnotes

1. He is speaking here of the July Revolution in Paris in 1830.
2. The Board of the Polytechnic Institute had commissioned him to buy a number of books for the newly-established Institute, as well as for teachers at

other universities in Warsaw. He was also to purchase some laboratory supplies, surveying instruments, etc.

3. A Warsaw banker.

4. In the rough draft preserved in the Roman Archives of the Resurrectionists, this letter has no conclusion.

Letter Nr. 23

Paris, May 18, 1832

Dear Stephen,

I received your letter dated December 23 /1831/ only on March 15th /1832/ together with a letter from Mr. Lanckoroński. Please accept my deepest and most sincere apologies for being so late with my response. On the other hand, since December you could have written again, especially when there was news to be communicated.¹ As for me, one of the circumstances that delayed my response was the impossibility of my writing to the Board before I had reached a certain definite decision concerning my return. However, now /?/ I have communicated that decision to them. That decision is based on the conclusion that, for many, many reasons, I cannot return to our country at this time.² One of the most unpleasant consequences of this decision is that I shall not see you, my dear brothers, in the near future. What can I do, since it cannot be otherwise? I must stolidly commend myself to the will of God, and not lose confidence in his almighty goodness.

You ask my advice about where you should continue your studies.³ Unfortunately, your choice of places is not very large. I would be most delighted to have you with me; but since you have already made other arrangements, that is that. In any case, let virtue and hard work be the principles that guide your conduct. Persevere in your efforts in spite of all difficulties. Your last letters lead me to guess that you love Theresa.⁴ That is very good. However, for the love of God, do not be in any hurry. Act prudently, so as not to harm your future. I am not at all aware of the circumstances in which you find yourself today. Since I do not know your plans. Therefore, I cannot give you any special advice. The news that you sent me filled me with a great sadness. The most painful news for me was what you wrote about Alexandra.⁵

Dear Stephen, how could you leave me ignorant since December of a matter of such importance to me? Surely you know that, whatever might have happened, in the sight of God and man, she always remains your brother's wife. Why, then, for my peace of mind, did you not send me any further information? Since you last wrote, where is she staying? What is she doing? How does she regard her relationship with me? Write to me immediately, within twenty-four hours! While I trust that you did everything in your power to turn her away from the abyss of misery and wickedness, I now beg you, and for the future I entreat you, to do all your power for this purpose. Even if, by her conduct, she has already rendered herself unworthy to be my companion in marriage, she always bears my name. Further, ill-will aside, she has experienced many misfortunes, and unfortunately I have contributed to them, for recently she has received only a rare letter from me.⁶

Therefore, I beg you, I entreat you, in any instance, do not abandon her completely. Rather, use the readiest and most efficient means to guide her onto the road of virtue. Once again, I beg you, I entreat you, to do this for me. Thereby you will gain a new right to my whole-hearted gratitude.

Insist that she answer me, and include her response in your letter. But write, and soon! Write me all about Alexandra, as fully and as faithfully as you can. Do not delay. Write immediately. My address is: Rue du Hotel du... etc. Address your letter directly to me. I am including here a letter to Count Skarbek which I would like you to deliver personally /if he is in Warsaw/, since I want him to get to know you. If he is not in Warsaw, take the letter to Mr. and Mrs. Chopin, and ask them to send it on. If you feel that he can be helpful to you, either now or in the future, you might have recourse to him. Do not forget to send me your present address. It may be possible soon for me to send you a few books in your area of study. N.B. Constantly practice reading books in other languages. This is a "conditio sine qua non." With regard to the books that I sent two years ago in care of Mr. Dyonisius Lanckoroński: since the majority of these deal with economics and finance,

etc., and so would be of little use to you, I recommend that Mr. Anthony Barciński keep them. However, if Anthony reads French and wishes make use of them, Barciński will gladly permit him to do so. Have Anthony add at least a short postscript to me. Also, ask Michael /Jaroszewski/ to be sure to write a few words to me. Rostkowski arrived here a few days ago. Joseph Zawadzki, Adalbert Lempicki, Grzybowski and the Jabłońskis are here, living on pensions in various depots.⁸

In conclusion, once more I beg you to answer as quickly as possible.

Bogdan Jański

Footnotes

1. Bogdan is referring to the death of his father and the misfortunes that befell his relatives after the failure of the Uprising.
2. He was hoping that in the near future he would be able to take part in the liberation of his homeland, dependent on military assistance from France.
3. Stephen Jański wanted to finish his medical studies and receive his degree. He indicated a desire to escape the oppression in his homeland, but this was already after the mass emigration.
4. Teresa Zawadzka, Alexandra's sister.
5. She had to seek a job which involved physical labor in order to support herself. Her relatives had been ruined financially, and so were not able to help her.

6. Bogdan allows himself to be carried away by the worst conjectures, and he blames himself even though, while he had written so many letters to Alexandra, he had received no response.

7. The reference here is to the parents of the famous Frederick Chopin. They were living near Nowy Świat, in the same apartment house as Skarbek.

8. The colleagues of Bogdan Jański from Pułtusk and the University of Warsaw who were now living in France as political exiles. They were located in so-called "depots" where they received a small stipend. Since Jański was not an exile, he did not receive a stipend.

Adalbert Łepicki /Łempicki/ from Szczawin in Mazovia. He was Bogdan's contemporary and good friend, from the time of their studies in Warsaw.

Stanislaus Grzybowski /1807-1843/ came from Sarnów near Płock, received a degree in Law in Warsaw. He was a second lieutenant in the third regiment of infantry riflemen.

Adam Jabłoński /born in 1808/ came from Guntomin, and was the son of the tenants of Gostkowo. He was a colleague of Bogdan at Pułtusk and Warsaw. He had a brother named Stanislaus. Bogdan was writing of Adam.

Letter Nr. 24

Paris, Spring, 1833

Dearest Stephen,

I was very pleased to receive the few lines that you wrote. I thank you for them from the bottom of my heart. Always be convinced that my attachment for you remains sincere. How infrequently we receive any news about one another!

Perhaps a little later I will explain what I mean. In any case, remain firmly convinced that I have not changed in my love for you, as a brother and as a friend.

Thank you also for news about the family. You mention Alexis¹ again, and say that you do not know where he is. You may or may not be covering up. However, a cousin of Mrs. Choromański, perhaps even Choromański himself, told me that he committed suicide at the time of the Uprising.

My situation at present is not very prosperous; however, it is beginning to improve. Meanwhile I keep trying to make ends meet. For some time now I have been living with Mickiewicz. Together we have been publishing a small periodical.² With time it will provide a little income. In the meantime, it's a hand-to-mouth existence. Up until now, debts have weighed heavily on me. This is the reason why I am writing to Michael [Jaroszewski]. Perhaps he could obtain a loan of 1,000 zlotys for me. He would be doing me the greatest favor in all the world!

Thank you for the bits of news about the family. While I admit that one reason why I write so infrequently is that I am a procrastinator, the main reason for not writing is that I have received such incredibly bad news about the behavior of Alexandra.⁴ I feel that I have an obligation to write to her before I write to you; yet, at a loss as to how I might write to her today, I keep putting off writing to you. Therefore, I urge you, at your earliest possible

convenience: write the unvarnished truth, with all the details, so that I might be able to orientate myself in this matter for the future. Do not beat around the bush! But also tell me: What is your opinion? Is there any hope for improvement? What do you advise me to do about her?

At the same time, since you will be writing to me alone, be less enigmatic in describing your own love affairs.

My present address is: Paris, Place de l'Observatoire, 36.⁵ I expect to move shortly; but if you write within a few days after you receive my letter, your response will reach me at that address.

I would like to write at far greater length, but I lack the paper. Among other things, I would like to recall to mind the many lessons and ideas I once shared with you. I would advise you to return to the ideas and sentiments that once were the rule of our lives before we came to taste such empty teachings in Warsaw.

Convey my sincere thanks to Mr. Radomiński for providing me with the opportunity⁶ to write to you. Give him my best regards.

The rest will have to wait for later. Give my regards to our uncles on both sides and to our brothers as well. I wish you health and happiness.

Bogdan

Footnotes

1. Alexis Jański /died 1831/ the son of John and Marianne, nee Żółtowski; an uncle of Bogdan who took part in the Uprising. He committed suicide rather than surrender his arms to the Prussians.

2. "*Pielgrzym Polski*" /Polish Pilgrim/, Paris, 1832-1833. From June, 1833, the editor-in-chief, and sole author of the articles, was Bogdan Jański.

3. This refers to the 1,000 złotych that were due to Bogdan Jański from the sale of Pogorzelec, but which Michael Jaroszewski appropriated for himself.
4. The reference here is to a dismal rumor, further elaborated by Bogdan's worst suspicions. The reality was that she had been reduced to a lower status, since she was forced to support herself by physical labor. At that time this was considered a great misfortune.
5. Bogdan lived at this address together with A. Mickiewicz and Ignatius Domeyko.
6. The opportunity provided by a request to purchase and send recent publications.

Letter Nr. 25

Paris, September 29, 1834

Dear Stephen,

I received your letter addressed to the care of /Theodore/ Rostkowski. With all my heart and all my soul I thank you for remembering me, and also for your expression of unfailing brotherly love. Be very much convinced that, in spite of my lengthy separation from you, and in spite of new, and constantly changing, circumstances in my life, I continue to nurture the same feelings for you. Such feelings have not died within me, nor can they ever die. We owe it to our dear mother to love each other as brothers, with a love that is constant and sincere, a love which never ceases to be a true source of solace in our lives.

I Thank God that you have recovered from such a serious illness. Although I never had the pleasure of meeting Mrs. Choromański, I would like to express my most profound gratitude to her for taking care of you.

I too have been ailing, almost incessantly since last Winter. My lungs gave out, and I was barely hanging on. Later, I was confined to bed for several weeks with a fever. It is only in the last month that I have been feeling somewhat better. Without exaggeration, I can say that the sole cause of this weakness were the troubles and worries that I was experiencing. One of the biggest troubles is poverty. Without any means of support in a foreign land, where the competition among talented people to earn a living is so great, one has to wrack his brains day and night to discover opportunities to live and work in this alien environment. At present, I find myself on firmer footing in this respect. However, the debts that still remain continue to be an incredible burden to me. Patience and hope!

I am happy to hear that you received your license to practice,¹ and that you have prospects of employment. But, dear Stephen, remember that unless

you work at completing your education and training, in these first two or three years, while you are still young, you will go through life as a quack. I don't know whether you are reading French and German literature in your field. I doubt it!

Take care! Keep in mind the future that lies ahead of you. If you have not been diligent up to now, there is still time. Make a firm resolution, and without further delay begin to implement that resolution with all the strength that you can muster. Work earnestly and perseveringly to complete your training. Would it be possible to go to Wilno to take your examination there? Warsaw might be another possibility, since it is rumored that the School of Medicine is scheduled to re-open there. If you involve yourself in practice completely, you will surely neglect any further study. Your inclination to study will continue to decline, and you will remain unfinished for the rest of your life. It is not enough to read the course notes; outside sources must be consulted. If you really love me, you will, without delay, begin to apply yourself in order to reach that goal. You will prove your devotion to me by heeding my advice. I am asking you to report to me in detail precisely what you have done in this regard; and also what you propose to do.

Like you, I have had no information about Anthony for a long time. I have written to various places, seeking some word about him. As soon as I hear anything, I will let you know. With regard to Alexandra, you write that she is conducting herself badly, and that you didn't want to tell me everything at once, since you didn't want to worry me.² In general I have been aware of the things you wrote about her for almost two or three years now. That is precisely why I asked you to send details. Why don't you write to me openly: Where is she? With whom is she living? Does she keep her disgrace quiet, or does she flaunt it publicly?

Unfortunately, I have grown so accustomed to the thought of her disgraceful conduct and her impenitence, that even her most sordid actions no longer surprise me to the point where I have ceased to worry about them.

Therefore, you need have no scruple. Send me all of the details, and do not beat around the bush. You yourself advise me to break my ties with her. But I absolutely need more detailed information before I take any definite step in that direction. Therefore, I ask you to provide such information as soon, and in as great detail, as possible.

A propos of my "*Lady Twardowska*," you once wrote about your own love affairs, and about wanting to get married. Why is there suddenly a complete silence on this subject? I ask you to be completely open with me, as you would with your very best friend. Tell me: With whom? And how does the matter stand now?

You asked me what you are to do with my books. Those that Barciński has are to stay there. /N.B. when you see him, give him most sincere greetings from me/. Get the books that /Francis/ Grabowski has been keeping, and store them where you are living. They are not worth much; but along with the books there are some papers about which I am especially concerned. I would ask you to wrap them up and keep them somewhere in a corner. In those papers there is much that is nonsense, as well as some private things, and letters which I would not wish others to see.

Give the enclosed letter to Michael /Jaroszewski/. Also, write to him in the matter of Gościcki.² Further, I include a letter from a bookseller, because a few hundred zlotys would really come in handy. I beg your pardon for sending this letter in care of your address since you will have to pay for it, but I do not have Michael's address. However, I am worried that this letter may not reach you, for you may have moved already. I beg you to answer soon. Send a response concerning the matters I have referred to you. Write all that you can about yourself, the family, and friends. I promise to answer you as soon as possible.

Even, if I should leave Paris, or if I change my address, your letters will reach me, if you seal the letter addressed to me, and then put it in a separate

envelope on which you will write: "A Mr. Benoiste fil³ Avocat a la Commission Royale etc., Paris, Boulevard Montparnasse, 26 bis".

N.B. Don't forget to tell me where I should send my letters to you. Finally, give my best regards to all of our uncles and aunts, friends and acquaintances. Greetings to Andrew and Michael /Jaroszewski/ Max /Jański/ Długolecki, and Stanley.⁴

I wish you health and happiness. Write soon!

Bogdan Jański

Footnotes

1. As a matter of fact, Stepehn Jański had obtained a license to practice medicine in the town of Przytyk. However, this lasted only one year. While assisting the victims of cholera, he himself contracted the disease and died.

2. Arcadius Gościcki /born in 1805 in Tryblec/, the son of a squire of several farms. He was Bogdan Jański's colleague in Pułtusk and Warsaw, where he exerted a bad influence on Bogdan. He had borrowed a sizable amount of money for his trip home. Bogdan tried in vain to recoup this money, for he needed it badly.

3. Martin Benoiste, a young lawyer working for the Royal Commission who lived in Paris at Boulevard Montparnasse 26 bis. For the past several years he had been a good and generous friend of Bogdan.

4. Maximillian Jański, the son of Adalbert and Nałęczanka; an uncle of Bogdan who participated in the Uprising.

Stanislaus Łępicki /Łempicki/, either the brother of the above-mentioned Adalbert or Stanisław Lubowidzki, son of Julia, nee Jański, and Joseph, Bogdan's uncle.

Długolecki - the son of Joseph and Marianne, nee Hryniewicki; Bogdan's cousin on his mother's side.

Letter Nr. 26

Paris, August 29, 1836

Dear Stephen,¹

Where are you keeping yourself these days? Are you in good health? How are things going for you? It has been quite a while since I heard anything from you. Thanks be to God I myself have been feeling fairly well; in fact, I might say I am in good health. However, I am disturbed by the lack of any information about you. Therefore, I beg and entreat you to write as soon as you can. Don't wait a single day longer! Tell me about yourself. Have you finished medicine? What about Alexandra /N.B. hide nothing/? What news is there about our family? The whole purpose of this letter is a request for news. Please reply without waiting another day.

My address remains: Rue Notre Dame des Champs Nr.11. Give my regards to all of our uncles, aunts, and brothers. Keep me in your heart! Be assured of my constant and unchanging fraternal love.

Bogdan Jański

Footnotes

1. This letter was printed by E. Callier based on a copy in the Roman Archives of the Congregation of the Resurrection, Mss 8520/1. At the top of the letter, the author added the notation: "To Stephen Jański."

2. The letter is left unfinished. Stephen was dead for almost one year already, but it was only about three years later that Bogdan learned of his death.

Letter Nr. 27

Paris, June 7, 1837

Dearest Stephen,

How I hope that this letter reaches you! I have had no news from you for three years now. I received your last letter in May of 1834. Most recently I wrote to you in care of Mr. Radomiński, but I have had no reply! I beg you, I plead with you, send me some word about yourself without delay. Where are you? How are things going for you?

As for me, I would first like to assure you most solemnly that my brotherly love for you is very much alive. It is one of the most tender affections binding me to this life. Next, I would like to remind you of some of the thoughts, ideas and principles I once encouraged you to share as being the truth, but which now, after long experience and more careful reflection, I am firmly convinced are both false and disastrous. I would like to say a few words about the philosophical and religious ideas we once shared.

For a human person this is a matter of great, the greatest, importance; and so I pray that you will understand my intention. It is my hope that, in response to my prayer and the prayers of our dear mother, but especially in response to the grace of God, you will follow in my footsteps and return to the way of truth and eternal life. Do not be surprised by what I have to say. We once ridiculed what we did not understand. The truth is to be found in God, in Christ, in the Catholic Church.

Third, if I am enjoying some success today, I feel it is only because I stand on good and firm ground. My health now is fairly good, but back in 1834 I was dangerously, and almost fatally, ill with a lung ailment. Today I am well. However, I continue to be troubled and disturbed by past debts that amount to a considerable sum of money - several thousand. Yet no one on this earth is without a cross to bear.

Finally, dear Stephen, I beg you to do what I ask. Tell me openly, and in detail, what is happening with Alexandra. Hide nothing! Knowing what I do, and having grown accustomed to all sorts of suffering, nothing you tell me will cause me to be bitter. Therefore, tell me how she has been, and how she is now living. Do not beat about the bush. I need this information urgently, today!

Very simply, I must reach a decision about her one way or another, since she bears my name, and she is my wife! This cannot be undone. There is nothing to be accomplished by mere neglect or mutual silence; and ultimately there is something to be done.¹

I expect to receive a letter from you soon. Write at once, and then again and again, until you receive a reply from me assuring you that I have received your letter.

My address is: Rue Notre Dame des Champs 11. Give my sincerest regards to the whole family: cousins, aunts, uncles. Say "Hello" to all of our friends and acquaintances. Assure them of my affection for them. Be especially assured of my affection for you.

Loving you for life and throughout eternity,²

Bogdan

Footnotes

1. Bogdan thought of bringing her to Paris so that she might become involved in religious and social work among the women there, that is, if she was still capable of sacrifice and willing to undertake the work.

2. This is a rough draft of a letter in the Roman Archives of the Congregation of the Resurrection, Mss 8519, pp.223-224.

Letter Nr. 28

Paris, June 28, 1837

My most dearly beloved Stephen!¹

Why have you not written to me for such a long time? I received your last letter in May of 1834! Since then I have had no, absolutely no, information! You can have no idea how much this disturbs me! I consider the love that unites us as brothers to be a most sacred bond for me on this earth. The expression of that love on your part would be my sole, the greatest delight of my heart.

I wrote to you several times in the past years - already twice this year.² Why is there no response? I hope that this letter will definitely reach you, and so I have included here, in abbreviated form, all of the most important things I want to say to you. Write to me as soon as possible! My address is: Rue Notre Dame des Champs 11. Moreover, if you should lose contact with me for a year or more, know that your letter will always reach me if it is addressed: a Paris, au College Stanislas, au soins de l'abbe Buquet.

Thus, I am first asking you to write to me soon. Tell me where you are and how things are going for you. Send details about everyone in the family - the more details the better, for I am intensely interested in every such detail.

There is no excuse for you not to write. Many people here receive letters regularly from their families. All they have to do is post the letters. However, if you should happen to need special permission from government sources to send letters, do not hesitate to obtain it. Obviously you do not realize how much I am suffering as a result of receiving no news from you.

Finally, immediately, without delay, let me know what is happening to Alexandra, for our relationship cannot go on as it has. I don't know how I should plan for the future, since I have had no word from her for several years.

Please be perfectly open in what you write. Do not be concerned that what you write will worry me. On the contrary, it would indeed worry me if, at this stage, you thought that you could not write the whole truth to me.

At the present time, what kind of life is she leading? What kind of life has she led up to now? If she is living with another man, and if her conduct is not above reproach, she will undoubtedly agree that we would do better to separate legally. Clear, certain, detailed information about her is very important to me. Waste no time in getting such information to me quickly.

Tell me about yourself. Did you get married? Before God, I wish this for you most sincerely; nevertheless, I wish that yours would be a better and more prudent choice than mine.

Did you receive your degree? If not yet, do not despair! You are only 28. Pursue every possible means to obtain it, whether this be in Warsaw, Cracow, Berlin or Vienna. It would be better to do so in either of the latter two cities, for then you would also have to study German. Persevere in your studies as well as in your work. Once again I urge you to apply yourself, especially to reading works in your field written in other languages, for there is almost nothing written in Polish. If you have been negligent in this respect until now, do not lose hope. You still have time to compensate for such negligence.

At the present time, things are going better for me. However, I still have nothing absolutely definite, and I am constantly beset by my past debts. Perhaps, if you are prospering, to the point where a few hundred zlotys would not make much difference to you, you might send them to me. You would be doing me a great favor, especially by helping me to pay my debts. The more you are able to send the better.³ At least my health has been holding up recently.

The most important thing I want to tell you about myself is that, after much blundering about in various philosophies and philanthropies... after long struggles, trials and reflections, I finally have reached the profound conviction that the Christian, Catholic, concept of our nature, our beginning, and our end, is the only true one; it alone gives meaning to the universe. It is only the religion in which we were brought up: about which I had such false notions; whose spirit and purpose reflected in such a variety of institutions I failed to understand /for I wanted to make decisions, even bold decisions, without study and conscientious understanding/; only the Catholic religion can help us to discover the noblest and

most universally valid law of life. It is the only religion that offers us the means to repair a radically corrupt nature, and so reach the goal of our existence, i.e. salvation, eternal life.

Dear Stephen, I was the first one to plant narrow philosophical misconceptions in your mind. You went on from there to find seemingly strong support for such ideas in your medical theories. As a result my present confession of faith will seem strange and inexplicable.

O Lord! Why am I so incapable of explaining my reasons at length! Why am I so unable to pour out my thoughts and feelings in such a way that they might become yours as well? I trust that my prayers together with those of our holy mother, my fervent wishes, and the grace of God, will, with time, open your eyes as well to the eternal light. When this happens, your good heart will give rise to good thoughts about God and your relationship with him, your noble destination and spiritual responsibilities.

I close on this note, sending you most sincere greetings, and renewing my request that you write as soon as possible.

Bogdan Jański

Paris, June 28, 1837

Best wishes to all of our uncles, aunts, brothers and sisters - to Max, Stanley, my godparent, Leopold⁴, Mary⁵, the Jaroszewskis and Długoleckis.
Address: To my brother, Stephen Jański M.D.

Footnotes

1. A rough draft of a letter in the Roman Archives of the Congregation of the Resurrection, Mss 8543, pp. 1015-1018.

2. It appears, therefore, that one of the letters written before June 28, 1837 was not preserved.
3. At this time Bogdan Jański was overwhelmed by pleas for financial assistance from his closest friends and helpers, A. Celiński and L. Przeclawski. The former's health had become seriously impaired, and he died toward the end of this year.
4. Probably Leopold Bronisz /born c.1804 in Chorszew near Lipno/ - a colleague from Pułtusk and Warsaw; recorder of deeds, and Lord of the manor of Chorszew and the tenement house at Lipno. He had a very damaging effect on Jański's life. Apparently Jański now proposed to contact him and convert him.
5. Probably the daughter of Adalbert Jański. Bogdan planned to bring her to Paris together with Alexandra, in order to establish a female branch of his community.

Letter Nr. 29

Paris, October 16, 1837

Dearest Stephen,

Where are you? What are you doing? Why haven't you written to me for such a long time? As soon as you receive this letter, deliver me from this distressing anxiety. Write without delay. My address is: Boulevard Montparnasse 25.

Describe every detail of your present situation. Tell me about Alexandra, about the family, etc., for it is three years now that I remain without any information whatsoever, and this in spite of the fact that I have written to you at least three or four times this year.

I can only hope that this letter will serve to re-establish contact between us. I desire this with all my heart. I will send further information about myself after I have heard from you.

Your most devoted brother,

Bogdan

Letter Nr. 30

Paris, February 4, 1838

My dearest Stephen!¹

Surely you must know, and without fail continue to sense, that for me every family sentiment that can fill a person's heart is centered on you. Try to imagine then the joy with which I write these few words, practically certain that they will reach you, and that consequently, after four barren years, I will at last receive some word from you.

The wife of General Rautenstrauch² has been good enough to take it upon herself to try to contact you and deliver my letter to you personally. Through her, or at least with her assistance, you will be able to write to me. However, I feel that it would be best, quickest, and surest for you to write to me directly. My address is: Paris, Boulevard Montparnasse 25.

Last year, and the year before that, I wrote many letters to you. In God's name, what can a lack of response on your part mean? The last letter I received from you arrived in May of 1834. Have pity on me! By all means, write at soon as possible. Let me know at last where you are and what you are doing. So much must have changed since the last time you wrote!

I received some news about Alexandra recently,³ though it came to me only indirectly. As a result, I have a big favor to ask of you. But first, about yourself: Tell me all about your present situation! I keep on singing the same tune: If you haven't completed your doctorate as yet, make the effort. Take the proper steps. Travel abroad if you have to, but get it done!

In previous letters I wrote to you about myself. The principal change in my life, the dominant feature of my present state, is this: After constant search and research, study and experience, I have finally come to recognize the eternal and perfect truth in the teaching of Jesus Christ, and in the Universal, that is, the Catholic Church he founded.

The justification for my reasoning would require that I offer you /especially as a medic of the old school/ lengthy explanations, for which, unfortunately, I have neither the time nor the space. I can only wish that the infinite and all powerful mercy of the Lord would be realized in you as well, and that in this way my most fervent prayer for you would be heard! In all humility, I pray that you would open your heart with perfect love and trust to receive this supernatural, divine, truth which was incarnated in Christ our Savior, the sole and universal Mediator between ourselves and God, the All-Perfect One!

The "conditio sine qua non" is that at long last you abandon the materialistic⁴ concepts concerning man and his nature - convictions for which, unfortunately, I am largely responsible. Then you might come to believe in the soul, and in God. Without such a belief there can be no morality, virtue, or truth - no human society.

Lord, hear the prayers which I offer daily for my dearest Stephen! Give him a contrite heart. Help him to return to the holy sentiments and thoughts of our earlier brotherhood, and the teaching of our dearest mother! Lord, I place all of my confidence in You! For what can I accomplish by my own efforts? Our own best of Mothers,⁵ pray for you dear Stephen!

How I wish that, after you have read these few words from me, by some miracle, through the infinite mercy of God, you would feel contrition in your heart, and experience tears in your eyes! Dearest Stephen, do not delay! Fall on your knees. Acknowledge the omnipotence of God /from Whom, and through Whom, everything exists/. Prostrate yourself before his Majesty. Enter into a vital relationship with the Lord, the Creator and Redeemer of all life! Begin to pray; and then begin to repeat these prayers frequently! God will do the rest! He will enlighten you and fill you with new life!

This news about my conversion is the most important item of news that I have to communicate to you. It says everything about me. But I might also add that, in general, thanks be to God, my health and my situation have

improved. You might almost say that they are good, as far as that is possible in this life.

It is quite possible that Mrs. Rautenstrauch will offer you some further bits of information about me. Prior to her marriage, she was the Duchess Giedrojć. I have had a very good relationship with her family here, especially with her brother⁶ and his wife. I tutored their son for some time.

Mrs. Rautenstrauch has been very kind and good to me. If there is any matter dealing with the government for which you would need an intercessor, I am sure that she would not refuse to help you. Therefore, you can feel free to discuss both your needs and desires with her.

Above all, I beg you to write to me as quickly as possible, and in as great detail as possible, about yourself and the family.

The news that I received about Alexandra is sad, and yet at the same time encouraging. She is living in extreme poverty. However, she has improved morally, and might even be described as pious.

Dearest Stephen, if this is true, I beg you by all that is sacred to encourage her in this way. It is her entire hope. Please do not abandon her. Remember the bond which unites her to me.

O Lord, may it be true that she has turned to You with her whole soul! I am convinced that this would also be best for you, Stephen!

In conclusion, dearest brother, I embrace you with all my heart, and with all my soul. I do so most fervently, a thousand times over!

Forever, your most devoted brother,

Bogdan

/This letter is addressed, and a note is added for the one who was to deliver it./

To my brother, Doctor Stephen Jański. Most gracious Lady, I remind you that you promised to deliver this letter personally. For the address, please check with a member of the Administration, the General Visitor of schools,

John Aloysius Radomiński. If it should happen that he does not have the address, check with Michael Jaroszewski at the Criminal Court in Warsaw.

In return for this favor I promise to pray that you have a safe journey, going there and returning.

Footnotes

1. The letter was published by E. Callier in his book *Bogdan Jański*, /Poznań, 1876/. It is based on a copy of a "rough draft," CRR, Mss 8520, pp. 225-228.

2. Lucia /nee Giedrojć; Rautenstrauch /1798-1886/ - the daughter of General Romuald Giedrojć; a Lady of the Court of Napoleon's Josephine; the wife of General Rautenstrauch from 1821; the author of stories and memoirs, e.g.: *My memoirs of France*, /Kraków, 1839/, *The Last Journey to France*, /Lipsk, 1841/, etc. She traveled widely, and met Bogdan Jański at the home of her brother in Paris. As a matter of fact she could not deliver this letter; but she was able to communicate Bogdan's address to his relatives and was thereby responsible for establishing correspondence with Alexandra's sister, Juliana /nee Zawadzki/ Szotarska.

3. When he returned from Solesmes at the end of December, 1837, Bogdan Jański received a letter from L. Królikowski which included a citation from a letter which the latter had received from A. Kropiwnicki in Warsaw concerning a conversation with Alexandra seeking her agreement to a legal separation.

4. Today we would speak of these as materialistic opinions, that is, opinions which deny the existence of spiritual beings: the human soul, God, angels and devils. In this view, everything that exists is material.

5. Agnes /nee Hryniewicki/ Jański /1773-1824/ - The daughter of Joseph Hryniewicki /d.1788/, Assistant Director of the Department of Zakroczym, and Frances /nee Mochalski/, /d.1819/. She was first married to Francis Winnicki /d.1805/, and then to Peter Jański by whom she had four sons: Theodore /Bogdan/, Anthony, Stephen and George /Gregory/, /d.1812/. Obviously at the time of this writing, his mother was already dead for several years.

6. Joseph Stephen Giedroń /1787-1855/ - General, and his wife Caroline /nee Bożymowski/. They had been sent to Siberia shortly before the Uprising in Lithuania /1831/, but were freed after its failure, and came to live permanently in Paris together with the elderly Duchess Frances Giedroń, and their son Napoleon /Thaddeus/, whom Bogdan was tutoring at home.

7. The above-mentioned citation from the letter of A. Kropiwnicki made mention of a pilgrimage which Alexandra had made to Częstochowa on foot, and of her poverty.

The rough draft of a letter to Joseph Górecki¹

Letter Nr. 31

Berlin, November 5, 1828, Thursday

Dear Friend!

How else can I begin this postal conversation with you than by pouring out feelings which every person in my situation must experience. Everyone who leaves behind his native land carries with him, if nothing more, at least the memory of the undeserved goodwill of his friends, as well as of his own sacrifices, unappreciated by others. Moreover, he carries with him impressions of the injustice that exists on this earth, which lulls the memory of his own weakness and wasted intellect.

But, there is no going back. "So have the fates decided."² I have drained the cup of bitterness prepared inevitably by my own mistakes as well as those of others. What else is new? Can it be that you were offering me the wrong remedy for my illness? You wanted to heal a sick man by offering him healthy food! Your counsel fell on cold ears... You were speaking only to the mind.³

Whatever the case, perhaps today I can more surely reward your good intentions in my regard by fulfilling all of your friendly hopes for me. I am completely convinced that it becomes a thinking person to profit by experience rather than to indulge himself in sorrow and despair because of his mistakes. The saving newness of constantly multiplying elements of thought, along with solitude, the mother of reflection, contribute to the translation of this experience into action. For I too can say with the poet: "I know how to be alone."

But here is another mistake. Having taken pen in hand to write you a short note to inform you of my present residence and situation, I have tried, like a sick donkey to strive to occupy the throne in the kingdom of animals. I

have been pursuing the laurel wreath for oratory, citing maxims. Did you read them? When can a person escape error completely? Apparently never! With deference to the present weakness of human nature, forgive my errors, of which you are already aware. I turn here in especially humble tones to our ideal "Radwan"⁴: "Then I will not be... I will no longer be." /N.B. It is only from Grójec that Michael knows the source of, or how to deliver this citation/. Forgive me! Seriously:

"Hear and reflect on this within yourself:

According to the Divine decrees,

one who has not touched the earth, not even once,

such a one shall ne'er in heaven be."⁵

Dear Joseph! Through lack of time, only now have I thought to write to you, to indulge the sentiments in my heart, as well as to fulfill the promise I made to you. I have decided to leave a more detailed account of my journey, together with the small comments I might relay to you, for a letter which I will write from Paris. Therefore, let it suffice for today that, beginning "a capo", I inform you of the following: As you know, I left Warsaw on October 20th. On the 23rd, that on Thursday, I acted in cold blood, doing something that by that time I was obliged to do.⁶ On the 24th, I left immediately for Płock /using the Colonel's horses/.⁷ On the 25th, I left Płock, and traveled through Gąbin and Włocławek to Toruń by stagecoach. /N.B. We had an accident along the way, and I was thrown from the coach; however, I suffered no injury other than a bruised leg/. On the 27th, I traveled from Toruń to Gniezno and Poznań /in a wagon/. On the 31st, I traveled by stagecoach from Poznań, through Międzyrzecz and Frankfurt, along the Odra to Berlin. May the devil take those Prussian stagecoaches without springs! It felt like someone was using hammer and chisel to separate the skull from the brain. I resolved that, even if it meant that I would not eat, I would travel in an express coach with springs.

I arrived in Berlin in the evening on Sunday, November 2. A chance meeting with some of the Poles living here enabled me to visit some of the

more interesting places in Berlin within a very short time. /Hegel, Savigny, Sznak /?/, Gastl /?/, Ritter - I heard all about these people, etc. etc./. The gas works which provides light for the town, as well as the porcelain factory and display shop were also visited. However, Director Benth of the Gewerbs-Institut would not permit me to enter the plant to see the machines.

At a later date I will send you further information about what I saw, what is worth seeing, and what I learned on the journey from Poland to **Paris /Berlin/**. I will do this when I write about the remainder of the trip to Paris. Tomorrow or the day after I will leave for Lipsk and Frankfurt-am-Main, on the road to Paris. It will probably be necessary to rest a day or two before going on. I will write to you after I get to Paris, when I make my report to the Board of the Polytechnic Institute in the person of Radwański, by way of John Kenty Krzyżanowski.⁹

Please ask Radwański to tell Krzyżanowski when he meets him whether he received my letter from Berlin, which was written on the 1st of November.¹⁰ /There I mentioned that I would be spending a few days in Berlin, visiting the porcelain factory, the gas works, the bank, the Exchange, and Mr. Benth's Gewerbs-Institut. This is no lie, since this is essentially why I stayed here for a few days. Please ask him to do this for me. Ask him also to tell Mr. Kitajewski,¹¹ or Bełza¹², that Gastel assured me he had returned the 50 zlotys to the person indicated, and that this man was to have written to Mr. Kitajewski long ago. The enclosed receipt was obtained some time ago in order to be sent to Warsaw./¹³

After Królikowski left Berlin, he did not write to any of the people with whom he had stayed here, the people I met recently. He planned to go from Halle to München, and then on to Paris. I remember well my own experience with him.

Warmest greetings to you. Send sincere greetings to the rest of the brothers: good Alphonse /Kropiwnicki/, Radwan, Feral, Mr. de Thury.¹⁴

Surely Wosiński¹⁵ has arrived by this time, and has learned about me. May he be so kind as to pardon my "escapade"¹⁶, and accept my friendly greeting.

Dear Joseph, I trust that you will not deny me the pleasure - such a great pleasure - and that you will write to me to keep me informed about your health, as well as about all that has happened to you recently. Finally, is my "escapade" known to the elders,¹⁷ and have they taken a dim view of it? Write everything that pertains to you or to me. Please! For you know that "a cap burns the head of a thief." I would be pleased if the rest of the group¹⁸ would add a word or two. I will value such a word very much.

I have kept my word by writing from Berlin. As a friend, write to me as soon as possible, and at length. Also, if possible, write "poste restante" to Paris.

I include short notes for Michael Jaroszewski and Tony Jański. Please see that they get them. In closing, I wish you the very best.

Bogdan Jański

N.B. Moved by grace, I resolved not to smoke a pipe. I feel good as a result. However, being a man, I have really been burning up the cigars.¹⁹

Footnotes

1. Joseph Górecki /1803-1870/, a colleague of B. Jański who completed his degree in Architecture in the College of Fine Arts at the Royal University of Warsaw, and continued to work as a talented architect in Warsaw. Among other projects, he collaborated with another colleague of Jański, Alphonse Kropiwnicki, in the final phases of the Grand Theater. Later, he directed the building of the palace in Puławy. He prepared the plans for the Main Office of the Agricultural Credit Union in Warsaw. He also served on the Council of the Government Building Commission.

2. "Sic facta tulerunt."

3. Bogdan Jański has in mind the counsel of his friends at the time of farewell in Prague, October 20, 1828. They tried to dissuade him from sacrificing himself for Alexandra by marrying her, for this could harm his career as professor at the Polytechnic Institute.

4. Andrew Radwański /born 1801 in Tyniec/ - a secondary school colleague of Louis Królikowski from Kielce, who began his studies at the University the same year as Jański /1823/; he studied philosophy.

5. A quote from chapter II of *Dziady* by A. Mickiewicz.

6. He is speaking here about his marriage to Alexandra Josephine Theresa Zawadzka on October 23, 1828 in Przewodowo. The expression "obliged to do" was meant to excuse him before his colleagues who did not understand his sacrifice.

7. Colonel August Zawadzki, Alexandra's father. He used his horses to get as far as Strzegocin, where he transferred to a rented wagon. Alexandra returned to Kozłowo with her sister Caroline and husband Francis.

8. Bogdan Jański lists here the intellectual lights of Berlin at the time: George Wilhelm Frederick Hegel /1770-1831/, the German philosopher who was the originator of dialectic philosophy, and the author of such famous works as *Phenomenology of the Spirit*, *The Study of Logic*, and *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*.

Frederick Savigny /1793-1861/ - One of the founders of the University of Berlin, its Rector, and renowned professor of the History of Law, especially Roman Law.

Charles Ritter /1779-1859/ - Co-originator of modern Geography, famous professor at the University of Berlin, and member of the Academy of Science.

9. John Kenty Krzyżanowski /1789-1854/ - A Polish chemist and physicist and author of a number of works in these fields; a member of the Elementary Society /from 1823/, a professor, and later General Supervisor of the University. He was assigned to oversee B. Jański's sabbatical studies. He lived at Nowy Świat in Warsaw.

10. Bogdan Jański feared they might be critical of the delay in his journey which resulted from his sudden marriage to Alexandra.

11. Adam Maximillian Kitajewski /1789-1837/ - Professor of chemistry at the University of Warsaw /1818-1825/, and after that at the Preparatory School for the Polytechnic Institute. He was a member of the Society of the Friends of Learning.

12. Joseph Belza /1805-1888/ - A Polish chemist, one of the founders, and a professor at the Pharmaceutical School in Warsaw. He enjoyed a well-earned reputation in the field of agricultural chemistry and the sugar industry. He was a colleague of Bogdan in Warsaw.

13. The words in parentheses are crossed out in the rough draft of the letter.

14. The names of his Warsaw colleagues have been playfully altered: e.g., Adalbert Tur, de Thury, /1800-1875/ worked in the Treasury Commission, was secretary to the President of the Sejm of the Uprising and then an emigrant.

Jański lived with him in Warsaw during the short time in which he enjoyed his patronage.

15. Theodore Wosiński /born 1803/ - a somewhat older colleague of Louis Królikowski at the secondary school of the priests in Kielce. He was one of Bogdan Jański's close friends, and a colleague in the Department of Law in Warsaw.

16. He described his sudden marriage in this way in deference to the judgment of his colleagues.

17. That is, J.K. Krzyżanowski, Polytechnic Board, Educational Commission.

18. In fact, aside from his relatives, Bogdan Jański had countless friends, colleagues and acquaintances in Warsaw.

19. The rough draft of this letter has been preserved in the Roman Archives of the Congregation of the Resurrection, Mss 8568/1, pp. 62-68.

Rough drafts of letters to Michael Jaroszewski¹

Letter Nr. 32

Berlin, November 6, 1828

Dear Michael,

I have nothing special to write to you, but I cannot pass up the opportunity to send at least a few words your way. Joseph² will tell you where I am, how I got here, and where I will go from here. While I was in Płock, I met with Jaworowski, the County Clerk. He told me that Czyżewski, the vice-magistrate from Ostrołęka, wishes to purchase Pogorzelec, and that my share can be sold with him, /i.e., Jaworowski/ as my agent. Therefore, when you are in Płock, arrange to see him. I stopped to see Szreyber³ at Woźniki.⁴ Since he wasn't in, I left him a note. I send sincere greetings to Andrew /Jaroszewski/ and John.⁵ Please ask John to forgive me for not saying "Good-bye." I had so many things to do at the time.

A greeting and an embrace for Włodkowski, Zgliczyński,⁶ Stanislaus Łempicki,⁷ Stopnicki, Adalbert /Sonnenberg/, "utrumque Skolimotium"⁸, and Grzybek.⁹ Tell Zgliczyński that Berlin is in dire need of a mission.¹⁰ There are some virgins among the academicians. Both you and Górecki, write to me, for the love of truth and virtue. Please do!

Stay healthy! May you be more fortunate than I am!

Bogdan Jański

Footnotes

1. A considerably older cousin who had a very bad influence on Bogdan, scandalizing him by his immorality. Hence letters which use a diminutive of Michael in jest are a condescension to his mentality.
2. That is, from the previous letter to Joseph Górecki.
3. Michael Szreyber - a less known colleague.
4. A small village and manor near Płock.
5. The brother of Michael; or John Lubowidzki, the son of Joseph and Julia /Jański/, Peter's sister, and so a cousin of Bogdan Jański.
6. Charles Zgliczyński /born 1801 in Sertop/ - An outstanding student at the Provincial School in Płock. He began to study law in Warsaw in 1822, one year before Bogdan Jański.
7. Stanisław Łempicki - A colleague of K. Zgliczyński at Płock, and of Bogdan Jański at the School of Law in Warsaw. He was from the area about Płock.
8. The Skolimowski brothers: Joseph /born 1801/, and Anthony /born 1805/. They came from Lubartów, and attended the Provincial School of Lublin. Joseph studied philosophy /from 1822/, while Anthony studied Architecture and Surveying in Warsaw /from 1823/.
9. Stanisław Grzybowski was mentioned previously. He was Bogdan's contemporary and a Master of Law.
10. Indeed, the reference is to a materialistic-atheistic mission aimed at demoralizing the overly upright. The unbelieving Jański is being comic-serious.

Letter Nr. 33

Paris, December 23, 1828

To Michael,

Do you know what? It is neither proper, brotherly, friendly, Warsavian, or Polish - I don't know what else - so quickly to forget a person who, if not by reason of relationship and character, at least by reason of a youth spent together, shares like sentiments and similar interests, and perhaps even by reason of weaknesses that are inseparable from our age, possesses a definite right to your favorable remembrance, kind sir! It is not right! Even if I had not asked you, you should have felt obliged to write to me. You didn't know my address? You could surely have written to me in care of "poste restante." In writing to Górecki from Berlin, I included a short note to you. You surely received my note. I gather as much from the response that I received from another person to whom I had written at the same time. Yet you did not return either heart for heart or note for note. Today who is able to influence mind and feelings? Therefore, I am angry. However, I look for improvement. Don Joseph Górecki, by decree of Louis /Królikowski/, has been sentenced to pay 5 złotych to the Polish treasurer for not keeping his word. He has surely paid the penalty already. You had best be careful.

Dear Michael, I arrived in Paris on November 18th. After leaving the capital of Prussia /which left a very favorable impression on me, both by reason of the industry and objects of art I saw there, as well as by reason of the people I met, friends of Louis Królikowski and the late Theodore Olechowski/. On my way to Lipsk, within the course of 18 hours, I passed through Poczdam and Wittenberg, famous for its beautiful monument to Luther. I failed to connect with a coach going further, so I was forced to spend a day and a half in this town whose level streets have become the grave of that noble child of

power and fortune,⁹⁸ and whose modest river became the grave of that soldier⁹⁹ who, deservedly or undeservedly, is such a favorite of the Poles. /If you visit Lipsk, you will see these for yourself./ In the garden of Reichenbach, close to where Poniatowski is said to have drowned, there is a simple monument. However, it is hard to believe that he could not have been saved from such a narrow river. In Lipsk I met a Polish doctor, Ferdinand Dworzaczek. This was a happy encounter for me because in him I found a guide to the city, and lodging with a compatriot who was full of kindness, information and life. He, too, was happy, for from the time when he came to Lipsk a few months ago, he had not heard the Polish language spoken, and had no one with whom he could converse in Polish. How distressing this can be! Only after a person is separated from his native land does he learn to appreciate his ethnicity - like every good, only after its loss. We spent several hours exchanging thoughts and sentiments. Not renouncing any of our national failings, before parting we made a simple offering to the god¹⁰⁰, honoring whom sometimes lowers, but more often raises spirits. I could not hold back my astonishment when...¹⁰¹

/a half page is blank/

⁹⁸ He is speaking here of Napoleon Bonaparte, and his defeat at Lipsk in 1813.

⁹⁹ B. Jański has in mind Count Joseph Poniatowski /1763-1813/, Commander-in-Chief of the Polish armies serving Napoleon, and his death at the Elster.

¹⁰⁰ Namely, the god Bacchus.

¹⁰¹ In the rough draft a half page is left blank. Undoubtedly he included here part of the letter he had written to Alexandra in which he speaks of the exemplary diligence of the proprietress of Dworzaczek's lodgings, and of his further journey.

Letter Nr. 34

Paris, January, 1829

It is about eleven in the evening, and in the words of Byron¹⁰²: "Everywhere it is dark. Everywhere it is silent." But not in my heart! In my heart I can hear the constant echo of friendly conversation with companions, even though today these relationships may have grown cold. There is a light there, a glimmer of memories which, unfortunately, will neither be extinguished nor give me peace. It is a simple fact that one who is overly sensitive must always suffer. In order to get into the mood, I have already lit my seventh pipe, and now I begin my letter to you. Good "Louis of the Cross,"¹⁰³ my neighbor, is sitting by the fire, for n.b. it is important be warmed, even well warmed. Only here have I begun to understand the profound thought of your dear brother Andrew hidden in that deceptively simple adage about warmth and alcohol. Winter here is almost worse than it is in Warsaw. It is constantly damp and chilly, when the temperature reaches 12 degrees and you cannot find a Polish stove. It is better to burn one franc in the fireplace daily, than to spend the equivalent for heat from a stove that is no bigger than a thimble.

Alone at the fireplace, what is this good Louis doing? He is banking the fire and repeating: "O yes, yes!" However, if I were to tell the truth, I would have to admit that I made a great mistake, even committed a great crime by referring to this bird as "good". He is what he always has been: a perverse egotist, a fleecer. If you please, without going back to the very beginning as a

¹⁰² George Byron /1788-1824/ - Lord, and leading English poet, originator of European Romanticism; the author of poems and dramas. A. Mickiewicz was called "the Polish Byron" after the publication of his "Grażyna" and "Conrad Wallenrod". Bogdan Jański is citing here from Chapter II of "Dziady".

¹⁰³ He refers here jokingly to Louis Królikowski. In general, the whole letter is written in a humorous and figurative vein. This was meant to prepare the receiver to accept positively his plea for the return of money he obtained from the sale of Pogorzelec.

basis for this sound judgment, in a moment I will present my reason for saying this. The judgment was made after running about all day, turning to the gods of the idolatrous Persians, by instinct, respect for your brother, or as thinking people, using a kind of reasoning with which I am not familiar, for you know how difficult it is to explain volitional phenomena. At any rate we came to the conclusion that, aside from heat, there is something in nature that constitutes the basis for this. However, banish from your mind the filthy thought of the genital organ of the female half of the human race. That is for fallow youth, and for those who are in a rut. We who are closer to perfection have given our full attention to alcohol. One look betrayed our noble sentiments. A simultaneous nod of agreement led to a solemn decree of its fulfillment. We were not deterred by the late hour, a common concern for dwindling funds, or the consideration of a skimpy meal in the future. "You know neither the day nor the hour! Do not be concerned about tomorrow. Tomorrow will take care of itself," said the Lord. His word alone, then, becomes my guide on this, my miserable journey. I am commissioned to go down the stairs. I have no desire to enumerate all the trials of this unfortunate foray. I do not wish to remember that it was I who underwent these trials while my friend sat there at my fireplace like a Lord, warming all 20 of his extremities. In my slippers with holes from holding them too close to the fire, I exposed myself to catching cold, as well as to the cost and danger of this weakness. I had to put on my splendid reddish topcoat, and certainly expose it to fading. At this point I do not wish to mention who paid for the alcohol, or /in order not to bypass the truth/ who will pay for it in the future. We will fully honor all the rights which a person acquires by its lawful purchase. We will set a bottle of wine here on the table, in the midst of the tobacco, candles, papers, pens, books and glasses.

Drawing the curtain on the past, on avenues pursued in obtaining the above-mentioned container with alcohol, as well as on the decor just described, let us suppose that the bottle is already on the table. For the moment, let there be a balance in using the picked fruit, just as there was a balance in the high-

minded enthusiasm and dignified determination for it. Reason and propriety seem to call for this. You will surely have heard their voice, for I remember it was just a year ago that we were having dinner from the same basket. I remember how, and with what courtesy, you permitted me, weary after my nightly conversation with the landlady at that time, to fortify my limbs with three glasses of beer while you stopped at the fourth.

But my Lord Louis is not even that kind. After rummaging about among the papers, he repeats: "Oh, I must, I simply must write a letter at least to Michael." He takes a drink from the right glass, rises and announces: "Well, it's almost midnight. It's late. I'm going to bed. You write. I will add a few words tomorrow. And since there is almost half a bottle left - until now we have been drinking together - tomorrow a fourth of the bottle is mine." By the beard of Mohammed! It's enough to make your blood boil! I can no longer bear this injustice. I seal the bottle and give it to the mistress of the house. And while I am offended by your slothful silence, I ask you to be the judge. Since he did in fact drink a half of the bottle, should not the other half belong to me? You are a lawyer, a defender of justice. Maybe you will send me a quick and just judgment.

Indeed, it is a good thing that a situation arose calling for recourse to your legal pride - to remind you that I am alive and ask you to write at least a few words. It seems that it is no longer possible to see you as either a friend or a brother. Why is it that up to this time you have not written? May the devil take you, along with your heart. Yes, with your heart; for why should you carry such a stone around within you? Your diaphragm strains in vain, etc.¹⁰⁴

/Almost half a page is empty./

¹⁰⁴ Almost half of this last page is left empty in the rough draft. The letter at this point must have contained a plea to send the money obtained from the sale of Pogorzelec, and to see that Alexandra, who was in need of help, would receive a certain amount. The content of the following letters confirms this. It also included a negative response to Michael's request that Bogdan send him law books from Paris. Bogdan did not have money to pay for them.

Footnotes

The entire letter is a literary fiction, a kind of tale of justice and goodness.

Letter Nr. 35

Paris, May 25, 1829

To Michael

After the exchange of letters that occurred two months ago, and of which my letter was the last, I ought to have received at least a few words from you. But since I do not wish to establish an obligation where there may perhaps be no need for such, I do not intend to reprove you here. Indeed, I shall simply have to suppose that nothing extraordinary has happened to you, or to persons who are of greater concern to us.

As for me, my health has been holding up, and I have been feeling well. I do not expect to leave Paris this year. I am presently awaiting a decision of the Board of the Polytechnic Institute concerning the schedule of my sabbatical that is very important to me: Will it be 2 or 3 years that I remain abroad? I am also awaiting a response to a certain proposal that I made in case I stay here one more year.

Once more I apologize for the need to give you a negative reply concerning the books in my last letter.¹⁰⁵ I have no doubt that your own personal interests and tastes prompted you to try to avail yourself of my present situation, especially in view of what is available to you there. Yet essentially it is not the externals that provide for any definite success. They do not specifically contribute to a person's enlightenment. This is achieved only by a steadfast and persevering will, along with a corresponding determination and actions that, in every case, are accommodated to that purpose. This, surely, is no new idea. However, with each day I become more strongly convinced that it is true. Consequently, I find some consolation in the thought that the

¹⁰⁵ Michael Jaroszewski appropriated the money, and then had nerve enough to ask for expensive presents! B. Jański gives a negative reply, but adopts a jesting tone in order not to stir up resentment.

less-favorable educational situation in which you find yourself need not be as great an obstacle as we once considered it to be, if only you have a sincere and strong desire. Thus, in spite of all the pricks and thorns, you can satisfy your interest and your taste; and thereby, in the future, you can forge ever new links in the bonds and sentiments that bound us together from the cradle.

Many reasons prompt me to take pen in hand today in order to write at least a few words to you. First, because a good span of time has already passed since I last had a letter from you. In the meantime, you must have had something new to report, something that would be of interest to me: Maybe you have been promoted to a higher position; maybe Preżawicki's case has been settled favorably; maybe Alphonse Kropiwnicki got married; maybe Feralski has staged the panorama "Mente Wojezero"; maybe Adalbert Tur has departed; maybe Radwan /that is Andrew Radwański/ has already forgotten about his mug of beer, or has had a noisy set-to with his principal, the physicist; maybe the baron has been entertaining women more than once a week; and maybe Charles Zgliczyński of the full satchel¹⁰⁶ has ceased his elegant biting sarcasm¹⁰⁷ as he sets forth his principles. Is Adalbert Stupra still alive? He has maintained the same silence toward me as he once did toward Rybicki. What is Andrew Jaroszewski doing? He was always so full of sound maxims. What about Słońcogóry? Or the naive Grzybek? Is it possible that Włodkowski and Stanislaus Lempicki did not arrange a single bridge party this winter? This is all possible; but I do not believe it. And everything is important to me.

Therefore, I expect that you will not fail to satisfy my curiosity in this regard. Moreover, undoubtedly there have been some personnel changes in the administration. There may even have been some changes at the University. Do you perhaps have some information about the future of the Polytechnic

¹⁰⁶ The Polish word signifies "satchel or valise".

¹⁰⁷ The Polish word indicates biting sarcasm.

Institute?¹⁰⁸ Therefore, be a little more energetic in writing to me with such information. Shake a leg, dear brother! The rumor on everyone's lips today describes Warsaw, no longer as Warsaw, but rather as an enormous workshop for printers, translators, and authors. Classicist and romantic, historian and poet, lawyer and technician, student and master, geographers and journalists, theoreticians and routine journeymen - all are engaged in discussions on everything.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ B. Jański was very much interested in finding out whether the new school in Warsaw had yet received the approbation of Tsar Nicholas I, King of the Kingdom of Poland.

¹⁰⁹ The rough draft of this letter lacks a conclusion. The original letter must have followed this playful overture with a reminder about the money.

Letter Nr. 36.

Paris, March 8, 1830

My dearest Michael!

By the head of Confucius, is it proper for you to forget me in this way? How many months have passed without my reading even a word from you. In our correspondence, I have written the last two letters. The first favor you will have to do me is to pay for this third letter. As I love God, I will not pay the postage on it. In fact, words would not suffice to express my anger at your exceeding coldness. But, could I be angry with you? Could I wonder whether your laziness stems from a change of feeling towards me? No! I cannot accept such a horrible thought.

We are all made of the same clay, belonging to the same mean group, and the nature of that primal matter from which we were created breaks through to show a variety of weaknesses and vices. If you retain in your heart any true friendship for me, it is possible that, entangled in the chaos of human relationships and vexations, burdened by their weight, you could not find the proper time or get yourself into the proper mood to write a few verses to a friend who loves you always, even when he is far away. Therefore, I do not feel even the slightest trace of bitterness for you. But, mend your ways: emerge from that chaos and from under that weight. Can you not address a few words to me, frankly, and in a manner befitting your position? Have I so soon lost your confidence completely - for reasons unknown to me? Write to me. Let me know quickly about your health and situation. Write to tell me that you are alive and our relationship has not changed - that you are the same person you always were, throughout our long companionship.

Dear Michael! It seems to me that between ourselves we should not beat around the bush, or stand on ceremony. Therefore, without beating around the bush, and without any ceremony, I will get to the stupid matter to which

my previous two letters were directed. Since I have received no news from you for the longest time now, I have no way of knowing whether or not you have, or even have been able, to fulfill the request I made of you. But, according to my Alexandra, she has not received any money from you. In the

second letter I asked you to send me the entire sum if you could, and I very openly described for you the embarrassing financial situation in which I find myself. Unfortunately, it is one of dire need. The satisfaction of these obligations cost me dearly. But, since these obligations pertained to one urgent need for an advance,¹¹⁰ and the time for the advance has already passed, these financial problems have also passed. I informed the proper authorities that I no longer considered the enrollment¹¹¹ which I mentioned to you as necessary. I did not enroll. The funds which I had on hand intended for another purpose to be realized later were used for Gościński's return to Poland. This thought came to me only later. While it was not forthcoming, my personal activity was left completely paralyzed by reason of his distressing situation.

Dear Michael! Possibly the mistake you made was a small one that, after receiving my letters, you did not write to me. I would not be angry at all about this, if before receiving my letters, finding yourself in an even more distressing situation than mine, or somehow accidentally, you spent this sum... My God! Could I not be persuaded in view of such circumstances? You would offend me miserably if, under such circumstances, you would judge otherwise about me. My financial problem would have ended in the same way, only perhaps sooner, because I would not have counted on this kind of small assistance. In any case, dear Michael, what has happened, has happened. Write soon to tell me in a friendly way about your health, your situation, interest, etc.

¹¹⁰ He speaks here of the required quarterly payment in the School of Commerce and Industry at Paris.

¹¹¹ It is a question of enrolling for a further semester in this school; Bogdan Jański has judged this unnecessary, in view of his financial difficulties.

If, e.g. in the next two months, you can give something to my woman /i.e. wife/, by the way of my brothers, I would be most grateful to you, for my money bags have not yet been sufficiently replenished. If you cannot, then what? Then you cannot. But, write a letter soon to an ever loving Bogdan, for he truly longs to hear from you, and would be truly comforted.

I came across the name of Master Andrew in the list of those who had received their Magisterium which was printed in the "Polish Gazette" published by the Poles here in Paris.¹¹² Congratulate him for me, together with John and Stanley Lubowidzki.¹¹³ Could I look upon this whole list of names without true joy? In this paper there are definite signs of a journalistic and literary revival among us. Would that this revival might grow and persevere!

Arcadius Arthur de Gościński will leave Paris in a few weeks. I shared a small apartment with him for a few months.¹¹⁴ Now, since he will soon be leaving, I have changed my address. It is now: Place Saint Andre des Arts, Hotel des Arts nr. 24.

My colleagues Theophil Rybicki and Anthony Barciński will return to Poland in September; Wrześniowski¹¹⁵ will return in July. I and Florian Zubelewicz will remain here until September of next year. I expect to take a trip in July. After visiting Holland, I will cross La Manche to taste the Breton beefsteaks, etc., etc.

¹¹² The "Polish Gezette" included a communiqué from Warsaw about the new Masters. Among these was Bogdan's and Michael's cousin, Andrew Jaroszewski.

¹¹³ The other cousins of Bogdan received their Master's degree together with him: John and Stanislaw Lubowidzki, the sons of Joseph and Julia /nee Jański/ heirs of Lubowidz.

¹¹⁴ It was precisely the lease of this apartment by Arcadius Gościński and his masquerade as a Count in Paris that ruined him. However, the kindly Bogdan rescued him by providing a loan for his return to Poland; as a consequence, he did not have enough money for the enrollment fee. For a long time, even from the very beginning, he was in serious financial difficulties, due to the dishonesty of Michael and to the sacrifice he had made for Alexandra.

¹¹⁵

Letter Nr. 37.

Paris, May, 1833

Dear Michael!

You would not believe how sorry I am not to have heard from you at all for such a long time. Won't you write at least a few words? If only as a sign that you have not forgotten me...

As for me, I continue to live in Paris since my return from England in 1831. And, I don't know when I will leave here. I need not write to you, for you know that I am in need. If there were some way in which you, finding yourself in a suitable position, could send me a few hundred francs, you would do much to ease my distress. But above all, write to me, however briefly... For a while now I have been living with Adam Mickiewicz. I keep working, as hard as I can.

I send very best regards to your father,¹¹⁶ Andrew, to your brothers and to the family... to Alphonse Kropiwnicki, Joseph,¹¹⁷ etc. Embrace them for me sincerely.

Goodbay!

Bogdan

¹¹⁶ Andrew Jaroszewski of Żabiczyn, the husband of Theophila Bogumła /nee Hryniewicka/, father of Michael, John and Andrew, who were Bogdan's cousins.

¹¹⁷ Either Joseph Jędrzejewicz, Chopin's brother-in-law, or Joseph Górecki, Jański's colleagues from Warsaw.

Letter Nr. 38

Paris, September 28, 1834

Friend Michael!

What's this you write to me about past failure to remit a sum, and of forgiveness? Do you know me so little as to think that I could be angry with you, or hold a grudge against you?

We have not written to each other for such a long time. This is my fault, as well as yours. Apparently neither of us has completely overcome his laziness. But, what is past is past. Let's do better in the future. For my part, dear Michael, I can swear that while my pen may have been silent, in my heart the memory of our fraternal friendship was never silenced.

Thank you most sincerely for the note you wrote; I will be anxiously expecting a longer letter. Address the envelope: a Martin Benoiste fil... etc. Put my name on the enclosure... And send your address. Right now I am feeling well; but, especially this year, I had a problem with my lungs, and was bothered by a constant cough for several months. Finally, I was laid low by a strange fever. All this resulted from my physical and moral problems. /To make a living demands hard work./ At present I am eking out a living in literary work, book selling-publishing,¹¹⁸ employed by publishers of Polish works, but I have not lost hope that things will be better. What bothers me most are the debts. In the past two or three years these have accumulated to almost 2000 fr.; and, in spite of hard work and frugality, I find it hard to scrape together enough money to pay them off. Therefore, please remind Arcadius /Gościński/ about the small debt that he owes me. Although, the amount is small, right at this time it would be of considerable help. I am even including

¹¹⁸ At this time Bogdan Jański was editing practically all the Polish books and pamphlets written by emigrants and published by A. Pinard, e.g., "Pan Tadeusz" of Adam Mickiewicz.

the bill from the bookstore. I have cut off the top part with the list of books for which I paid, but he will surely remember them.

I promise that I will fulfill your expectations by writing more extensively once I know your address.

Give my greetings to Alphonse Kropiwnicki, Anthony Barciński, Theodore Wosiński, Joseph, and all our other old friends.

Stay healthy. Write to me soon.

Sincere best wishes to your father and Andrew. May God bless Andrew for his few friendly words.

Bogdan Jański

In your letter please advise me what I should do about my wife.

2. The money was needed to help emigrants who were being deported from Trieste to England or America on Austrian boats that were in poor condition. Among these emigrants were: Anthony Jański, who ultimately died of emaciation; and, a relative of A. Mickiewicz, L. Stypułkowski, to whom Jański sent his last 100 fr.!

Letter Nr. 39

Paris, January 20, 1835

Pardon me, dearest Michael, if, knowing that you are angry with me¹¹⁹ for my behavior and for my long, needless residence in Paris, I still bother you with my letter.

Let seven years of exile from you and from my country excuse my importunity. After all, it's not my fault that our mothers were sisters, and that we are bound together by this close kinship, as well as by a youth spent together. Do not be angry, therefore, that lacking any information about my wife and brother, and not knowing even if they can be found, I write to you for help. Please, do not reject my request. Secure the information for me...

The request is short and simple... To satisfy it will not require too much time or trouble on your part. Send this information, as quickly as possible: First, are you well? Are your brothers, your father and your whole family in good health? Secondly, what has happened to Stephen Jański, and to my unfortunate wife? You have no reason to withhold any details about Alexandra's condition. For some time now I have known of conditions that can only be most distressing to a husband...

/Half the page is empty./

2. Unfortunately, the information that things were going badly for Alexandra was very vague. The rough draft of the letter leaves half the page empty.

¹¹⁹ "If you are looking for an enemy, let someone wrong you".

Letter Nr. 40

Paris, June 2, 1836

My dear Michael!

If you have received any of my letters written during the last several years and offer no reply at all, you are a man without a heart. Repent and mend your ways! You will surely receive this letter. First, accept my sincere, brotherly and friendly greeting; and then, for the love of God, answer me once again. For three years now I have no news about anyone in the family ... Tell me about yourself, your brothers, father, about Stephen and finally, but especially, about Alexandra /n.b. without beating around the bush. The fact that I have no information at all about her is a source of great distress to me; it ties up and encumbers my whole future./

I ask you and I beg you!

I am well, and, thank God, now things are going fairly well for me. I live in Paris, Rue Notre Dame des Champs 11.

Yours affectionately,

/Bogdan Jański

Letter Nr. 41

Paris, June 7, 1837

My Dear Michael!

I do not wish to presume that you have forgotten about me, but in this time you could have written at least a few words to me. Why have you grown so sluggish? Correct yourself, my friend, correct yourself! Especially, since it is so important to me... First, that I might at last have some information about you, your brothers and father, whom I continue to love and about whom I often think. I ask you to please give them my most sincere greetings.

Further, I would wish... I urgently need, one way or another, to come to some conclusion with my wife. Not long ago I wrote a letter to Alphonse Kropiwnicki, asking him to consult with you, and then to advise me about what I am to do. Should I seek a divorce?¹²⁰ or, should I maintain the status quo? By this time I should have had a response. I have had none! Apparently he has put aside my concern, as though I did not exist.

My dearest Michael, I ask you not to do the same! Tell me about her situation and about her behavior... And quickly send me your opinion about what I am to do... And, if in what I am to do I need your assistance, do not refuse me, remember our longstanding friendship. I cannot offer you any long explanations here: you must believe that I urgently need to reach a decision concerning my relationship with her. Otherwise my hands are tied; and, although there are many avenues open to me, I stand in one place like a fool, not knowing where I should turn... It is already high time that I began to give a little thought to myself!¹²¹

¹²⁰ B. Jański has in mind an ecclesiastical annulment of a nonconsummated marriage, or a legal separation; for at the time there was no real divorce, and he had returned to the practice of his faith.

¹²¹ At this time there were many priestly vocations among Jański's confreres, and he himself was interested in dedicating himself to this vocation after receiving his wife's permission to a separation.

Dear Michael, take this request to heart! Do something about this. Consult with Alphonse and with Stephen... Help me to settle this matter properly once and for all! Don't waste any time. Do it now!

Next, I have some very sad news for you, I don't know whether you have heard it as yet, our dear Anthony Jański died of consumption in New York as long ago as October, 1834.¹²² Hear a Mass for this intention. Does Stephen know yet? I am not writing to tell him. Don't give him this news all at once...

Finally, there is one thing for which I must ask your pardon. Not long ago I wrote to Królikowski...

N.B. while things are going somewhat more easily for me, I am still troubled by past debts /which, unfortunately for me in my present situation, are considerable - several thousand!/¹²³ Therefore, in writing to Królikowski, I asked him among other things that if he should be in correspondence with you, he should remind you of the silly 1.000 zł., tell you that I am very much in the need of the money, and that if you would be in any position to send them to me, I would be greatly relieved. It is true that I am in need... true that I could use the money... But surely you are also poor,¹²⁴ and I do not wish to pressure you by way of a third person - except that this third person is, as it were, one of us. Do not be angry... Pardon me!

After all, you have no right to be angry. You have my friendship my heart, my whole self! I am always one with you! And so you do not have the right to be angry! /Notwithstanding, there is no reason to sin against the truth/. I am not always completely the same in your regard. Today, I love you with

¹²² An error: 12-24-1834.

¹²³ These were the so-called debts of the House of Jański, i.e. of the poor persons who were admitted as members.

¹²⁴ M. Jaroszewski was then an assessor in the criminal court at Warsaw. He would shortly be promoted to a Government Commission. He never returned the money to his converted cousin Bogdan Jański, and continued to be a dark cloud in his life, as he had once been by his scandalous life.

another love... I wish you something else... I want something else from you and from our relationship, now and for the future. Why the change? Without preamble: By reason of my whole - hearted return to the Christian, Catholic truth.

We made judgments without inquiring, and without understanding the question... I have neither the time nor the place for arguments and explanations. I can only cry out from the depth of my soul, placing my trust in God: Michael, prodigal son! Do you also return to the home of the eternal Father by way of his Incarnate Love, Christ! Then we shall be fully one again, one forever! /For Christ will be all in all - 1 Cor. 15 - and the visible Christ is the universal, i.e. Catholic Church/. My address: Paris, rue Notre Dame des Champs Nr. 11.

I wish you good health... and remember my request.

Bogdan Jański

June 7, 1837

Rough-drafts of letter to Mrs. Szotarski and her husband¹²⁵

Letter Nr. 42

Berlin, November 8, 1828

Dear Madam Benefactress!

Madam benefactress you will surely be surprised, when you get to the signature and discover who wrote this letter. I am writing precisely to remove for the future the feeling of amazement that might accompany the reading of today's letter. Seeing that the family of Madam benefactress is not very inclined to engage in correspondence,¹²⁶ I take the responsibility upon myself to inform a solicitous, (this I gather, Madam benefactress, from your stay in Warsaw and from your letter to Peter/¹²⁷ kind and gracious sister that, on October 23, before going abroad, I married Alexandra, and that she has stayed behind with Caroline and Francis Grabowski. It may be that my letter will anticipate the news of this event that might come from Kozłów.¹²⁸ In any event, I expect that since I have accepted her, abandoned and unfortunate, as my wife, Madam benefactress, you will recognize her once again as her sister¹²⁹ and give her a proper place in your heart and memory.

I shall remain in Berlin only a few days longer, after which I will leave for Paris, where I will remain for more than a year. According to the present plan, I will return to the Kingdom of Poland in three years.

¹²⁵ Julianna /nee Zawadzki/, the wife of Anthony Szotarski, Commissioner for Kalisz, and later for Piotrków.

¹²⁶ In his letters, Bogdan Jański tried to convince the family of Alexandra to take their unfortunate and wronged sister under their protection, but he did not succeed.

¹²⁷ Peter Zawadzki, Julianna's brother, and a colleague of Bogdan Jański in Warsaw.

¹²⁸ The manor and the village of Matthew Łaszowski, the residence of Alexandra's parents and the place where they were married. It is situated along the road from Pułtusk to Ciechanów.

¹²⁹ We recall that the Zawadzki family disowned Alexandra, after she had run away with Witold Łuszczewski.

Madam benefactress, please accept the expression of my sincere respect for you. Although, I have not had the pleasure of meeting your husband, please give him my greetings. At your service always,

Bogdan Jański

Letter Nr. 43

Paris, February 10, 1831

Most gracious brother!¹³⁰

Although I have not had the good fortune to get to know you personally, the bonds of family that bind us surely warrant my taking the step I am taking.

I keep writing one letter after another to Poland, and receive no reply. I have already written eight letters to my wife without a response. I mailed a ninth letter yesterday. You can easily imagine that this is the cause of great anxiety and distress for me. I am hoping that this letter will reach you... Having received it, please be kind enough to write a few lines about yourself, as well as about the health and condition of my wife, and of our whole family. With what gratitude will I receive this information!

My address here is: Bogdan Jański, a Paris rue Monsigny Nr. 6, a la Redaction du "Globe".¹³¹ Send this letter on to your wife; tell her that you received a letter from me, and ask her to write a few words to me at her earliest convince.

I beg you, by all that is holy to you, on the love of your wife and children,¹³² do what I ask as quickly as possible.

Give sincerest greetings to your worthy wife, my dear sister. I send a hug and a kiss to your children from an uncle whom they have not yet seen. Be convinced of the true respect I have for you, and of my constant brotherly attachment to you.

Bogdan Jański

¹³⁰ A letter to Anthony Szotarski.

¹³¹ B. Jański at this time was a member of the editorial staff of the Saintsimonist daily "Le Globe". He was in charge of gathering information from Poland.

¹³² Stanislaw Michael Joseph Zawadzki /born 1822/ and Josephine Euphrosene Zawadzki /born 1824/.

6. It seems that B. Jański was already sure that his sabbatical would be extended one more year.

Letter Nr. 44

Paris, May 20, 1831

Dear Sister,

I received your letter, dated March 26, 1831, only on the 26th of April. I thank you most sincerely for writing. I sent an answer the very next day, which should have reached you about the sixth day of this month. You had promised to respond briefly, immediately after receiving my reply, and to send a letter from Alexandra. Since I have not yet received any word from you, dear sister, I can only presume that my first letter did not reach you, and therefore, I am writing another today.

Apparently in my first letter I made a mistake in the date, for on February 9 I was still in journey from London to Paris. The information about the health of my wife which you sent /that she is in good health/ calmed my fears for the time being. Nevertheless, your expression that her situation is "in every respect sad"¹³³ becomes for me the cause of the most dplorable conjectures.

What she must have suffered there together with the Grabowskis and our parents! Particularly since, according to the information we had here, enemy forces occupied the regions of Pułtusk almost constantly, and that now the plague of cholera has spread there.¹³⁴

Dearest sister, by your love for your husband and children, I beg and entreat you to respond briefly as soon as possible, and to include, if possible, a few words from Alexandra. And even after you have written this first letter, dear sister, please be kind and gracious enough to send a second within a week or ten days of the first, just in case that first letter should not reach me.

¹³³ Francis Grabowski had decided that Alexandra's stay at Pękowo was too prolonged, and he had asked her to move.

¹³⁴ The Russians had brought the cholera epidemic with them from Asia.

If possible, please write in greater detail about your family, and especially about Alexandra, from whom I have had no letter for almost a year. I would be much obliged to you, dear sister, if you would do this for me. Also, if possible, I would ask you to communicate my address to one of my brothers, for I have had no word from them, in spite of the letters that I have written. My permanent address is: Rue Mousigny Nr.6, a la redaction du Globe. Even, if one were to forget to include Paris, a letter so addressed would surely reach me.

Concerning my return to Poland, at present major difficulties prevent me from realizing this desire... particularly since I belong to the editorial staff of one of the dailies, as you might conclude from my address where, perhaps, I can be greater use to our homeland than if I were to return.

However, in accord with my most fervent desires, as soon as the circumstances that hold me here change,¹³⁵ I shall return to Poland.

Give my very best regards to your husband, and my most sincere greetings to Theresa /Zawadzki/.

Once again, dear sister, I beg you to write as quickly as possible. Obligated to you for life, your brother and servant.

Bogdan Jański

4. B. Jański had been commissioned by the revolutionary government to remain in the West as a secret correspondent for the revolution.

¹³⁵ That is, as soon as the authorities change their decision; for Louis Królikowski had, in fact, just left for home by way of Prussia.

Letter Nr. 45

La Grande Trappe, June 23, 1839

Madam Benefactress, and my dearest sister always!

After such a long break in our correspondence, I feel obliged to begin by asking your pardon for any hardships you may have experienced on this account. Furthermore, I would like to renew the assurance that, contrary to every suspicion of change of sentiment on my part, I continue to regard you, dear sister, with most sincere respect, gratitude and devotion.

Alas, God has not blessed my marriage to Alexandra. In fact, he has severely punished us; for, being unfaithful to Him, we have both deserved such punishment.¹³⁶ This is the one and all-embracing lesson to be derived from the whole of our past sad experience... I can only hope that we might both come to recognize and accept this and know how to profit from the experience for our own improvement.

Dear sister, these few words that flow from my heart as a foreword to what follows, offer the clearest indication of the intention with which I write this letter. It will depend on you, dear sister, whether or not they will be successful in repairing the wrong.

I offer this as my explanation of what was for me likewise the sad interval that marks the break in our correspondence.¹³⁷

In taking my farewell of Alexandra /I am obliged to go that far back into the past/, I required and received her most formal promise that she would never, under any pretext or condition return to Warsaw.¹³⁸ What happened later would amply justify my insistence on this promise.

¹³⁶ Alexandra, by her frivolous relationship with Witold Łuszczewski, and he by the loss of his faith and the lack of consistency in the sacrifice he was making for her sake.

¹³⁷ The real reason for the break in the correspondence was the situation of the families that had taken part in the revolution after its failure. He was not even in contact with his brother.

¹³⁸ He feared her further contacts with Łuszczewski, the father of her child.

She went there for a few days in 1829, because she wasn't feeling well. I said nothing then. But when she left the Grabowskis in 1831 and went to Warsaw, I was very much disturbed. The reasons she offered me in a letter¹³⁹ might have been important, but they were not entirely conclusive. She could have found some place to stay, either with someone in the family, with friends or with a neighbor - just so it wasn't in Warsaw.

With all this I still held to the sincere resolution to use every means possible to obtain our reunion.¹⁴⁰ Unfortunately, this was not so easy; there were continued delays. How many wives have waited longer, or are still waiting to be reunited with their husbands! Who, even without the hope of reunion, continue to behave themselves properly. Meanwhile, what kind of news was I getting? Alexandra continued to live in Warsaw. By what right, and why?

I repeat, would it not have been more proper, and even easier for her to find a place with family or friends? Would not her worthy parents have provided shelter for a time? No!

She had the opportunity to occupy very suitable lodgings in the country with the children of the deceased Mrs. Łaszewski.¹⁴¹ She does not accept! And finally, what does she do? She openly takes up residence with some infamous woman, and begins again to live an evil life.¹⁴² Lord, what kind of news was this for me to hear! From that time I felt obliged not to write to Alexandra, in order that my letters might not become soiled in such sordid and shameful surroundings.

I don't know what happened later, I continued to write to acquaintances, appealing from time to time to old friends... I begged my brother not to desert

¹³⁹ Unfortunately, this letter has not been preserved; but we know that she did this at the urging of her brother-in-law, Francis Grabowski.

¹⁴⁰ He wanted to bring her to Paris; but poverty, and the dismal and vague rumors prevented this.

¹⁴¹ The wife of Matthew Łaszowski, Alexandra's uncle. She would have been close to her parents and family in the above-mentioned Kozłów.

¹⁴² This was a dismal rumor and suspicion. The fact is that Alexandra had to resort to physical labor in order to earn a living. Bogdan has in mind her former maid, Bojkowska, whom he did not like because of her bad influence on Alexandra.

her, and to exert every effort to dissuade her from evil, but no one answered my letters. Years went by in this fashion; and all the while each memory of my homeland and of my dear ones, /is this memory not renewed practically every day?/, and the thought of my unhappy marriage kept irritating this most painful wound.

Only recently I had news that Alexandra remains in Warsaw, and that she is very unhappy!

Thus, dear sister, today you are my only hope; for, what can I do at such a distance, without clear and adequate knowledge of the actual situation? Even with the best will, what can I do? May the merciful Lord grant that my dear sister and benefactress would accept my request with all her former goodness and kindness.

My primary concern prompts me to beg my dearest sister, by all that is dearest and holiest in her life, to tell me in detail and with complete openness: What is happening to Alexandra? With whom is she living, how is she behaving, how has she been behaving these past years?

God knows, I would like to fall on my kness, and, beating my breast, pour out tears of sorrow and contrition over the whole of our unfortunate past; and having once forgotten it, to think and talk of nothing else but ways of improvement.

However, I need to be enlightened about the past, in order that I might know what to do and how to act in the future, which ought to be better - if not for us, at least for God and others.¹⁴³

This is my reason for initiating this correspondence with you, dear sister.

The one bit of news that I had about Alexandra seemed to indicate that at present she was very pious.¹⁴⁴ If this is true, everything then would be much

¹⁴³ B. Jański is excluding the initiation of married life, and suggests the idea that they dedicate themselves to the love of God and neighbor.

easier in the future. It would be what I most wanted to hear, if only it were true!

If Alexandra has confessed her faults sincerely before God, and God has forgiven her... if she has shown herself worthy of that forgiveness by the improvement of her life, then I too forgive her, with all my heart. I even want to forget completely about everything that happened. Therefore, I ask my dear sister to tell her about this letter, and urge her to append at least a few words to the letter of my kind benefactress. Give her a great big kiss for me.

Why, to my misfortune, does this additional sad news come to me: the new evil way which, it appears, Alexandra has entered lately!...¹⁴⁵

However, I will withhold judgment until I receive your letter, dear sister, in which you will write in detail about her past behaviour and her present situation. Besides sending me this information as soon as you can, I would ask you to pray for both of us, and also include your own judgment, counseling me about what it is best for me to do in order to correct the wrongs of the past in our marriage. I shall be ready to make any sacrifice that my present circumstances will allow.

I should add one detail here: The person¹⁴⁶ whom I had commissioned more than a year ago to gather information about Alexandra, not in accord with my request, asked her whether she agrees to a divorce. Poor Alexandra is said to have replied: "Very well, if this makes him happy."

It was my desire that, since our union encounters almost insuperable difficulties, I might reach an agreement with Alexandra on a voluntary

¹⁴⁴ A. Kropiwnicki, writing to L. Królikowski, mentioned her intention to make a pilgrimage to Częstochowa.

¹⁴⁵ Some new rumor devised by the malice and foolishness of men.

¹⁴⁶ He refers here to A. Kropiwnicki.

I.e. to August and Isabella Zawadzki.

Probably Augustine Theodore Bogdan, Alexandra's son, born on April 15, 1828 at Pękowo, and adopted by the Grabowskis; hence the child saved together with his mother by marriage to Bogdan.

separation¹⁴⁷ /such a situation, though not willed, exists at present, all mutual relations being ruptured/, wishing to do everything in my power to find proper lodgings for her,¹⁴⁸ and to be completely reconciled to her, as long as her present conduct is no obstacle. I desire to do everything in my power to find proper lodgings, to contribute to her support as I did in the past, and to continue to correspond with her as befits husband and wife.

Therefore, the main purpose of my letter to you, dear sister, is to seek information and counsel about Alexandra. I have a second request, which is also important to me. For five years I have no news about my brother Stephen, despite my letters and inquiries... Please, dear sister, tell me where he is living, and how things are going for him.

If he is living in Warsaw, ask him to care to your home, and urge him to add at least a few words to your letter. At the same time, let him return the postage you paid for this letter. If I have not paid the postage on this letter, it is precisely because I have heard that such letters are rarely abandoned at the Post Office.¹⁴⁹ If he should be living somewhere at a distance, dear sister, send him my most heartfelt greetings and my address, asking him to write to me about himself at the earliest. At the time, notify me where and how I can write to him.

Finally, I ask you, dear sister, for specific information about the family, requesting that you give them my most affectionate greetings and wishes: first of all to our worthy parents,¹⁵⁰ the dear Grabowskis, Theresa and Peter... and

¹⁴⁷ That is, a permanent Catholic separation.

¹⁴⁸ B. Jański is thinking about so-called "dowry", or trousseau required for acceptance to the cloister, in so far as this would be acceptable to Alexandra.

¹⁴⁹ This scheme of a letter without postage proved very successful. The post office found the person to whom the letter was addressed in far-off Żelechów, searching her out in order to obtain the postal fee.

¹⁵⁰ I.e. to August and Isabella Zawadzki.

any member of the family you happen to meet. Is my namesake, Bogdan Grabowski,¹⁵¹ well? Is he doing well in school?

Your own sons have already grown to manhood. Please give them my greetings. I would like to know what they are studying, and what state of life they are pursuing.¹⁵² I wish that, having grown up, they would carefully preserve in their hearts the sentiments and principles of our holy faith and devotion which animated them in childhood... and that they would not neglect the exact and holy fulfillment of all their religious obligations.

Incomplete learning leads us away from humility and from God; mature knowledge renders the heart and mind religious. Surely they have often heard this maxim? Would that they would accept my own most solemn witness to its truth; for that witness is based on long experience and lengthy research, pursued in lands and among people regarded as the most enlightened. There is only one truth, and that truth is only accepted and professed in our Holy Church. Everywhere else there is only error... and therefore, evil and eternal damnation. Dear sister, the most important bit of information about myself is, that after passing through long storms in mind and heart, I have at last reached port; through the infinite mercy of God, my eyes have been opened to the truth. I have grasped it and surrendered to it with my whole soul and with all my strength! In it I find peace and complete happiness! With this truth, I am able to bear the misery and inconveniences attached to my present circumstances¹⁵³ with resignation and hope. After the serious and dangerous chest ailment suffered in 1834, my health is good. Thanks be to God!

In closing, I commend myself to the kind and gracious heart of my dear benefactress, asking that in her mercy she offer an occasional short prayer to

¹⁵¹ Probably Augustine Theodore Bogdan, Alexandra's son, born on April 15, 1828 at Pękowo, and adopted by the Grabowskis; hence the child saved together with his mother by marriage to Bogdan.

¹⁵² After these many years he had forgotten that Julianna /nee Zawadzki/ Szotarska had had a son and a daughter. He had seen them as children in the Square at Warsaw.

¹⁵³ The lot of a Pole wandering in a foreign land.

the Lord for my intention. Again, by all that is holy, I beg you to hear the requests presented in this letter, and to respond as quickly as possible.¹⁵⁴ Dear sister, I conclude with the repeated assurance of my most sincere devotion, gratitude and respect.

Bogdan Jański

June 23, 1839

My address: Paris, rue Notre Dame des Champs 31 bis.

¹⁵⁴ Within a short while he received a letter with information about the death of Stephen Jański /in 1835/ and of Augustine Zawadzki /in 1837/; about the poverty of Alexandra, who was earning a living by means of physical labor; and of the writer's own difficult situation as a widow with two children , striving to rehabilitate her famous father, General Augustine Zawadzki.

Rough-draft of a letter to C. Zgliczyński

Letter Nr. 46

Paris, July 4, 1829, Saturday

Dear Cyprian!¹⁵⁵

A few days ago, on the 29th of last month, I received your letter /written last month on the 11th of June/ together with the communications from the Council of the Polytechnic Institute. Unfortunately, /separated from you by such a great distance/, I cannot thank you immediately by way of a hearty embrace for the mark of your confidence in me. Therefore, in the meantime, accept this expression of my gratitude by way of the dead letter, but which includes equally sincere sentiments welling up within me.

In reference to the person, about whose present and future stay here you directed me to inquire: I have known him since I came to Paris, although, ours has not been a close relationship. In accord with your request, before I delivered your note to him, I tried to find out from others if there was anything more definite about his further plans of travel. This is the result of all my inquiries: In the course of a conversation, Mr. Wodziński¹⁵⁶ indicated to one of our compatriots that he is considering a short stay in England, and plans to return to Poland this year. Another source very close to Mr. Wodziński, told me that after his trip to England, he will undoubtedly spend the Winter in Paris. Just a few days ago, before I delivered your note to

¹⁵⁵ Cyprian Zgliczyński /born 1805 in Kaszowo/ a student from the Provincial School in Radom. From 1825 he studied political economy together with Bogdan Jański at Warsaw. His relative, Charles Zgliczyński began the study of Law at the same time that Jański did.

¹⁵⁶ Charles Edward Wodziński /1807-1837/ - came from Wołyń. He later joined the November uprising as a Lieutenant in the First Krakus regiment. He was the author of "Journeys across the Białowieska Desert to Warsaw", and "Memoirs from rambles through Europe". The first work was published posthumously in Paris, 1844; the second can be found in the Polish Library in Paris.

him, I met him on the street. He was complaining to me that he does not enjoy having to travel by himself, and that he is happy that his brother will soon join him. He plans to leave soon for England, spend the Winter in Paris, and devote next Spring to a visit of the French provinces; later he expects to go to Switzerland, spend the following Winter in Italy, and to return to Poland only in 1831. N.B. when he was telling me these things, he already knew that I had a note for him from someone in Warsaw.

The Englishman who is instructing the both of us in the English language tells me that Mr. Wodziński will leave Paris for London within a few weeks.

From all this, it seems certain that he will soon leave for England, and that he will spend the Winter in Paris, for I heard this from several people, especially from a person, as I indicated, with whom he is very close. When he was speaking to me he might have falsified his plans deliberately, surmising the tenor of the note I was to deliver, and the person from whom it came.

Thus, I have fulfilled your request to the extent that I was able to do so. While the reports that I have had about your character have been most favorable, I cannot not suppose that the information I forwarded about Mr. Wodziński might not be harmful to him, and that he might some time know it came from me. In gathering this information I did commit a small transgression against Mr. Wodziński, uncovering for you, if only through such innocent and trivial facts, the sacred sanctuary of someone's personality and of strictly private matters, into which the delicate sense of right and duty forbid another to enter. I could have been induced to do this only by my desire to repay your confidence in me, and to offer you some sign of my friendship for you.

Therefore, I urgently request that you hold at least this correspondence in strictest secrecy. I expect that aside from persons concerned, and who already know that you wrote to me for this purpose, you will not mention it to anyone else, and that in your further correspondence with Mr. Wodziński, you

will not cite any circumstances from which he might deduce that I wrote to you about him, especially the words which he spoke to me as I made them known to you. Finally, I would ask you to destroy this note, in order to remove any trace of my small transgression.

Although, she does not know me, allow me to thank your worthy sister for the words she wrote, and to send her my regards.

Remember to communicate my most humble respects to the honorable Mr. Rakietty.¹⁵⁷ I could not quite make out one of the signatures in your letter. However, apparently Mr. Rakietty was kind enough to write a few words to me. If this is, in fact, true, then I am all the happier to have been able to fulfill your commission. Nevertheless, since I can conclude from this correspondence that you have etc.¹⁵⁸ /And the Honorable Mr. Rakietty will not in this instance refuse his favor, particularly since I have justly earned that favor.../

Finally, although they are only contained in a letter, accept from me a thousand sincere embraces.

Give my warmest regards to Zgliczyński, Turski, and Antoszewski. Tell Michael Jaroszewski that if he has not yet written to me, he should do so immediately, because I am waiting impatiently. You might include at least a few words in that letter.

I wish you health and happiness.

Bogdan Jański

¹⁵⁷ Edward Pakietty, Secretary General of the Government Commission on Religious Beliefs and Public Enlightenment; or, in modern language, the Ministry of Education.

¹⁵⁸ Jański, noting the signature of an important person from the Ministry in the letter of Cyprian Zgliczyński, planned to ask the latter to speak with him in the matter of prolonging his stay abroad to 3 years. However, he ultimately abandoned this plan, crossing out the remaining sentences contained in the parentheses.

Letter Nr. 47

Paris, July 15, 1829

Dear Sir!¹⁵⁹

The enclosed note is a response to the letter addressed to me by the Honorable Mr. Rakietty. Please be so kind as to deliver it personally to the Honorable Mr. Rakietty, or see that it is mailed to his address. Mr. Lipiński's¹⁶⁰ note for Mr. Potocki was handed to him by me shortly after I received it. I have not yet had a reply.

Once more, in the name of all, I wish to thank you for the prompt forwarding of our subsidies. I will send my report soon.

I add sincere personal regards. Your humble servant,

Bogdan Jański

3. It is difficult to determine which of the many Potockis is referred to here.

4. Teachers on a sabbatical were obliged to write a quarterly report on their work to their educational supervisor in Poland. Bogdan Jański's supervisor was John Kenty Krzyżanowski.

¹⁵⁹ Dionisius Lanckoroński, secretary of the Board of the Polytechnic Institute.

¹⁶⁰ Joseph Lipiński. General Inspector of Schools for the Kingdom of Poland before Humphrey Lewocki.

Letter Nr. 48

Paris, April, 1830

Your friendly warning concerning the consequences of delays in keeping the Board of the Polytechnic Institute informed about my activities, delivered to me by way of colleague Barciński can be received by me only with genuine feelings of gratitude for the kindness shown to me again on this occasion by you, my honorable benefactors.

However, I hope that by writing this letter, my honorable benefactor's gracious concern about the consequences of my lengthy silence will have been allayed, and that I will no longer need to worry about receiving a very unpleasant and unfavorable admonition, which the Board of Polytechnic Institute¹⁶¹ was about to send to me because they were displeased with my conduct.¹⁶² For only a few days ago I sent two letters in care of Mr. Krzyżanowski. I judge that by now both these letters should have arrived in Warsaw. The first letter includes a report on my present situation, as well as a short essay on a topic dealing with commercial law.¹⁶³

The letter addressed to my honorable benefactor, includes a list of books remaining in Paris that are the property of the Polytechnic Institute Library, the receipt for my tuition during the last quarter at the local School of Commerce, 2 receipts of colleague Zubelewicz's relative funds left over from the enrollment fees entrusted to him by myself and colleague Barciński, a letter

¹⁶¹ Lanckoroński, the Secretary of the Board of the Polytechnic Institute. It has been mentioned that B. Jański, by reason of poverty, did not register for one quarter in the School of Trade and Commerce in Paris; and since he had no receipt to send, he neglected the required correspondence with Board of the Polytechnic Institute, and even with his adviser, Krzyżanowski.

¹⁶² He feared that what he had done was already known in Warsaw.

¹⁶³ The letters mentioned included the required reports, plus an extensive essay "On Constraint of the Individual in Matters of Trade".

of colleague Barciński that is meant for you, dear sir, etc. The second letter was primarily a report addressed to the Honorable Mr. Krzyżanowski, plus a detailed description of my further travels, and the needs of the library of the Polytechnic Institute in the area of Geography, History, and Commercial Law.

In writing these letters, I expected that the illustrious Board would not condemn me, or be too dissatisfied with my conduct; that it would defer judgment until it had received my letters; that reasons independent of my will and sense of duty caused the delay. To my mind such stern measures mean that they allow their confidence in me to falter needlessly, before they know the reason for the delay. However, today, after obtaining better information about the situation from what my honorable benefactor was pleased to tell me, I am really frightened about my present state of affairs.¹⁶⁴

Therefore, kind sir, I thank you all the more sincerely for this new mark of your graciousness towards me. I assure my honorable benefactor that when it comes to my responsibilities toward the illustrious Board of the Polytechnic Institute, when I have accepted a duty, I make it my sincere wish and strive earnestly to fulfill it as perfectly as I can. And I can boldly declare here, that I will never disappoint the hopes of a person who has put his trust in me. This assurance has always gone with my strivings, and it always will.

With regard to the propositions I made in my last letter¹⁶⁵... Although, they may have been weakened by my present less favorable status relative to the Board of the Polytechnic Institute, I am nevertheless sure that you, dear sir, will not refuse to use your influence in my favor, should you be convinced that it is right to do so.

¹⁶⁴ The Secretary probably mentioned that he was in danger of being recalled, or of having his sabbatical cut short, which would, in effect, put an end to his educational career. However, the letters he had sent, containing as they did all the required documents, dissipated the danger.

¹⁶⁵ The emissary, i. e. the professor, prior to his departure for the next country, preserved a detailed plan of what he intended to do there.

I wish to express once again my sincere respect and gratitude to you,
my worthy benefactors. Your humble servant,

Bogdan Jański

Letter Nr. 49

Paris, July 12, 1830

Dear Honorable Secretary!

According to your letter of May 27th , I should have received my subsidy for the semester which just began, either at the end of June or at the beginning of this month by way of Mr. Mallet or Mr. Rongemont. I have made frequent inquires during the past two weeks of those two bankers and also of Mr. Lafitte. Their constant reply has been that they have not received such an order for payment from the Bank of Poland.

This delay subjects me to serious economic inconvenience, but even more so, it is causing me to lose much time in final preparations for my departure.

If my subsidy had been sent to the proper address on the 2nd of July, I would already have been notified of its arrival. Since it has not arrived, I can only judge that there has been some error in the address, or that it has been sent in care of a banker I do not know. Therefore, I urgently beg you, honorable sir, to make the necessary inquiries at the bank: where, when, and to whom payment of funds in my name was commissioned. Please send me this information as quickly as possible.

Before I leave, I will write to the Board of the Polytechnic Institute at some length describing in detail my work of the past two months; I will also report on the fulfillment of tasks assigned to me. This letter is concerned solely with the request presented above. I repeat my urgent plea to you, dear sir, asking that you send the required information as soon as possible. Your civic zeal for all that pertains to the Polytechnic Institute, as well as the gracious friendship which you bear for me, prompt me to expect that I shall have an answer soon.

I remain respectfully your honorable sir's most humble servant,

Bogdan Jański

Letter Nr. 50

Paris, August 20, 1830

Dear Sir!

I received my subsidy through Mr. Lafitte on the 22nd last month. I also received funds intended for library books and to cover the cost of the surveyor's instruments ordered by colleague Wrześniowski. A few days later we witnessed several political disturbances¹⁶⁶ here, with the result that I could not take care of the tasks assigned to me before my departure /fulfilling the commission sent to me/, and my departure from London has been delayed until now.

The machinist Rochette, from whom colleague Wrześniowski had ordered the surveyor's equipment before his departure, had not received any down payment, and therefore did not start to work until I came with the money. Moreover, all commercial work moves very slowly, for the owners of shops have not yet been able to re-assemble their dispersed workers in sufficient numbers. It was my intention, and still is, to get to London as soon as possible; therefore, without waiting for the equipment, I paid Mr. Rochette the 400 fr. sent for this purpose, the receipt for which is included in this letter. Mr. Pochette has taken upon himself the responsibility of sending this equipment to you in Warsaw as soon as possible. I checked with him today, and he told me that he would do this within a week. The equipment ordered by colleague Vincent Wrześniowski: alidade, eclimetre, calculateur de mr Jeliński, pantometre y un metre en rouleaux, cost only 370 fr. The remainder of the 30 fr., after paying shipping charges, will be given to my former university colleague, a Master in Management, Louis Królikowski. He is living in Paris, and he has agreed to send the money to the proper person as indicated

¹⁶⁶ He is speaking of the so-called "July Revolution" in Paris, 1830.

to him by me. Mr. Rochette's receipt is dated August 6. I had planned to leave Paris a few days later, but a slight case of Diarrhea and a fever kept me in bed until yesterday.

The envelope in which the "Program of Courses at the Preparatory School" was sent to me constitutes my record that I paid 35 fr. 2 s. to cover postage; it is included with this letter.

As for the article¹⁶⁷ for local periodicals concerning the courses at the Preparatory School: the one I prepared is fairly extensive, in keeping with the program. The editors of "se Annales d'Industrie Francais et exterieur", "Journal de l'Economie Central de l'Industrie" /perhaps they are re-evaluating?/ refused to place my article in their magazine, stating that once the Institute is completely organized, they will gladly publicize its various departments in their periodical. Mr. Blanqui,¹⁶⁸ a professor of the School of Commerce, made brief mention of it in one of the issues of "Revue Nationale", under the heading "On fournit l'Ecole Polytechnique". I translated practically the whole program for Mr. Julienne,¹⁶⁹ the editor of "Revue Encyclopedique", and he promised that he would include a rather complete article about our school in one of the future issues of his "Revue".

I wish to thank you, dear sir, for the kind promise that you will receive my books. I sent them from here two weeks ago. When they arrive in Warsaw, please open the package, and deliver the books on top to Mr. Kitajewski: /a/ Vol.17 of the *Technical Dictionary*, /b/ *Tabelle de Lavit*, /c/ 4 and 5 of *Livraison dela correspondance* by Mr. Quetelet,¹⁷⁰ /d/ *Lecons de Chimie* by

¹⁶⁷ The Board of the Polytechnic Institute wanted Jański to write an article about the new Polytechnic Institute in Warsaw. His efforts were wasted, because Parisian editors were not interested in this matter.

¹⁶⁸ Jerome Adolph Blanqui, /1798-1858/ - Jański's young and talented professor of History of Political Economy at the Paris College of Commerce and Trade.

¹⁶⁹ Mark Anthony Jullien de Paris /1775 – 1848/ - French publisher and politician; founder and editor of "Constitutionnel", and then editor of the learned periodical mentioned in the letter.

¹⁷⁰ James Quetelet, /1796 – 1874/ - a Belgian mathematician from Gand.

Mr. Chevieuil;¹⁷¹ next, for Mr. Skrodzki:¹⁷² 2 "*Cahiers des analyses de Chimie*"; then, for Mr. Krzyżanowski: 4 volumes of "*Journal de l'Education*"; finally, books I recently bought for the library of the Polytechnic Institute: /a/ *Histoire du commerce* by Dapping, /b/ *Examen du Commerce de France* by Cesar Moveau, /c/ *Etat du Commerce* by Horson, /d/ *Disertations sur le Commerce de Irsons les roix de deux premiers race* by Carlier, f. 8 copies of *Memoirs* including reports such as *Du Consideration de perfection de l'Ecole Politechnique* or other topics pertaining to that school.

Please see that these books are delivered to the people or places indicated; then, please close the case, and hold it in your care until I return.

Concerning the reports *Du Consideration de perfection de l'Ecole Politechnique de Paris* - I could have obtained more copies, particularly some of the more recent, had it not been for the disturbances here and the consequent recess from school. I had these few numbers promised to me - I say few, because although the copies I sent are from prior to 1814, only a few similar reports have been published since that time. Any kind of yearly update of information about the school is included in the journal published by the school which is dedicated primarily to mathematical studies. A subscription to this journal is best made through Mr. Bachelier: Quai des Augustine Nr. 55. He is the librarian of the Polytechnic School in Paris.

I did not purchase an Atlas, for I had decided to obtain the second edition of a better one, which is not yet in print. Strangely, the subscription price is more expensive here. I think it would be better to purchase this book through one of the bookstores after its final publication next year.

I already notified the Board of the Polytechnic Institute about the works I completed during my last two months in Paris, i.e., the nature of these essays, in my most recent letters. That work consisted primarily of collecting all

¹⁷¹ A lesser known French chemist.

¹⁷² Charles Skrodzki /1784 - 1839/ - came from Bohonik, near Grodno; he studied in Wilno, Berlin and Paris. From 1818 he was a professor at the University of Warsaw, and from 1823, Dean of the Department of Philosophy. He was a chemist.

possible information relating to Geography, History and Commercial Law, specifically as these refer to France. On the one hand, discovering the best of French literature on these subjects in general; secondly etc...

Within a few days I hope to be able to write to you from London, telling you of my arrival and sending you my new address.

I remain, as always, my dear benefactor's most humble servant,

Bogdan Jański

P.S. Kindly give the enclosed notes to the people to whom they are addressed. As for the letter to my brother,¹⁷³ if possible, dear sir, have the door - keeper of the Polytechnic Institute summon him for you, and deliver the letter personally, for it contains a draft for a small sum.¹⁷⁴ If he should not be available, please see that it is delivered to another of my brothers;¹⁷⁵ a student of Medicine. They live together.

¹⁷³ Anthony Jański, a student of the Preparatory School of the Polytechnic Institute in Warsaw.

¹⁷⁴ By way of monetary assistance for his wife, Alexandra Jański.

¹⁷⁵ Stephen Jański.

Letter Nr. 51

Paris, February 9, 1831

Dear Honorable Sir!¹⁷⁶

A few weeks ago we came here from London together with Barciński. Colleague Zubelewicz was to have gone to Hamburg. In your last letter Honorable Sir, you complained about my silence. However, I had included a brief note to Your Honor¹⁷⁷ in Zubelewicz's letter in September. Apparently Your Honor did not receive this letter. We have also written to Your Honor from Paris.¹⁷⁸ Did you receive our letters?

The purpose of this letter is to send Your Honor my present address, and to ask you to keep us informed about your own health and that of our colleagues. We are also very anxious for news about the future possibilities of our Polytechnic Institute. My address is: A. Paris, rue Monsigny Nr. 6, a la redaction de "i'Organisateur".

Would Your Honor please be so kind as to inform my brother Anthony Jański, a student of the Polytechnic Institute, that you have received a letter from me, and that I urgently beg him to write to me at his first opportunity at the address given above. Please see that either he or my brother Stephen Jański, a medical student, receive this address.

May I assure you, dear sir, that I am most sincerely devoted to you. Should you receive this letter, Honorable Sir, write at least a few words in response as quickly as you can. I beg you most solemnly.

Bogdan Jański

¹⁷⁶ John Kenty Krzyżanowski.

¹⁷⁷ The reference here is to a postscript in a colleague's letter, which has not been preserved.

¹⁷⁸ The rough-draft of this letter was begun in Boulogne, whence the three professors planned to travel to Poland by way of Hamburg and Prussia. Ultimately they split up; Florian Zubelewicz, standing by this decision, remained in Boulogne; Jański /with Barciński/ left for Paris to serve the national cause as secret correspondent for the uprising. He could have done this equally well in Prussia; but in Paris he could avail himself of the saints monist press and acquaintances.

Letter Nr. 52

Paris, May, 1831

Dear Sir!¹⁷⁹

The news of our country's revolution reached me in London, where I was staying with Barciński and Zubelewicz in December of last year. I flatter myself that you know me well enough, dear sir, so I do not need to assure you that this news made a deep impression on me. At the same time I was moved by the greatest desire to contribute to this cause at once so just, and so bound up with the progress of all mankind.

However, truly insuperable difficulties made it impossible to express this desire in action. In January, while still in London, we received our stipend together with a letter from Mr. Dionisius Lanckoroński, in which, in the name of the Board of the Polytechnic Institute, he empowered¹⁸⁰ us to take whatever steps we considered most proper. He gave us no specific instructions.

In February, Barciński and I came to Paris. Zubelewicz left for Hamburg¹⁸¹ in March. Barciński left Paris from Germany in April. I am still here...

Why don't I return to Poland, daring to face the danger of imprisonment in Prussia and Austria, "coute qui coute"?¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ At this time Bogdan Jański had received a semi-official letter from his supervisor of studies, Professor J.K. Krzyżanowski, in which the latter accused him of lack of patriotism, because he did not return to Poland and take part in the battles. Jański was very grieved by this letter, for such was, in fact, his dream. Only the commission he had received from the People's Government caused him to remain in the West, in the role of secret correspondent. However, he was not free to write anything about this.

¹⁸⁰ Therefore, he had recourse to the decision of competent school authorities. This decision came to him through official channels, from the secretary, in the name of the Board.

¹⁸¹ Florian Zubelewicz remained in Boulogne for a few weeks before he received permission to enter Prussia.

¹⁸² Here Jański presents the safest and most convincing explanation: with freedom to choose, he became a saints monist, who was waiting for more profound social changes in Europe!

The epoch in which we live is the theater for something more than external patriotic emotions, or change of forms of government... The whole of the past, with its gods and kings, its faith and hope, emerges as scenes portraying the phenomena of social life. An epoch is now beginning which is incomparably more important than that in which the pagan material world disappeared forever, together with Rome, on whose ashes the new world of nations was built up.

Today mankind is finishing its elementary education, and is beginning to acquire confidence in the way and the goal of its life. Representatives of the past try in vain to resist. Mankind is beginning to work toward a final association and organization... toward the limitless development of its sympathies, as well as its physical and intellectual powers. Systems of society according to blood or birth will be replaced by association to talent and merit.

Those last few phrases express the whole of the practical side of the character of our times. It is a time of passing from the former social and religious world to a new world - from the last world, with its preparatory organizations, to the final world.

And none of us lives for any other purpose, except to fulfill the mission of his time, to develop the future out of the past. Some are busy destroying the old world... others defend its ruins... others build a new world.¹⁸³ Only the latter possess the secret of the present, for only they understand the why¹⁸⁴ of what was, and desire what will be. They alone are the salvation of those who do not know what they are doing... They alone are the future of society.

Need they wonder or fear, if those whose life is nothing more than love or hate of the past do not understand their actions!¹⁸⁵

/part of the page is empty/

¹⁸³ Namely, saints monists.

¹⁸⁴ They understand the most profound causes of mankind's historical processes.

¹⁸⁵ A half a page is empty. The letter was neither finished nor mailed. In this way he eased the inner strain evoked by the inconsistency of the authorities and his need to remain silent about his most important reason for remaining in the West.

Letter Nr. 53

Paris, November 27, 1831

To the illustrious Board of the Polytechnic Institute, Warsaw:

The events which led to the suspension of operation at all schools of higher learning in our country, will, I presume, excuse me before the illustrious Board if I suspend the periodic correspondence to which I was obliged by the instruction of the Government Commission on Enlightenment dated September 29, 1828.

The time which the instruction set for the completion of my sabbatical journey expired this past September. Seeking information about the present situation of our Polytechnic Institute, I wrote two letters to Poland after the 8th of this month: the first to the Honorable Count Skarbek, then Minister of Public Enlightenment, and the second to one of my colleagues. Today I received news that the school will soon be open and that the Board has already assembled; therefore, I am applying to the Illustrious Board, requesting further instructions.

In January of this year, in London, I received my sustenance for the period until September 29, 1831. From that time, however, I am completely without funds. I trust that the illustrious Board will take this circumstance into account when making its decision about means for my return to Poland.

With all due respect for the illustrious Board, I remain your most humble servant,

Bogdan Jański

1. This was a temporary illusion, created by the lying propaganda of the Tsar. While liquidating schools of higher learning in Poland, they were publicly announcing the opening of new schools.

Letter Nr. 54

Paris, November 27, 1831

Gracious and Honorable Secretary!

I am addressing a new request to you, my kind benefactor. The efficacy of this request is very important to me, for my economic situation is, in truth, exceedingly critical at this time.

I include a note with this letter.¹⁸⁶ I beg you, honorable sir, to present this to the illustrious Board as soon as possible.

On my return I shall ask your pardon for my silence in the past, and thank you for your favor, to which I already owe so much and in which I place my hopes today.

Dear benefactor, my most urgent request is that you present the enclosed petition to the illustrious Board of the Polytechnic Institute, and that you would use your influence to obtain a response as quickly as possible, in particular, funds for my return to Poland /and to pay the debts I have incurred since September./¹⁸⁷

Bogdan Jański

¹⁸⁶ That is, the preceding letter to the Board of the Polytechnic Institute.

¹⁸⁷ For two months he had received neither his sustenance, nor assistance from the political mission of the Government in Paris, which had collapsed together with the uprising.

Letter Nr. 55

Paris, June 9, 1832

Honorable Sir!¹⁸⁸

Our colleague Karwowski cited a few words that Your Honor had written about me in a letter to him: How I continue to thank you for your kind remembrance of me. Recently, I wrote a letter to the Board of Polytechnic Institute informing the members that I would not be returning to our country. /This letter was surely brought to Your Honor's attention./ I earnestly desire to assure you, dear sir, that my decision in this regard is not motivated by any fickle flights of imagination,¹⁸⁹ but is solely the consequence of the various circumstances in which I find myself at present, and the soberest consideration of what I ought to do, and what I can do today.

To the shipment of books meant for Your Honor, presently under the direction of Karwowski, I have added a few about one of the most interesting moral phenomenon's of our epoch. Over and beyond the interest they arouse as a curiosity, the economic and historico-critical work of the school to which they belong surely merit careful consideration.¹⁹⁰

At the same time, I presume to ask Your Honor to give the little packet of pamphlets marked "XX" to my colleague Barciński, together with the note I have included for him in this letter. Since Karwowski is scheduled to leave Paris shortly, and since it would appear that I will stay here some time longer if Your Honor, you wish me to fulfill any commission for you I shall do so with the greatest pleasure. My address is: rue des Mazarine, etc.

¹⁸⁸ John Aloysius Padomiński.

¹⁸⁹ The dispassionate authorities in Warsaw were now reproaching him with the exaggerated patriotic spirit which was prompting him to remain in exile without reason.

¹⁹⁰ In this way he rid himself of saints monist publications, having broken with the movement following the split among its adherents in November, 1831.

Should Your Honor deign to write a few words to me, please be kind enough to send me information about the University of Warsaw and the Polytechnic Institute. At the same time, is it possible for me to become a correspondent for one of the scientific journals in Warsaw, relating scientific or commercial data exclusively? This for two reasons: 1. To be of some use to my compatriots at home, even though far removed from them; 2. quite honestly, that with time this might become for me the source of some small income /for, in this regard, I find myself in very dire need/.

Your Honor, pardon me if in my first letter to you from abroad I am straight forward. I am prompted to be so outspoken by the respect for Your Honor's character which I have acquired directly or indirectly; your goodness fills me with the assurance and the hope that you will excuse such a direct approach.

Please give my sincerest regards to our friend Theophile Rybicki. I recommend my brothers to Your Honor's gracious protection. Ready always and in everything to serve Your Honor, I remain respectfully,

Bogdan Jański

Rough-draft of a letter to H. Jaroszyński of Tywrowo

Letter Nr. 56

Paris, February 16, 1830

My dear and kind Henry!¹⁹¹

Fifteen months ago, while passing through Frankfurt, I wrote you a letter with an explanation and apologies for my silence to that time, begging you to write a few words to me, poste restante, at Paris. Unfortunately, I have not received such a letter as yet. There are two possible explanations: either my letter did not reach you or you are angry with me.

In any case, it undoubtedly becomes my responsibility to initiate our correspondence anew from here. If you could view my present situation, from the last few moments spent with you to the present time... If you could envision the fatal waves that have convulsed my feelings in this meantime without let-up, and witness the terrible chaos in all my thoughts, desires and actions... If you could see my soul, completely seething with unrest, straining to calm the intellectual and moral storms¹⁹² that torment me without end ... I believe that you could not look upon me with other than sympathetic mercy, and that you would forgive my forgetfulness in your regard in view of my present suffering and weakness.

¹⁹¹ Henry Jaroszyński /1804; died after 1872/ - the son of landed aristocracy from Tywrowo near Winnica; he graduated from secondary school at the Piarist Fathers in Warsaw; from 1823 he studied in the department of administration and obtained his master's degree in 1826. He was a close friend of Bogdan Jański; in fact, they were roommates for same time.

¹⁹² The inner, moral battle connected with his philosophy of life had reached its peak.

It may surprise you that, once full of inner peace by virtue of theories of happiness, ease of accommodating myself to every circumstance, and patient bearing of all the afflictions that were my lot, or that were the consequences of my own errors ... that now, at the point of achieving the goal of my desires, able to accumulate abroad the fruits of learning I find so desirable ... that now the whole moral portion of my being has been so shaken, and I have changed my principles and the peace I knew for agitating suffering and despair ...

Alas, that is where I am! What efforts, constant struggles and afflictions I endured before I became aware of the damage inflicted by this unfortunate change,¹⁹³ and before I could break with it, recouping my former principles and character from the ruins... before I could regain the peace¹⁹⁴ I had lost /that had been snatched away from me by circumstances and errors./

Pardon me and permit me to avail myself of the opportunity, so long neglected, to pour out my feelings on a friend's shoulder. I ask you to accept this outpouring of my feelings, as once we both accepted such mutual exchange of confidences.

After innumerable reflections, I see two reasons for my present catastrophe:¹⁹⁵ As you know, I was caught up in a frenzy for philanthropy.¹⁹⁶ I extended a protective hand to a woman in distress - to a poor fluff, in the words of our Lithuanian bard, Mickiewicz. I extended my hand to her, I gave it to her entirely; for, almost secretly, I married her before my departure,¹⁹⁷ out of moral considerations. /N.B. I would ask you not to mention this in conversation with anyone while you are in Warsaw./

¹⁹³ He had noted the sad moral results that followed upon a complete loss of faith and the acceptance of a philosophy of life that was materialistic and atheistic.

¹⁹⁴ The fulfillment of religious requirements closely bound up with his Church wedding constituted the occasion for an inner crisis.

¹⁹⁵ He speaks here of the loss of faith as a catastrophe, against the background of a promethean philanthropic struggle.

¹⁹⁶ He himself here speaks of the desire to bring happiness to mankind as philanthropic madness, which lay at the foundation of all the most important decisions.

¹⁹⁷ He refers here to his marriage to Alexandra Zawadzka, likewise for philanthropic reasons.

I am not sorry I did it. In fact, I feel an inner satisfaction and joy.¹⁹⁸ But all too soon

this philanthropy has changed into mad and blind weakness. Mad already with the insane dreams of youth, I became submerged in this weakness. It occupied my feelings completely; I forgot about the rest of the world, about any other principles or obligations.¹⁹⁹

However, having escaped from the tangled circumstances which were oppressing me, at a distance and left to myself, I was able to take a look at myself and my past. And I could not avoid succumbing to another kind of weakness: a harsh reflection on and criticism of every step I had taken in the past.²⁰⁰ Aside from this, I was also subject to that unfortunate illness of this present age: imprudence in reference to one's own strengths, and ability

to use those strengths in determining one's needs and goals. Herein lies the nucleus of the unfortunate power of ambition, which leads to melancholy, restlessness, contemplative idleness, despair, and most intense misery. For some time now I have been afflicted with this illness.

I was forced to experience the horrible, and increasingly more horrible, consequences of this illness in the measure to which it was indulged or resisted.

The change in my external circumstances, what was left of my sound judgment, hard work at personal reform and, finally, time each played its part in extricating me from this moral abyss.²⁰¹ I see in this the proof for that old, often forgotten truth: If calm reason and moderation do not keep our passions, imagination and weakness in check, we will be forced to suffer and blunder

¹⁹⁸ At times, the sacrifice he had made in favor of one who had been injured by others brought him an inner joy.

¹⁹⁹ On the other hand, he was bothered by the thought that, in saving Alexandra, he had momentarily forgotten about his departure for France which was delayed on that account.

²⁰⁰ This became a new source of inner conflict and reflection on self.

²⁰¹ Ultimately he was happy that his sacrifice for Alexandra had provided the occasion to extricate himself from moral evil.

along. I repeat, I am more peaceful now. To be completely at peace, I need only one thing: a few friendly words from you.

I should have asked your pardon long ago, and asked you to excuse my silence. Have mercy on me! Write to tell me that I need not despair of your friendship for me. I want that friendship so badly - your pure friendship... a friendship with so many very pleasant memories for me.

You know my way of thinking and my character thoroughly. Do not judge that it has ever changed. Perhaps my misfortunes have occasionally shown you a false front; you have seen me under false colors. My relationship with you remains the same as it was three or four years ago ... It can never be any other.

Do not break off this relationship, which existed for such a long time, and which was established between us for life. Do not retract that relationship, or take from me the trust and sympathy that derive from it ... Let us respect it, for it is not so easy ...²⁰²

²⁰² The text of the rough-draft ends here, although half a page remains empty. This text is preserved in the Roman Archives of the Resurrectionists: MSS 8599, pp. 165-168.

Letter Nr. 57

Paris, February 27, 1830

Dear Joseph!

I received the note addressed to me which you included in your letter to Bart /Barciński/. If I were with you, I would be able to thank you more eloquently for the favor; "And I assure him that, strong as it may be, this extremely precious proof of Your Honor's remembrance of a castle governor is truly appreciated by that person... awakens sweet sentiments in his heart and in the hearts of his entire family... and solidifies the existence of these sentiments to the extent that, even when the Highest Providence deigns to summon him, he should continue to love and esteem Your Honor... and to consecrate the affection of this true friendship he feels for your Honor. He regards the possession of this friendship as a true honor, and properly values it his highest benefice..."²⁰³

As you see, I still have not completely lost my talent for eloquence, for I know what to say, where and how, but to tell the truth, this talent apparently has been buried; as I love God, I do not remember when was the last time I laughed. N.B., laughed as I once did. However, experience offers hope! At present, as far as humor goes, it is both better and worse; for, from a certain standpoint, it has never been so bad, as you shall soon learn. But, let us finish the business about the above - mentioned note. You accuse me of not writing to you. In reply, I shall first answer: You, too! Secondly, the accusation is false, for three reasons: 1. When I was drinking tea with Her Ladyship - "What will you drink?" - I was drinking water, rum sugar and tea. Therefore, if I were to tell someone that I drank tea with the person mentioned, and someone

²⁰³ This is a text of the so-called "high style" which was still being taught in secondary schools. He was demonstrating it for purposes of humor.

criticized me for not drinking water, I would reply that I did drink water, for I drank tea. Already you can see how I am beginning You can foresee the mathematical truth of this beginning: Since I wrote to friends within our group and also to Poland; and since you are a member of that group and of that nation; therefore, I did, in fact, write to you.

2. and 3. aside, it may be better to add 4. by way of parentheses. We had both better improve in relation to one another especially in view of the fact that, unfortunately, my stay outside the country has been extended, and I shall return to Poland only at the end of next year. "Unfortunately," since our relationship has never been as bad as it is now. Unceremoniously and without prelude: If it means skinning the devil, steal or borrow; but you must send me enough money to last me for a few months. I will very definitely return it to you. Otherwise, I shall die of despair and hunger.

Dear Joseph, I have jokingly made you a very material proposition. In fact, if I had started to write seriously, I do not know whether I could have brought myself to write what is really the ultimate remedy²⁰⁴ for me.

I have only written to you once before - a short note in a letter to someone else. Here is my first letter to you, and for what purpose! As I love you, this is costing me a great deal. I have no place to knock.

You are my only hope. I know that you will not take it as a crime that this last letter to you is also the first; and that, if you can, you will not refuse to help me. For, if you could only see my present economic situation!

First, at the time of my departure from Poland, by reason of circumstances and problems that are known to you, I spent so much of the funds allotted to me, that I had barely enough left for my journey. Having arrived, therefore, living and clothes on credit. I receive my first sustenance check and I am forced to pay enormous debts. What remains

²⁰⁴ He was truly in desperate circumstances, and was already thinking of suicide.

is not enough to keep me alive in Paris for the first six months. I receive the second check: Again, I must pay my debts. Ultimately, of course, the fault is mine: I let the expenses get ahead of me; I bought too many books. Moreover, I was helping those who came here in better shape than I.

Last November I received a letter from my brothers in which they informed me that 1.000 zł. had been paid over to the person to whom I had left the power of attorney, and that I would soon be receiving them.²⁰⁵ I had counted on this as

something very sure. It alone could have saved me from embarrassment. However, my expectations were not fulfilled. This led to dire consequences for me. For example, not being able to send the Board of the Polytechnic Institute a certain receipt,²⁰⁶ I could not write to them for a long time. I had to have recourse to the most unfortunate subterfuges:

I wrote to them recently that I had been ill during the closing months of last year.

While this is not a great crime, and while I have not suffered any serious consequences as yet, nor expect to meet with anything awful in the future, it bothers me very much. Therefore, if you should be in Warsaw and speak to anyone from the Polytechnic Institute, either do not deny, or confirm that from what I wrote you I was indeed sick.

I received a new subsidy in January. However, without the 1.000 zł., payment of the most urgent debts left a very definite dent in it. Within a month and a half almost all of my colleagues will be leaving Paris. I shall be forced to repay loans, or make payment from funds that belong to the Polytechnic Institute to settle accounts with some of these people who are not very close

²⁰⁵ He refers here to the money from Michael Jaroszewski, from the sale of Pogorzelec.

²⁰⁶ The receipt of payment for tuition for the following quarter at the Institute of Commerce and Industry. The cause of the whole difficulty was Arcadius Gościński, who had spent all of his money on an elaborate apartment in Paris, which he had invited Jański to share. As a result, he later did not have enough money to pay for the purchase of books for the schools in Warsaw, or for his return to Poland. The ever-merciful Bogdan showed himself also to be an all too sensitive philanthropist.

friends, and even for these payments my present balance of funds does not suffice. Once they have gone, I shall have no one from whom to borrow to satisfy even my simplest needs.

Dear Joseph, I urgently beg you to save me if you can; for, as I love God, I do not know where I can turn... I feel that my head is splitting when I think of such things.

In July I received my subsidy for England - therefore, more than the usual subsidy. Consequently, I would have no other debts, except what I would owe you. I have cut my expenses by 2/3: I am living with Królikowski. An so I expect to be richer than I have been in past semesters. I urgently beg you... You would do me the greatest favor in all the world! I am in dire need of 1.000 zł., i.e. 600 fr.! You can certainly count on being repaid in July. Undoubtedly you do not have that much cash on hand. But, it will surely be easier, much easier, for you to find it somewhere than it would be for me here. Truly, I lack the words to describe my desperate need, or to phrase my plea for help. Your love and friendship for me will make up that lack.

N.B. It is understood that you will not reveal this to anyone, even to our friends. I am aware that you are living in your secluded spot with the brother of our dear friend Anthony Barciński. Please do not speak even to him about this. I love Anthony; however, I would not wish him to know of my embarrassing situation. If he were in the position to do so, he would surely help me; but he hasn't got much himself. Therefore, I would not mention anything to him about this. Only Królikowski knows everything, even about this letter.

Dear Joseph, I conclude this letter with hope. With hope, because I know that you will use your credit and your connections to save me. One more thing: I mentioned that my colleagues would be leaving here within a month and a half. Perhaps some of them will want to leave sooner. Therefore, if you can help me, and I am sure that you will want to do so, time is of the essence. It will take 10 or 11 days for this letter to reach you. You should receive it by

March 11th at the latest. In any case, send your reply within a few days, a week at the most. I urgently beg you and entreat you. In which case I would be saved by the end of March. For greater assurance, just in case this letter does not reach you, I will write another short note about the agony I am enduring during the next few days. My address is: Place Saint Andre des Arts, Hotel des Arts Nr.24.

I promise you, as a friend, that with this last foolishness I shall seal the box of foolishness committed by the castle governor; that, according to the pronouncement of the recent prophecy.

I embrace you most sincerely, and once again ask you to reply as soon as possible. Królikowski expects to remain here a little longer. However, you may see him at the end of this year.

Bogdan Jański²⁰⁷

²⁰⁷ The rough-draft of a letter to Joseph Calasanz Jędrzejewicz, F. Chopin's brother-in-law. It is preserved in the Archives of the Congregation of the Resurrection in Rome, Mss 8568/2, pp. 171-174.

Letter Nr. 58

Paris, October 16, 1837

My dearest Joseph! Greetings!

In the name of our long-standing friendship, pardon me if I impose on you with these few words.

How mean of Alphonse Kropiwnicki and Michael Jaroszewski, to give no reply at all to my recent urgent letters. I beg you, by all that is dearest in your life: Do not follow their example!

I have not had a letter from my brother for three years. And it has been even longer since I had any news about Alexandra. Therefore, I am asking you to write as soon as you can, telling me all that you know, and all that you could find out about her. Where is she now, and where has she been for all this while? N.B. Time is a great teacher... Do not fear to tell me the whole truth, without hiding anything. That's all I ask. Above all. I take it for granted that you will love me always, as a good friend.

Give my greetings to Alphonse and Michael, and tell them that I continue to love them, in spite of their meanness. If Michael is in a position to repay the debt he owes me, of which he is aware, he can send the money in care of Królikowski. Greetings to Anthony Barciński, Theodore Wosiński and all of our friends and acquaintances.

Ever yours, Bogdan.

October 16, 1837

My address: Paris, Boulevard Montparnasse 25. After you receive this letter, answer within three days, at the latest. As we are friends, I beg you.

Rough-draft of letter to A. Hann

Letter Nr. 59

Paris, August 26, 1830

Dear Anthony!

Although I am answering your letter more than a month after I received it, I have long since taken care of the small business matters in accord with your request. The Bautin²⁰⁸ barometers were shipped from here two weeks ago. N.B., with their cases, they cost only 220 fr. Of what remained, I gave Luton²⁰⁹ 20 fr. as a further down-payment, for he was complaining that the 10 fr. he had received from Theophile Rybicki was too little. I left another 10 fr. with Louis Królikowski, with the understanding that he would pay for them. Królikowski lives at Rue Saint Jacques Nr. 83, and will continue to live there for a while. He is all settled here, for he has his own furniture and, as you may know, has married a very sensible Frenchwoman. Therefore, you can write to him at the address given above.

In the list of bottles which you sent to me, there were 47 items. I compared this with the list which Rybicki had given to Luton, and in this latter list I found 12 that were not on your list. Naturally, I told him to include these. Specifically: 1. gallic acid; 2. caustic soda; 3. syrup of violets; 4. salt soda; 5. lime soda; 6. iron soda; 7. ammonium succinate; 8. yellow potash; 9. red potash; 10. potassium chromate; 11. sulphuric acid; 12. stannous salt. Consequently, you will receive 59 bottles /47 and 12/.

Rybicki had left a list of only 46 items. Since I found 14 items on your list that were not on his, I asked that they be added. The total number of bottles is the same: 45 and 14 = 59. Therefore, you will receive 59 bottles /47 and 12/;

²⁰⁸ A less-known French physicist.

²⁰⁹ Louis Luton /1757-1852/ - At that time, a well-known Parisian and enameller, as well as a painter on glass and discoverer of a valuable lacquer. He worked in the capital and in the surrounding regions, living his life in constant privation.

or 45 and 14/. Each bottle costs 2 fr. 5 s. /One - I don't remember the name on it - according to Rybicki's instructions, is made slightly differently. It will cost 3 fr. and 5 or 10 sous. Therefore, the total cost will be 163 fr. N.B., the packing will cost something. Luton has already received 20 fr. Królikowski has 10 fr. You must still send 133 fr./ Together they will cost 132 fr. 15 sous. The packing²¹⁰ will cost 5 fr. Luton will take care of that. The total cost is 137 fr. 15 sous.

I should definitely have left here two weeks ago. I stopped in to see Luton before my supposed departure and urged him to complete this order as soon as possible. At the same time I indicated that Królikowski would complete the transaction. Meanwhile, on the very day that I was to leave, I came down with diarrhea, which was followed by a fever, I was forced to take to my bed, and I remained in bed until today. I am well today due to the efforts of Koehler.²¹¹ The day after tomorrow I will leave for London.

A few days ago Luton visited Królikowski to tell him that the bottles were ready. Under these circumstances, I told Królikowski to pay him the 10 fr. left over after the purchase of the barometers. Therefore, you can subtract 30 fr. from the total to be sent in payment for the bottles: 20 for me and 10 for Rybicki. Since the bottles are ready, I recommend that you send the money as soon as possible: for the silly Frenchman is very much afraid that he will be left holding the bag with the bottles, particularly since a Spaniard once ordered several dozen pieces of the same kind of material to be sent to Madrid, and for three years now has not redeemed them.

Louis Koehler completed his examinations yesterday for his doctorate in medicine. He will leave here in a week, and will travel almost directly to Warsaw. He will be able to supply you with all the news from Paris. Several

²¹⁰ Packing.

²¹¹ Louis Koehler /1799-1871/ - an old colleague of Bogdan Jański, a noted physician and conspirator. He studied in Warsaw, Berlin /where he was jailed for participating in conspiracy/, and Paris, where he obtained his doctorate for the treatise entitled: *De retrecissements de l'uretre et de leur traitement*. After his return to Poland he became a department head at the Hospital of the Holy Spirit and the Jewish Hospital in Warsaw.

weeks ago a good number of Poles left Paris. Hube²¹² is still here. Brzostowski²¹³ travelled with Wysocki²¹⁴ through the Pyrenees to London /n.b., through Paris/. A few days ago they returned to Paris. Mr. Chodźko became an aide-de-camp to Lafayette,²¹⁵ etc., etc. Louis Koehler will soon be with you. /Rybicki left London at the end of July. Zubelewicz and Barciński remain with me/.

I will see you in a year. I wish to thank you very much for the bits of news that you sent.

Bogdan Jański

P.S. Brenton's²¹⁶ receipt for 220 fr. and Luton's for 10 fr. are not included in this letter, for there are already enough papers to be sent at this mailing. If you should need the first, write to me, and I will send it with my first letter to the Polytechnic Board. If you do not need it, then I will bring it with me when I come to Warsaw.²¹⁷

1. Anthony Harnn /1796-1861/ - a graduate of the Linde Lyceum and the Royal University of Warsaw; he was a known Polish chemist, and professor of applied chemistry in the Preparatory School for the Polytechnic Institute /from 1829/; supervisor of the gun-powder plant during the November uprising. After the failure of the uprising, he studied the Polish mountains in Galicia. From 1843, he was first a worker in a mill in Warsaw, then its director.

9. Leonard Chodźko /1800-1871/ - Member of secret patriotic student society at Vilno University; he avoided deportation by leaving for France in 1822 as secretary to Prince Michael Ogiński. He

²¹² Joseph Hube /1803-1891/ - Son of Michael, who was a department head, and brother of Romuald, who was a lawyer. He taught with the latter at the University of Warsaw, and together they published "Themis Polska": He participated in the uprising in 1830-31, emigrated, and became a member of the new Catholic society founded by Bogdan Jański, i.e. the Resurrectionists. Obviously, he was already in contact with Jański in Warsaw, and in Paris as early as 1830.

²¹³ Michael Brzostowski /1805-1867/ - An old colleague of Jański at the University of Warsaw. He was a brilliant mathematician. He served as a private tutor, worked at girls' boarding schools in Warsaw, and later taught at the secondary school in Sandomierz.

²¹⁴ Probably Anthony Wysocki - a talented artist, singled out together with Joseph Maliński in 1823 for his fine pictures on an ancient history theme which were shown in exhibition.

²¹⁵ Marion John Paul Lafayette /1757-1834/ - Famous French General. He took part in the great revolution and in the Napoleonic Wars. An influential politician, he defended the Polish emigrants in Parliament.

²¹⁶ John Breton - A noted French machinist and inventor of that time.

²¹⁷ The rough-draft of this letter is preserved in the Roman Archives of the Resurrectionists, Mss 8569/2.

remained in France permanently. He entered the army, and advanced to captain of the Parisian national guard, and aide to the famous friend of the Polish people, General Lafayette. He later worked in libraries: at the Sorbone, St. Genevieve, and the Ministry of Education. He was the author of many pamphlets and books about Poland and Polish people. He wrote in French and in Polish, e.g. *The Life of T. Kościuszko*, Paris, 1837.

VOLUME II

Letter Nr. 1

London, November, 1830

[To C.P. Cooper /?]

Sir,

Yesterday I received in the evening the letter you sent for me at Mr. Hayward's. Tomorrow, Friday night I will be able to go and meet you at your place. I thank you sincerely for the invitation that you gave me to see you. It gave me all the more pleasure because we are going to continue a bit the conversation that for every man who is not animated by a cold and pure selfishness cannot be indifferent. Till tomorrow.

Accept the assurance of the high esteem of your devoted servant

B. J.

(CRR, mss 8626, p. 93)

Letter Nr. 2

London, November 6, 1830

[To Talbot /?]

My Dear Father,

Two months have passed since I left you. Two months have passed and I remain alone as a son. I only write to the family to which I am united by my primary human concern, my happiness and my life in faith and hope. I address only a word of respect, a single filial word to my fathers and my saviors.

The astonishment which I expect you experience from this, believe me, is surpassed in me by my own past, my regrets and the lively desire I have to be better. It may be that this letter will put an end to this, once and for all, for me and other preachers. It will do so and bring about a reunion if the reason for my faults are such as I see them. ~~They are just...~~ to begin to put the last into practice.

I left Paris [?] You were able to note if I revealed anything as I believe I have. And I am sure that it will not fail to bear results... if I sense correctly the nature and causes of my sin, if they are correctly felt by me, and if the manner in which I wish to improve is considered just and sufficient by you; if I make you know me, your son, well, and if you judge me worthy of your pardon and paternal love. Thus, in order to achieve this, I have to tell you a little about my past and present state. I have to speak of this in the manner of a St. Simonist and reveal to you the depths of my moral being, confessing all my irreligious acts to you, all my sorrow and all my hopes.

When I left Paris near the end of August you were the last person of our family that I saw. You were able to note this and, no doubt, you did.

(MSS, 8626, p. 17, CRR)

Letter Nr. 3

December 1, 1830

[To Talabot /?]

My dear Father, if I were only your friend (ambition, despair, ruin).

Three months have passed since I left you and since that time you received no letter from me. Really I can't believe almost that it was I, myself, such as I believed myself to be who was guilty of such a sin. Shame and the sorrow which I feel would lead me to a more complete act of despair. If in a dead man, dead as far as acts are concerned, did not stay again, nor stir, nor lived by the breath of faith and hope, a man you created. Yes, I feel it and feel it deeply and feeble, dominated by habits and the little sins of my past that I am, I believe with all the strength of religious belief that it should embrace and does embrace all my being, and each act and thought will be only the manifestation of it. Such is my duty, such is all my interest, such is my will which I accept for? But since my departure almost to this day was I such as I want to be?

Oh my father, do I need to describe to you in detail that part of my existence? My acts are they not obvious? You can explain them. Up to perhaps now when you speak of the fate of your son did you believe him dead, dead for the future. He now throws himself in your arms imploring your pardon (MS damaged) and you are consoled, you notice that he is living, you guessed that my past which made you anxious was crowned in combat, the man you created with the remains of the old man. You know that in such combat a Saint Simoniste is always victorious. You pity me that I did so and you rejoice that it's over. Such is the whole story of those three months.

When I was still searching for what I found in your holy doctrine, before I found it for

two years at least my moral state would have been called the most deplorable possible if it did not lead me to where I am now. I could not be busy calmly and energetically with any special little work at all because I felt no sense of duty, no eager interest with which other people were working. And to accomplish my duty however vague it was I didn't know it and I couldn't work. If I wanted to read some book I was reading twenty books at once. I passed in turn to studies on objects which in the eyes of others were incongruous and in the end I did nothing.

I wanted above all to know a law which I named "nature" for me, for humanity. I was seeking God and my mission was not to reveal Him but to disorganize all my past and to believe in the revelation. I was coming close to a horrible moral nothingness when your word saved me. I believed all the more quickly in your word because I was already at the bottom of the abyss and you showed it to me. Your word created in me a new life, and the old habits did not reappear at once, as if to make me know that my faith is still not alive enough, complete enough, unique enough, strong and religious.

On the other hand my position with regard to unbelievers where I am, the need to return to a country (where the knowledge that I profess a new religion which is going to regenerate humanity in all facets of its existence) would deprive me of the means of acting and would lead directly to a jail cell. This position requires that at least before setting up a church in Poland I hide as much as possible what I am writing. As a result even in foreign countries not only before Poles but before all that is not St. Simonism I cannot always act and speak like a st.Simonist. (In my next letter I am going to write something more on that to ask for your advice and orders.) And from this circumstance which doubles and multiplies a man such as he shows himself, would generate perhaps an even stronger one than I. How disadvantageous it would be for one who was separated from his fathers before his complete virility. Thirdly, before leaving Paris I spoke to you a little about my pecuniary embarrassments. D'Eichstal asked me the results of my past disorganized life.

D'Eichstal asked me how much money I had on coming here. I had the weakness to tell him I had a modest quantity but sufficient and basically I had less than nothing since I was going with the money lately borrowed. Here I found as I hoped some of my fellow countrymen and I have been in a position up to now by new borrowings to cover the most necessary expenses and this state of things demands (today I am more prudent than formerly) that I satisfy my needs with the greatest economy, that I limit them. And that runs contrary to habits I contracted and that embarrasses me all the more as the numerous acquaintances that I have made here (of which I will speak to you right away) require precisely the contrary. Since I don't see the end of this embarrassment I submit to it for nine months of next year in Germany. By going there I will have only a few hundred francs. Religious love triumphs over all difficulties. Yes, it is this thought which consoles me, which creates all my strength. And I will triumph also because I am a St. Simonist, because I am writing you, because I am more religious today than three months ago, I am progressing in religion. I write you the deepest feeling of good religious authority.

My dear father I am still representing in a rather favorable light my good will. I admit the circumstances, I complain about being able and knowing how. But if the will is not duly shown by ~~that~~ it was not eager enough, not quite religious. No doubts. And as I spent almost all that interval of three months on reflecting and always sterile reflections on my present and past state and I think that I have pushed the analysis of its causes as far as possible. Three circumstances which I mentioned played no doubt a big role. I have to tell you something about my hopes and I don't want to concern yourself at length with all the trifles which were crushing me, the corpse of the man who no longer exists. Moreover, what are results? all those causes of my weakness? At last wounded by religious love. Thanks be to God it was not a war to the death, a war of principles. I did not want to be a backslider, a stand patter, a revolutionary - in a word, other than a St. Simonist. For then I would not have been a St. Simonist but the continual opposition of my former habits and the

new principle - great will to do and failure in action. There was not a day, not a day when I didn't think of you, of your holy faith, when I did not propose to write you that very day. Several times I began to and each time after having written some lines, I throw down the pen, I pace my little room, I'm nervous, I dream, fine aspirations, no good works. You see my dear father Talabot.

By sinning by my silence towards you, I was sinning against our family, against God and myself.

My address is No. 8 Charterhouse Square.

My dear Father,

All that I have written you I wrote on last Monday. Yesterday, Sunday, I wanted to finish and send you the letter but I forgot that in this country, which still calls itself Christian par excellence, one cannot give to the post letters for foreign countries. So I had to wait till today to send it. However this morning the rumors of the revolution in Poland I see verified in the papers. This event made a great impression on me. Pardon me, do pardon me I beg you the inconsistency and perhaps a few symptoms of a new moral trouble that you are going no doubt to notice in the lines I am going to trace. As a result this letter in which I wished only to fulfill the most sacred of my duties, the unique condition of my happiness, the most religious duty of a son, the faith towards his father. I implore pardon for the faults of my past, advice and orders for the organization of my future writings. After what I wrote you the day before yesterday I still had three things to do: 1. to finish the explanations that I was giving you about my past, or what is the same thing, to show what my present state is by the conclusion at which I wanted to arrive in that letter. 2. and I confused my life, I placed in your hands all my existence because I was taking everything good that I wish for and if it is the best they will wish it, we wish it already. I thought myself very strong and that strength was only weakness and ambition. On the day of my reception you placed me in the third degree of our hierarchy. It was a favor on your part and I bore it as an injustice. I believed

myself as great as you are, and there is only you and hope that the dogma of progress which me join you. Since I left you I told you that I began to write to you several times, but besides all I told you, do you know what would always make the pen fall. That was to be the first letter addressed to the family and I did not want to show myself as I was weak, imploring above all, all your pardon, sincerely confessing my fault and inferiority. Oh what a profound feeling I experienced death, which I had up till then. My love does not stop at a manifestation of the divine goodness. It extends to the infinite source of all morality, of all wisdom, of all power. I have been too proud of my personality and it has been humbled and I see salvation for myself only through the hierarchy. I committed a great sin. The regret with which I repent is surpassed only by my wish to be better. And I am because I am writing to you full of humility, of the feeling of my inferiority before God wishing to live only for the religious life. By sinning by my pride towards you I sinned against all our family, towards God and myself. [I] who have done what I consider as a crime which would only produce my smile of pity, without faith. Do not refuse to finish your work, my salvation. Reconcile me by your pardon, by a word of your paternal love, with you with myself, with all that is holy for me. I would say then quite joyfully what I often heard Mr. Le Chevalier say “all that is over, and all that is good”. And the imperfections which ~~perfect a person?~~ will become in me perfect.

(MSS. 8626, pp. 14, 15, 32, 31, 33, 34, 28, 35, 36, 30, 29, 30, CRR)

Letter Nr. 4

London, December 14, Tuesday, 1830

[To Talabot]

Dear Talabot!

I will send a very rhapsodic letter. Yesterday when I wrote the preceding lines one of my compatriots came to see me and prevented me from continuing it. I went out with him to come to an understanding with the others on what we should do. I came back to the house only when it was too late to send the letter. I should perhaps begin it again out of respect for you, but on the other hand to save time and to be sure of finishing it today, and finally to show myself serious to you, such as it is I am going to finish it just what I began yesterday and Saturday.

I told you just now that I conferred with the others of my country on what we should, in the circumstances in which our country presently is.

I am a little ashamed of the emotional impact that this event made on me. All the same, I remember that all that news can still be twisted as so many others by the journalists. Or it may not have any serious side. But in spite of all that I can assure you, dear father, that even in that little council I was speaking as I should like a St. Simonist as much as possible I can assure you. If I said what we must do I don't think other than as a St. Simonist, but I had a lot in common with the thinking of the others.

In spite of my own opinion, given to you yesterday, that this news made a big impression on me and that I would not like to be inactive, I can assure you that the unique principle according to which I wish to act is to act according to your orders. You can be sure then that all I said before I wanted to say to the profit of the doctrine. For that is precisely what constitutes the great progress in religion or what is part of that progress which I believe I made since I left Paris - and of that progress of which I spoke before.

When you called me into the bosom etc...

That is all that I had to tell you essentially. I am going to inform you too, that in spite of all my weakness, since the germ of life that you created in me, was alive and during these months and the germ showed itself in some of my acts. And although I did nothing positive for your doctrine, I am not announcing any conversions because I did not live quite in God and for God, and God refused me the strength of an apostle. However, I tried, I tried to find out the means for action in this locality.

Before arriving here I considered Mr. Owen as a man who no doubt more than any of the English liberals who had broken with the past. He desires as you know a new organization of social existence [?]. A few days after my arrival I went to one of his Sunday readings. I followed them some hours to know his principles, his direction. In spite of all his lack of logic, all his faults and prejudice, he is closer to us. Not long ago he held a meeting to consider the effects of religions on the social state. Condemning all, he didn't notice that he was condemning only the powerless religions of the past, and that he was dreaming himself of a natural religion. It was a presentiment of our doctrine. He looks upon the universe as a great truth by which man to be happy must conform; there is a big step to be taken to arrive at the belief in universal love but the ground is all prepared to receive the seed. A good nudge, a tap of love and he is ours, or if it is not he it will be several of his followers of both sexes.

Once after hearing him I felt the wish and strength to destroy in a few words all his little logic with my love. I wanted to talk to him. He doesn't speak French and I was then too weak in English. They pointed out to me one of his students who speaks French but she was not a friend of Mr. Owen. I made some impression on her mind.

Why have I not done more up to now?

Oh my dear father, all that I told you about myself explains it. Your strength, your knowledge, your love did not sustain me - I was alone. But hope I never lose even in connection with the Owenists, even for the little time I will

stay here. But before everything your pardon - tell me that you love me as your son.

At the beginning of my arrival here I also learned that the most unrestrained liberals, the radicals, the demagogues hold their meetings in the building called Rotunda near Black friars bridge. I heard Hunt, Carlisle, John Gale Jones, and Cobbet. They are all small. But often a fellow speaks there a man full of passion, of hate against Christianity, against all religion of those he is acquainted with, endowed with more than mediocre brains (?), an apostate from the Anglican Church, honored by the London believers with the nickname of the "devil's chaplain". He is Robert Taylor. I have observed him well and have conceived a feeling for him. I wanted to show him a new enemy whose banner would change his sober criticism perhaps into words of love. I have wanted for a long time to speak to him or write him, but my dear father, every day I wanted to write you too. Everywhere and always as I told you, great will and no action. Why? I told you; I do believe you will say it better.

Then during my trip I became acquainted with a young lawyer from here. He invited me to see him. I went three times; we talked and reasoned a little. After he learned what I am and he was convinced that I am a Gentleman, he is introducing me to his friends. Through these I am getting to know others and in a short time I am known to young members of the legal set. As I didn't know English well I was only introduced to those who spoke French but is they precisely who are busy with something more than Written and Unwritten Law. In spite of all my weakness and during that time I was giving you no sign of life. What was in the bottom of my heart was the feeling of my mission such as God destined, St. Simon revealed, you ordered, and I love, I feel. Above all what I uniquely desired in every thing while making these social connections was to promote the interests of Religion and of our future. I advised then from afar, I tried every angle possible, I spent more time there and when I recognized all the difficulties, I believed the work was beyond my strength and theirs. When I decided to busy myself with theological works and reading

rather than propaganda there arrived one evening (while I was speaking with them about some historical or political matter) one of them recently came there. In the month of July he was present at one of our preaching sessions on Monriguy St. Perhaps Mill whom he led in told it to him (with regard to Mill I see him sometimes but he is still far off - a good natured man but cold). Very well, this now comer discovers where I am wishing to take them. Then I told them who I am and why I didn't tell them before. Since that time I have the upper hand. They are amazed that a gentleman can have sentiments and ideas so contrary to the great charter of King John. They listen to me because I as well as they am a "Gentleman" and they see that St. Simonists are something more than their Hunt and Cobbet, they see that they know and something more than that they listened to me which they would not have done if they knew at the beginning that I am such a fool as they believe me to be now. They laugh about it, and get angry but they are more or less interested. That is already a good deal. Also I know some German men of letters before whom I have spoken too. So I was wanting to ask you to tell our fathers if they wouldn't think it good and profitable to have someone a little stronger than I am come here from among you. He could set up a French auditorium to begin with among about twenty people whom I know and who would come there. I am almost certain that one could accomplish something positive. I said I was wishing to ask for this because now as I told you yesterday, as a result of the news from Poland, it is probable that I will stay here only a little while. All that is your decision and I will talk to you right about it.

With regard to my intellectual work I have derived some profit from my present stay, no doubt a small profit, but what great thing could I do if I were living away from the hierarchy? Where could I get cards for the best public libraries? Where could I get introduced to the Club of the Literary Union? I have become acquainted with McCulloch and with Senior, lately a professor of Political Economy at Oxford, and with a few professors of the New University, with lawyer Cooper whose literary renown is no doubt known to you. The

latter offered to let me use his library which is very rich in all modern languages, on history and legislation of all countries, and I am profiting from it. All these persons directly or indirectly know that I am a St. Simonist but they have some regard for me only as a foreign "gentleman".

But of all this news the most important thing is that one of my compatriots, a professor like myself at the Polytechnical School of Warsaw, has been taught by me at some length. I have almost made him s St. Simonist. He is one of our better mathematicians. He is to teach commercial book-keeping at the School and all that is relative to the banking business. All he needs is the final push of love, and the paternal kiss. I don't feel I have enough strength or rather authority before obtaining it myself from you my dear father. It gives me all the more pleasure in as much as in every respect this young man in many ways can be very useful to the doctrine and thereby the nucleus of the Church created in Poland.

I would need a few copies of volumes of the doctrine because the second has no doubt been already published - to give to some learned men and for my compatriot of whom I just spoke and who has read almost nothing about the doctrine. I will need some for myself; I read the first volume on behalf of Mill. Lechefvalier promised me to send it with Mill and he forgot. But if you wish and can do it, I can't beg you because I wouldn't have the means of paying the postage. I am paying almost with my last shilling the postage on this letter and the persons from whom I am borrowing till now are presently in this respect in the same position as I am. They are waiting for their payment from the same source as I am. Put in a few late numbers of the Organization if you think they could reach me at little cost. You would do me the greatest pleasure by sending me them.

I come to the consequences that the news from Poland could have for me - if they are such as the Sunday Messenger of the Two Houses represent them. In this time of transition, when being a St. Simonist I have a place in society which is not St. Simonist, these consequences would be twofold for

me. First, what is very positive for me is that my present material means for living come from the subsistence payments which I receive from the Polish government as it was up till now. I was to receive it at the end of this month for nine months of next year. If there were political troubles, such as they report, it is very probable that in a short time they would increase and good-bye to my payments. Here everything is more expensive than at Paris. The people who helped me till now themselves need the same help. I would only beg you to speak about it to our fathers and perhaps someone from the doctrine would be able to advance me a small sum so I could come to Paris where I would find some of my fellow countrymen and as a result more facilities for being able to live, and above all you are there. And as for that advance as soon as I receive my allotment I will be able to give it back. Moreover, I owe already a little money to the doctrine for the books, but my dear father all my existence, all my strengths are yours, on the material side all that in the future I will be able to own is at your orders.

Recourse to the Amitie without religious sympathy and to the liberality of some English people whom I know will allow me to go to Poland and fight for liberty. Is it possible for me considering the motive and nature of the step? Secondly, and what is also very important, if the events in Poland are such as they are represented, it would be well to approach the movement and to touch not the sabre but the word, to move things as far forward as possible, to better prepare the field for the doctrine. I have there a few old connections; I have some influence among the young liberal men, which should be advanced. That would be very easily realized. An as I see no reasons against this project, but if that is true, if you judge it to be good, I see no reason why I should show myself indifferent in their eyes and remain a spectator of their efforts. When you receive this letter you will know something more of the events, you will know better how to judge their nature. [You have] the best knowledge of my interest and my duty. It is a question of knowing your will, you will make me know what you want.

My dear father, I am finished and have nothing to add but embraces.

... to implore once more after my confession, your absolution. If I obtain it as I hope give me your orders, your advice, tell all our family all that can be said on behalf of a St. Simonite to his fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, and you will be able better than I, send me as soon as possible the word of your paternal Love.

Bogdan Jański

(MSS 8626, pp. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 18, 17, CRR)

Letter Nr. 5

London, January, 1831

[To Sir X.]

My dear Sir,

I am leaving for you five speeches addressed to the students of the Ecole Politique. Read them carefully. I will see you soon to make you better understand and when you understand you will love us, you will love all humanity, all humanism with such a pure and sublime love as we love it. You will understand the true knowledge of human essence. And you only want to act in common with us toward the realization of the great things God has destined us for, and which St. Simon revealed which will definitively harmonize the human race.

You will feel the need of joining these men to whom a loving God destined and St. Simon revealed the holy mission of definitively harmonizing forever all antagonism and misfortune.

(MSS 8626, p. 94, CRR)

Letter Nr. 6

London, January 3, Monday, 1831

[To Sir X.]

Once more again I am sending you a letter which was not written all at one sitting, it doesn't matter. All I can do, am doing and will do, is and will be done with the same inspiration. I have nothing to change in what I have written. I continue. Pardon the delay. Here are the causes. When I wrote what precedes Barciński told me that he received a letter from my country from Ministry of Public Education about which I will speak at once - religious conversation began among us, and quite transported by paternal joy looking after my new-born son, I stayed too long to be able to finish and to send you a letter on that day. Saturday morning I was to see some people, among others Mill, and with the latter after conceiving new hopes about him I stayed four hours. These four hours over, Saturday the foreign mail place is closed, the same as Sunday. I only finished then and sent the letter today.

On the 24th of last month the second day after the day I received your letter I went to Mrs. Heath-Finch whom D'Eichstal told me about and I received the transfer of the money that he supplied, wishing to carry out your orders to go directly to Poland. But that same day Barciński received a letter from one of our compatriots in Paris, Królikowski, whom you know, in which he announced to us that there is a real danger now for a Pole going through Prussia. During those days there arrived also one of our compatriots Prince Sapieha who told us the same thing as a certain fact. Moreover, a few days afterwards I have the news from the papers that the Commander in Chief of the Polish Army assumed the absolute powers of a dictator and that he has taken and will take severest measures against political clubs for the Emperor of Russia has decided on a war of extermination to put down the revolt.

My dear father, you love and know your son, you told me to “go and teach”, you made me make every effort to gather around me all the people on whom I could exercise influence. Oh I burn with that desire, it’s my whole life. But the circumstances which I had just learned about after receiving your letter made me feel that the moment has not come. The doctrine made me break even the conditions of my finite existence, my life is something more, to rejoice eternally in humanity, in God, because that is my life, it’s my life. With what joy, what religious joy will I go to accomplish the work which would then be religious. The moment has not yet come and father you will accuse me, your son, of lukewarmness.

Those very ones whose ranks I left and which I am rejoining with great risk would not do it. I would only have to ask them who would have the most disdain, decrepit society which surrounds you? Who hated it most? Who would suggest to you the most dangerous and bloody plans? I would recall to them those moments when they listened with so much pleasure and so much respect to those dreams of my nights which they envied me so much, dreams of my canonization on the scaffold of politics. I would recall to them those moments of their fervor when some of them used to say to me “Begin, we will follow you”.

Oh, friends of my youth your confidence was not badly placed, with your intense hate you are prepared to hear the word of love. I am going to bring it from the bosom of the people chosen by God to bring it to all humanity. I am beginning, follow me, strong with all the love of my fathers and we will free completely. The fathers have called me to a fine work, our fatherland, we regenerate humanity, it is because now I am working to be canonized. God with you! My wishes for you cause, my tears for your reverses, my tears for your triumphs, to accomplish my mission, all my duty and to accomplish the great work my fathers have commanded.

Oh my dear father you will not accuse me of being lukewarm.

After learning what I told you I decided not to leave directly because I thought most sincerely that if this news reached you when you were writing me you would have decided the same thing and I wanted to go to Paris even two days ago. D'Eichstal wrote me yesterday, time passes and money is scarce, "leave from where you are". According to what I told you and the considerations, even the money situation, made me do what I wanted to do.

Last Friday Barciński received a letter from Poland in which we were informed that our money is being sent, the amount as usual. I hope to receive it presently and so in a week I would like to leave London to rejoin you and there you will give me your orders. I am more up to date on the events in Poland and the necessary ways of getting there when you ask it of me.

Oh with what joy I think of the day when I will see you again. However, if you wish to write me something one day after receiving this letter, your letter will find me still here for sure, but not later. And you know you ~~feel~~ what great pleasure it would me.

I thank father D'Eichstal most sincerely for the books and money he sent me; I repeat I beg you, I will be able to give it back to him after my arrival in Paris. Mill sends effusive greetings to D'Eichstal. Yesterday I had a doctrinal conversation with some ovenists and today a rendez-vous there. If something important happens I will write you again from here.

I embrace you my dear father with all my heart and my son Barciński does with all our affection of St. Simonists and in you all our family.

Bogdan J.

(MSS 8626, pp. 66, 67, 69 – CRR)

Letter Nr. 7

London, January 6, 1831

The First Letter of a St. Simonist to Mr. Owen

Sir,

In our first conversation yesterday which was supposed to compare our views on the future of humanity, our ways of getting there and our new theoretical and practical principles we arrived at nothing decisive. That should be the case and I expected it. Why?

~~Firstly~~. Men such as we are St. Simonists, burning with the desire of curing, of radically and definitively curing all the ills which today afflict the human race, wanting to change the egoism and the hate which tears apart present society from union and universal love, only we wishing the best, knowing how and being able to realize it because our power and knowledge is infinite. It is infinite power and knowledge of all that exists, of the whole universe finite and infinite, and our will, our love is his will his infinite love. We alone realize among you and us what will be realized on the whole earth and what would not have been if it were not first realized in us men such as we are, destined to harmonize anew and definitively each individual in himself and each individual in all society and society with the whole universe, and harmonized already so much we are living as a single person, the man of the future, ourselves. Such men you know that we act the most promptly, we make ourselves loved the soonest. It is to these sympathetic hearts which bear the sufferings of the others, who are devoured with the wish of repairing it without any institution, no thought, no social good from the past which smelled of all the moral nothingness of present society which have broken with every past society, who are ready to make every sacrifice for the future society and who are not yet attached to any transaction between the present and the future to

any political and metaphysical fiction, to any system itself, even the most philanthropic, but always incomplete because the great work is destined for us. The work of regeneration of humanity, of teaching, practicing and loving the best and definitive social system. How and why? I will tell you later. It is the essential of what I am going to tell you in this letter. Friend of humanity, sympathetic man! Sympathetic man surrounded by all of what is most immoral, false, harmful, rise up full of love for your fellows, only act for the good of all. Our tears, our sympathies are convincing, our case is common. Oh! in our past, in our action, in our feeling how much there is in common.

Listen to me! Don't let my dogmatic tone shock you. There is nothing Christian, nothing of blind fanaticism. To produce a complete union, harmony, universal happiness, between us there is more in common than you think. Listen to me in the name of all those dying of hunger who are plunged in the most horrible misery, brutalized by ignorance, degraded by life. Listen to me and if I do not produce in you enough strong conviction, enough lively sympathy, so that our ideas, acts, desires, our memories and our hopes, so that our whole life becomes in one. Oh! in the name of all these, don't part from us forever! There are St.Simonists stronger than I in knowledge and in power, stronger in love. I take pride in the fact of having superiors whom I love and obey with the greatest joy. They love better what I love, they know and they can do better what I do and what we love. Don't separate from us. Listen to us. Ask us! even the most able among us. Those who should unite all, let them unite themselves. All your life was only a voyage toward that great, work which we wish, know and do. Listen to us then! In our first conversation of Tuesday we arrived at nothing positive.

The first thing that I wanted to let you know is that with regard to the future of the human race you already have something stated, fixed, your own which you have liked for a long time. To understand us, then a work a little longer than a few hours will be required. We must make you feel all our desires, all their truth and power as you are attached to the positive scientific

method. You must follow us in all the reasoning up to our moral concept of the future of society to all the consequences, theoretical and practical that we follow, and judge your own. What I can tell you beforehand is that we are as far away from Christian beliefs in an invisible God and from the dogma of rewards and punishment as belief in the Homeric gods of Olympus and the pagan dogma of free nature and enclaved (?). I am going to tell you more: we accept even your four facts on the conclusions of which you found all your system, except for the [blot] of a few others which will change your conclusions.

Secondly, in our conversation yesterday we couldn't arrive at anything decisive because I was asked questions of different kinds and I could not explain my thoughts well, not being able to get them in a suitable order, and also because we don't speak the same language. This circumstance increased the obstacles of understanding each other best and quickest. That is why as soon as I can and as much as I can, I want to do it and in English.

I told you that it is to us St. Simonists, that the universe has destined to make loved, learned, and practised, the best and definitive social system for all humanity. How? and why? I propose to explain it to you. I will do it best if I insist this time principally on a few striking points of differences between you and us.

(MSS 8626, pp. 49, 50, 51, 52, 53 CRR)

Letter Nr. 8

London, January 19, Wednesday, 1831

[To Talabot]

My dear Father,

I received your letter in answer to my last one. You were afraid that it might not find me still in London, but some circumstances on which my leaving was to depend still had not made it possible. I was not then ever ready to depart. The money which is sent from my country was only received by me the day before yesterday. Bontemps arrived the day after I received your letter. You felt in advance with what great pleasure I was going to embrace him, and everything I could say would depict it too weakly if you did not experience it. The sons of our fathers in Paris, living with your life, the same religious life, we met each like brothers, friends of much more sacred, the most sacred on the earth and all our harmonious word is only the expression of the harmony of all our being, of the desire to vivify all humanity with it! The business affairs which called him here do not permit him to devote all his time to the work of propagation. I am disappointed at that but I rejoice at what he has done; his cooperation is most useful.

In my last letter I told you that I had a conversation on the Doctrine with the Owenists. The very day I sent it, it was the fourth or fifth of this month, there was present at my conference a French doctor, the friend of our Simon who went to Paris and perhaps has already spoken to you about it. But as suddenly they wanted to know all that we are and each person of the society asked different questions about it and that day we arrived at nothing decisive.

Two days later and the days following, I went to see in private most of the people who were present, and two or three days after I sent you my letter some of them became almost indoctrinated.

The first to enthusiastically embrace nearly all our doctrine was Mrs. Willier, a woman of the most fervid sympathy for humanity, all prepared for us by Mr. Owen and she already had been a St. Simonist, if she were not at the same time overwhelmed by some private misfortunes; as a result if she didn't feel herself too weak to actively enter strong in faith and hope the avenues of the future which she wishes and to which our doctrine is calling her. She exercises a certain moral influence on the partisans of the opinions of Mr. Owen. But our doctrine while wiping out social suffering also cures personal troubles. Up to now I have not spoken privately with Mrs. Willier and she has not in my presence yet revealed what her problem is. I hope that she will do so soon and soon she will be consoled and she will be a St. Simonist entirely.

Mrs. Willier exerts a certain moral influence on some lady Owenists. And that made some of them draw near to us all the more quickly and especially Mrs. Crellin whose husband also has accepted almost the whole of our doctrine. He still balks on the religious question. Mr. Crellin is a friend of Rey of Grenoble and it is from him that Rey got information on the projects of Mr. Owen to write some articles on them for the producer. He is a doctor and speaks good French.

On the eighth in a meeting of the Owenists at the end of my conversation with Mr. Owen himself, some of his former disciples and especially the ladies whom I have just named prevented me from leaving while they themselves refuted their former teacher by developing for them the ideas of our doctrine, asking him quite frankly to become a St. Simonist.

After this conference in which Mr. Owen told me he wishes to go to Paris soon (to study us better) to come to an understanding with our father superiors. Mrs. Willier is going there too in a short time.

Mr. Owen made concessions to me on all the points he considered urgent and essential in his system: general views on humanity, method to create a general doctrine,

the sentimental means inherent in it, equality, relationship of feeling to thought and action. But he is like an older man already sixty, although animated with the best desires, not possessing however, fervid enough feeling. He has stopped short for a long time at something rigid, and he has been up to now proud of being inflexible in what he considered to be the best system. And the whole movement around him was not in his eyes providential and progressive. After making concessions to me in what would change completely all his doctrines (because he has more than one) he finally came back to his former way of seeing man and the world. So his conversion would only be possible by the conversion of several of his followers and their moral reaction on him. Since then I have been in continual touch with them.

On the eleventh, Bontemps arrived and by him detailed news which he related; by his advice and his cooperation he increased my strength and means of influence here. The books he brought with him are most useful. Most of the time he was busy with the commercial affairs which called him here. On the fifteenth I introduced him to Mr. Willier and Mr. Owen was there. The sixteenth that is to say Sunday, he spent with his associate (?) and his family. I went to be present at the morning reading of Mr. Owen. There were a few hundred in the audience. After reading one of his old texts to them Mr. Owen made his profession of faith (which he gave us in writing the day before) and he announced to those present that he had a friend attending, a member of a religious society proposing as he did to radically cure all the ills afflicting the human race today. The society (he said) was composed of most intelligent people, provided with material means for acting and real lovers of humanity. This friend has interesting insights on the subject, and that he rejoiced greatly about conversations he had with me on the matter. He thinks that my observations on his system would be of great interest for his people and he asked me to speak of them. On the one hand I don't speak English with enough facility, and on the other I did not think the audience prepared enough to be able to argue about our doctrine, so I only answered Mr. Owen that all our duty

and interest was to persuade our fellow men of the truth of our beliefs, to animate them with the feelings that animate us, to induce them to act as we act. I accepted with the greatest pleasure this solemn understanding to explain (?) to his audience our doctrine and our judgment on his opinions and that for this purpose I am going to send him a letter in the near future which he will read to his audience.

January 20, Thursday

Yesterday I went with Bontemps to Mr. Crellin's. Intellectually he understands our doctrine rather well. He recognized our scientific superiority over Mr. Owen and even moral superiority with respect to the regeneration of all humanity. But does he feel fervidly the need of the latter? To become a St. Simonian are his feelings sympathetic enough today? Unfortunately no. The Owenists are absorbed by material interests, in spite of all their protestations they want to organize their interests most of all. And they are uniquely concentrating on them and it is of their interest that most of them think and act. They call themselves reformers of humanity and it is to improve immediately their own material position that they say it. That is harsh but it is true basically. I will explain that to you by their doctrines and acts when I am with you again.

I will attack them again most ardently on the intellectual side and even on the material side and always to stir in them sympathy for us. But will that be with complete success and soon? After the intimate conversation of yesterday which was close to getting something definitive I am not sure. Must they be persuaded still more of their powerlessness and still more of the holiness of the truth of the ever increasing power of our mission? That is possible.

Oh, my dear father in all that is vital to me I am your son and our life is religious. I obey you. You formed me to do something here definitely for our doctrine. From morning to night I act to that end. But acting positively is to make progress, you told me so too. And it is being done by me as much as I

can, and it will be done as much as I will be able. I announced our doctrine to all I came near to; I made several interested and some love it as much as they were capable of doing so. And here a new member of our family calls me his brother in St. Simon.

Brought to maturity by the love of my fathers, on fire with religious feeling I am burning with the desire to see you as soon as possible to increase and increase in faith and in act, to love and to be more I loved.

With respect to those who are around me, the desire of being the most worthy possible of your paternal embrace doubles my strength and I will try to recognize how much they are worthy of being the elect and to make them more and more worthy. If I see that someone among them is worthy of being an affiliate, if someone among them requires that I prolong my stay a little more I will do so. If what I said just now turns out to be true and if I have to wait and work a little longer to get results I would go to Paris at the beginning of next week perhaps with Bontemps (if he does not go before) after arranging here to establish regular correspondence with you in Paris. In any case as I am to see you soon I would like to ask you to try to provide lodging in a house where some others live for the time that I remain in Paris. Why do I so wish? your paternal heart does it not tell you why?

Bontemps told me that he wrote yesterday to our common Mother Bazard and among other things he begged her to write a letter to Mrs. Willier. Our thoughts or rather our love came together in the conception of this project but we now think that it could be better done after our arrival, you will talk about it to our dear mother.

Since my last letter I have seen Mill several times; recently I went to his place with Bontemps. The fact is that his feelings of sympathy are not ardent enough and that he is dominated by some petty considerations and the more one persuades him by reasoning about the truth of our beliefs the more he tries afterwards to retreat to the most absurd theories. But as he looks ardently for a

unity of doctrine he should be led to our side, to our unity of feeling and act. You know he writes for a weekly paper ~~Examiner~~. Recently he wrote an article in it "Spirit of the Age" precisely to show the present need of a general doctrine.

In the same number, E. Perry wrote a small attack against the ignorance and backward spirit of the Anglican clergy in which he made strong reproaches against them on the point that no one in its fold concerns himself with grave religious questions which are stirring up France now and that no one seems to know anything about a new religion which is drawing all the young people of talent. [H e wrote] that in the library of a club composed mostly of the high clergy he found neither "~~Organization~~" nor the "~~Globe~~". He spoke of the University Club to which precisely I am going to offer a copy of the first volume.

On the use of books which you sent me a long time ago and which I will review for you on my arrival in Paris. ~~The Organizer~~ of whom you spoke to us in your last letter addressed to Bontemps which was destined for Mr. Thomas Carlyle did not reach us. After receiving the letter which I just mentioned I went to the book stores that you indicated. There is no commercial firm of Arthur Young, but Black, Young and Young. I went to look at the latter's, and asked if Mr. Carlyle is presently in London; they answered negatively (his brothers Dr. Anthony Carlyle does live there year round). Black, Young told me that he usually received packages of books from Paris to convey to Mr. Thomas Carlyle but that he knows neither their content nor by whom they were sent in Paris.

E. Perry on handing over the books to me gave me his address also. I went to see him before even receiving your last letter; he is feeling very well. There are great hopes too with respect to him. I will go again to his place with Bontemps to find out precisely the difficulties which he is experiencing and as a result correspond with him more success fully.

((Interlinear:))

I forgot to tell you that Mr. Crellin has begun already the translation of the first volume and proposes to translate everything.

The "~~Globe~~" is very rare; I have read it only once during my stay in London while visiting the Royal Society.

Mill does not read it either. I have a few proposals to make to you on this occasion but we will speak of them soon.

Good-bye my dear Father. I embrace you with all my heart.

B. J.

You will have the kindness to hand a letter to Maliński, a few words I added to it.

(MSS 8626, pp. 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75,76,77,78,79, CRR)

Letter Nr. 9

London, January 25, 1831

[To Dr. Crellin]

An hour after midnight I get home from your place. I am thinking about you and my heart beats with most fervid joy. So understand at last what place you are destined to occupy in the history of progress, what work is reserved for you in the great labour of the definitive regeneration of humanity.

What? You feel all the scientific, political and moral value of our doctrine. You tell me you like it yet seem to say to me: one can accept the opinions of the St. Simonists without being a St. Simonist.

You tell me: nothing is here decisive yet and possible for our doctrine. But do you believe that a definitive religion, a religion for all humanity could be revealed without all humans being prepared for it. Don't you agree that if England still has great critical writings to be done she is doing them and will do them as quickly as possible to be able to identify with us?

You who say that my mission to London will bear great fruit and also you wish to act with all the zeal and energy that your love of humanity inspires you for our cause, and when you speak of other doctrines you call them your own.

No cold indifference, no forgetfulness of your former teacher, for our precursor, for that friend of humanity, the really superior man who surrounded with everything, immortality, with all the error, with the most harmful customs, rose up full of love, to act only for the good of all.

The writings are holy. He prepared the way for the St. Simonist word. Glory, gratitude, love, the tenderest love for our former master.

But you, if you think today, if you wish to act, if you love what St. Simonists think, act and love, remember that thought, act, feeling are the total

man. Remember that if disorder and criticism begin and take place at different points i n a disorderly and anarchical way, order and organisation are only established by the rallying of those who desire it to the one who began it, order by doing it according to hierarchy.

So leave, leave quickly your position so strange with regard to us, the fathers of the future. I call you to a new life of love, of thought, of act which satisfies every need, harmonises every force for a life which will bind together again and for always each person to the whole of society and all society to all that lives, to all that is God. By it, all freed people, all associates, all happy people, all walking harmoniously to perfection through progress!

You understood the destiny of humanity and of us, understand your own! And all that I say to you I say to the woman who has everything in common with you, to your excellent wife. Throw yourselves into our arms. God wills it and I do. Don't you feel it? Ask your hearts! Do they not tell you already what I am f o r you

Bogdan J.

London,

January 25, 1831

P.S. I am going to see you tomorrow evening, but I hope that you will send me first a few words about yourself and Mrs. Crellin, I hope so, and I am holding you t o it! Why? oh, my dear, you already know how t o read into the heart of a St. Simonist and you guess.

(MSS 8626, pp. 85, 86, 87, 88, CRR)

Letter Nr. 10

London, January 31, 1831

[To Talabot]

My dear Father,

It has been a week since I got your letter. Do I need to tell you what joy, what great joy it gave me, what I told you in my previous letter. Doesn't it make you guess, know and feel your work in me? Oh, dear father I tell you in truth, that joy I feel it greater than all joys.

... it is attached and mixes with all the joys of the whole universe glorifying our God to the joys of all humanity living by his love. To love so much and to be loved so much! Thanks and glory to you my dear father. Thanks and glory to all my fathers, to St. Simon thanks and glory. Before all else I have one thing to tell you. What I said of the hopes I had about one of my compatriots is realized. I wrote you that he was already prepared to receive the paternal kiss; by your word you fortified my strength with yours, and yesterday I gave it to him. Thanks and always thanks to your paternal love for my new joys and yours. From his childhood at times he knew only a tear of hatred and despair; joyful calm, a rare guest, only in moments of forgetfulness visited his brow and lips; yesterday was the day of renaissance and the St. Simon life that I engendered in him; we mingled our tears of love and hope; vivified by our joyful faith he desired only to walk in our rank with us, with humanity where the divine goodness calls us. I affiliated him, he is walking them. I am leaving in his care another of my compatriots who is, due to me, rather advanced. I am giving him a letter for you as he is to go to Paris next month. The name of my new son is Antoine B. and the name of the catechumen I just spoke of is Charles Harvik. The latter for several years made trips to Europe and America as the agent of some commercial firms; now he is established here. He seems to me to have great industrial talents. The doctrine finds all the more sympathy

with him as he was once the victim of the present war in industry and he went bankrupt.

D'Eichstal gave me the paternal advice to be careful of Christian habits and to understand that it is progress and not expiation that our religion calls for. I thank him for it most tenderly in all gratitude. Truly without noticing it I was beginning to envy perfection and some Christian habits were mixed into my feelings, so that reinforced anew by the paternal word I am taking a new step foreward and am walking with a firm step, desiring only an always greater religious perfectibility always turning back to you. Thus my imperfections are perfect, they bring me closer to you and f o r you.

(MSS 8626, pp. 64, 65, CRR)

Letter Nr. 11

Paris, February 13, 1831

[To R. Owen]

My dear Sir ,

I have been in Paris for six days. One of my first acts here was to speak to my fathers concerning the conversations I had with you in London. One of my first tasks was to prepare for you a letter which would make known our views on the future of humanity, our ways of regenerating it definitely and completely for the greatest happiness of all, and which would make known to you our faith, our hopes, our life, which would sum up what I have already told you on the doctrine of our master and at the same time would be the answer to the declaration of our promises such as you communicated to me before I left for London on the third of this month. Now not only to fulfill the promise I made you in which I promised to communicate to you the St. Simonist judgement. In doing so I am satisfying the most sacred need of my heart, the holiest of my duties, the order of those who gave me the great mission of an apostle of the definitive religion of humanity. Ask our friends Mr. and Mrs. Crellin to translate it for you into English.

After studying it ask your interests, ask your feelings, those noble feelings, that love of humanity of which all your life is such a glowing witness, ask them the answer. And give me the answer, give it as soon as possible, yes as soon as possible. The heart rending cry of the whole of society by which we are surrounded, given over to selfishness, the agonising cry of those who creating all wealth, dying of hunger, capable of knowing all truth and being animated by the purest love are plunged in the deepest misery, brutalized by ignorance, depraved by life; the sufferings of those with whom we sympathize makes us all act as promptly as possible.

Oh, that you might feel our divine love, that you might understand our beliefs, that you might get interested in what engenders our acts. Those who want to unite let them unite with those God has already united who are already one by the best, truest, most useful unity. Otherwise they betray all their life, and their life will only be united by the unique progress through which all that is to be done will be done.

Address the letter to Bog. Jański, Paris, rue Montsigny, number 6, at the office of the Globe. I will be waiting for it a few days. Love me as I love you. Awaiting the love of humanity

B

. J.

(MSS 8626, pp. 4, 48 - CRR)

Letter Nr. 12

Paris, February 14, 1831

[A St. Simonist to Mr. Owen]

What misery, what ignorance, what hate reigned in the society which surrounds us. All is given over to egoism, war in acts, war in its thoughts and its morality is ~~all self invented~~.

Friend of humanity, my friend, you suffer from the sufferings which are common to us, the sufferings of humanity, hope, hope, rejoice! That humanity whose life is our life. It is loved by everything that is, it increases in love of everything that is. And as knowledge and industry which is the expression of all that is true and useful, it increases in knowledge and industry by increasing in love, in goodness and morality. Rejoice! Humanity is perfectible, it marches toward perfection in love, in wisdom and power and in all that is distinct in humanity runs toward it because all that is distinct is one, and the only life of humanity is its progressive development.

All its past is a harmonious series of moral, intellectual and physical progress which have already been accomplished; all its future will be a series in love, wisdom, and in achievement in this world. Every step of human progress consists in the perfecting of love life, of relations of people among themselves and the world, of its feelings, thoughts, and acts of love and as a result wisdom and power are expressed in the individual.

Every bit of improvement in moral, intellectual and physical progress of the good things constitutes the unity which engenders and comprises all human relations among themselves and with the world.

Each bit of progress that it has to and must and will make, because that is the condition, the manner of its existence, is life.

/ two lines illegible /

... which it was and should be in the future such as it must be and will do in the future that St. Simon revealed to us. The present is the living tradition of all the past and the living promise of all the future.

The progressive steps (moral, physical) of the majority (poor, progressive) and poorest in love, wisdom and power. It is this improvement which expressed the progressive love of humanity and consequently its progress in wisdom and power.

It (each step of progress) is accomplished, 1. provided that those who accomplish it wish it, understand it and work at it, in other words that the human condition which it represents be considered everywhere as uniquely desirable and true and useful. Provided that they feel a common will to realise this progress, they look upon it as a social goal and their acts have a determined direction. It replaces former less perfect progress.

2. On condition that x of the Charaktery Epok Organicznych konieczność i charakter Aryt.

(MSS 8626, pp. 89, 90, 91, CRR)

Letter Nr. 13

Paris, February 24, 1831

[To Wheeler]

Madame,

You will receive presently some of our last publications and particularly the expositions of our doctrine, Second Year, the letters on Religion and Politics, the continuation of the Organisation. Mr. Crellin will send you also the Globe and the synoptic Table of our doctrine. The study of these publications will strengthen even more your new faith.

The subject of our last conversation in London was the form of relationship between the sexes in the future. You fear that marriage will not develop individual affection and consequently will be antisocial. I thought you understood what constitutes with us the community of social functions and social sentiments; marriage is the action par excellence which supposes the existence of beliefs, sympathies, and common interests such as we inspire them, make them known and practice. That is the religious organisation revealed to humanity by St. Simon. The study of the writings on women inserted in number 12, 13, 14 of the Organisation.

... have no doubt helped in solving this question. I hope then that this last difficulty which stopped you from communicating with us has been removed.

Rise up, then full of hope and love. Leave the icy atmosphere of self which is paralyzing you. Understand your duty, your mission and come to us.

Domestic sorrows: you will find among us consolation by meeting those who love you with the most eager love offered by people worthy of you. You will find among us consolation for your family troubles. You will find the love of that dear person whose loss makes you shed so many tears. Did she love humanity, was she loved by you? Madame, she is not dead – she lives in

us. Enough of tears of grief. That was good news that I brought you inspiring you with the word of the St. Simon movement. Give over your heart to joy and hope. That is it - you are finding what you sought. Come to us!

Madame Bazard would already have written you but at the moment she is in the south of France.

(MSS 8626, pp. 8, 7, CRR)

Letter Nr. 14

Paris, February 24, 1831

[To Wheeler]

Madame,

The subject of our last conversation at London was the manner of the relationship between the sexes in the future. You feared that marriage would not satisfy the exclusively individual passions and consequently antisocial ones. I think that by feeling (understanding) better and better all our doctrine, you understood completely what I have tried to make you understand whereas what constitutes marriage with us is the community of social sentiments and social functions it is then a social act par excellence and not exclusively individual. Of course it supposes the existence in society of beliefs, sympathies, and common interests such as we feel them, such as we inspire them, make them known, and practiced, in a word the social organisation and revealed to humanity by St. Simon.

The study of the writings on women inserted in numbers 12, 13, 14 of the Organization have no doubt helped in the solution of this question. I hope then that this last difficulty which prevented you from identifying with us and sharing our faith, has been removed.

You will receive, Madame, presently some of our last publications and particularly the exposition of the Second Year Doctrine, the Letter on Religion and Politics, the continuation of the Organization. Mr. Crellin will send you also The Globe, and the Synoptical Table of our doctrine. The study of these publications will strengthen you still more in your new faith.

Rise up then full of hope, conviction and love, leave that atmosphere of self which is paralyzing you, make your life felt outside of yourself, understand your duty, your mission, come to us! By finding those who love you with the most eager and holy love and who are the most worthy of your

love you will find among us the consolation of your family sorrows, you will find the love of that dear person whose loss make you shed so many tears.

Did she love humanity? Did she love you? Was she loved by you? Madame, she is not dead. She lives among us and in us. Enough, enough of sorrowful tears and despair. Give over your heart to joy and hope. You will find what you have been seeking.

Mother Bazard, as I promised you I would ask her, would have already written you but she is now making an apostolic trip to southern France. I hope that soon receive some word from you, and I beg you to write it as soon as possible. Write in English if that is easier for you, but tell me all that you think about our doctrine, all that you feel.

Oh, that you might tell me that you already feel within you the life of St. Simonism and all its hopes, all its strength, all its divine warmth. What joy it would be for me to have begotten you in this new custom (?) to make you reborn for humanity, for you, for God, to be your father in St. Simon.

B. J.

(MSS 8626, pp. 9, 10, 11, 12, CRR)

Letter Nr. 15

Paris, February 26, 1831

[To Pratt]

Madame,

On leaving London I promised you to write you as soon as possible and it is only after two weeks from my arrival in Paris that I finally fulfill this most ardent need of my heart towards you. That bond of feeling, thought and interest which God created between us was weakened on my side by the change of place.

Oh no, no, you know me enough already, you feel in a different way all my sympathies and my being to suspect me of anything like that. No, madame, the need to get up to date with the last writings of the doctrine, the need to unbosom myself entirely before my fathers and St. Simonian sons, to consecrate the first moments of my present stay to the enjoyment of the delay. But would you think that this sacred bond of feeling, thought and interest created by God between us would in the least bit on my part lessen, that it wouldn't rather become progressively stronger Madame? An you know us already sufficiently, you feel sufficiently what our life is, all our sympathies, all my being, to believe me and to attach some moral value to our words and to believe me when I tell you that this sacred bond of feeling, thought and interest which God created among us. I feel it always in all its holiness.

I hope that I will soon receive a few words from you and I beg you to write as soon as possible. Write in English if that is easier for you. But say all you think, feel.

Oh, that you may be able to tell me that you feel already in you the St. Simonian life, and all its hopes, all its strength. Oh! what joy it would be for me to have begotten St. Simonian life in you, and to be your father in St. Simon

B. Jański

My address is: rue Monsigny, 6, at the office of the Organizer.

(MSS 8626, pp. 80, 81, CRR)

Letter Nr. 16

Paris, February 26, 1831

[To Th. Crellin]

My dear Crellin,

It is two weeks since I arrived in Paris. The need of my getting up to date on the last writings of the doctrine, to give myself entirely at the beginning of my stay to the enjoyment of the affection of my St. Simonist family, and finally a little illness are the only reasons I have not written you till now. I enjoy this place and have no need to assure you of the feeling, thought and interest which unites us. You know me sufficiently well to believe that, I hope - it has lost none of its intensity.

One of these days you will receive or no doubt perhaps have already received from Mr. Rolandi, a bookseller in London, a few of our publications. That is to say:

1. a package containing the exposition of the doctrine of year one and a lot of letters on politics and religion;
2. a package containing 25 copies of Number 26 of the ~~Organisateur~~;
3. two copies of Numbers 21, 22, 23, 24, 25 of the ~~Organisateur~~;
4. some synoptic tables of the doctrine.

P.S. Bontemps arrived here a few days ago and told us the news which gave us great joy, that you have begun your readings on our doctrine. We are very interested in knowing what impressions you are making on the minds and hearts of your hearers. What are the principal objections that are offered to you? Do you refute them as if they were made to yourself, as if you were a St. Simonist? You will be kind enough to tell something about yourself, information on how you are getting on. The answer to the last case belongs to a little wider category and consists in the exposition of your overview of your ideas and on our doctrine and your sympathy for us. That is what interests us,

what interests me most in particular and what I would like to know about you above all. I have given you time to reflect.

Here is the purpose of all that, but first a word. This time I took the liberty, without letting you know, to make you an intermediary between us and -a few people who are interested in us in London and to ask you to give some of these publications to the persons whose names I will give you presently. If that puts you out in the slightest tell me in your next letter and we will arrange to avoid that inconvenience in future.

As for the letters of Religion and Politics, keep first a copy for yourself and be kind enough (...) to have sent (a copy of the Exposition of 1829) to Mr. Taylor (4 Christopher St., Finsbury Square) one for him and one for the author of the article on our doctrine in the Monthly Repository of Theology. One for Mr. Neate, a lawyer, 13 Garden Place, Lincoln Inn Fields, one to Mr. Tunell, 3 Haymarket, one to Dr. Bach, 31 Upper Eaton Pl., Pimlico; the letters on Religion and Politics, one for Mrs. Weeller, one to Mr. Merivale, 4 OW Square, Lincoln Inn, two to Mr. Taylor at the address as above, that is one for him, one for Mr. Fox Unitarian; of the Exposition of the Second Year, one copy you retain for yourself and the other you will be kind enough to give to Mrs. Weeller, the same with regard to Number 21 of the Organisateur. Number 20 of the Organisateur you will distribute to whomever you wish, you can give two or three copies to Taylor. Besides you will send a copy of the Globe, as for the Synoptic Tables, one copy is for you and one for Mr. Fox (to be sent to Mr. Taylor's) and the third if it is sent for Evaline Perry (Albano Hotel, Picadilly). If you have a little free time it would be useful to our cause to get in touch on this occasion with Taylor and Dr. Bach. In giving to the others their copies be good enough to indicate where they came from on behalf of the St. Simonists given lately. They are not written by me. No doubt they don't exhaust the subject, they only graze it. I said a few observations, but nevertheless the most essential points of difference between us and Mr. Owen are explained in it, for example; that the whole universe, each finite creature

being quite passive is altogether quite active, and from that comes all morality, all character of humans while formed by man and attributing it to external circumstances, we are obliged to attribute it also and we attribute it to man, believing that there is no relative good or relative evil from the infinite point of view; we are at the finite point of view more or less good or bad what is more or less good and bad, and we love more what is more lovable, less what is less lovable and what we wish spontaneously we are obliged to will necessarily and viceversa, from the religious point of view where we are, the only true, useful and good point of view there is a perfect harmony between spontaneity and necessity and neither one nor the other can be denied. And if it is thus, there is merit and demerit, inequality of the fact and of the law, and the hierarchy (Mr. Owen is convinced of the need of this for the other reasons, all practical), and from that we have attribution according to capacity and reward according to work.

2. that industrial organisation, that is to say, the replacement of competition of individual antagonism by cooperation, by the union of efforts (interests) is not possible without intellectual or scientific organisation, and both can't be produced without being animated by a union of sympathies, desires, without moral organisation.

3. the moral and material organisation of society is always and will be in the future religious, this is why our views on the development of humanity by setting forth the character of the present and rehabilitating the past and foreseeing the future explain the moral and material organisation.

4. The base, the goal and principle of this organization in future will be progress, progress being realized in constant improvement and successive amelioration of the condition of the most numerous and poorest class in all respect in its life, which are threefold: moral, intellectual and material (physique) and they express themselves through [...] science and industrialization. However, because the unique, unchangeable and eternal law of Nature that contains them and from which the other things that govern

humanity and the exterior world were derived, namely, that everything changes and you also must change from better to better, that the unique will of God that humanity must and needs to realize and is realizing is perfectibility, that is, the successive march towards perfection in love, wisdom and power. “If you require men full of courage and above all men full of love and obedience in order to fulfill your task, come to the sons of St. Simon” and see whether in the bosom of their family which each day grows more until and more loving despite obstacles, where the tenderness of the fathers unceasingly increases the devotion of the sons, see, if a son of this family cannot (represent) the men that you require.

It was through this kind of appeal to Mr. Owen that one of my fathers made his observations about the profession of faith to Mr. Owen. I did not doubt that Mr. Owen will respond to it with some words before seeing him ~~among~~ us. While writing these words, I would wish ... [that you] ... have the goodness to communicate to him also: what I am saying all the time about the points of difference between us, ~~or even about him~~. With required to the rest, on the one hand we: have already discussed them with Mr. Owen several times both in all their meetings and conferences. On the other hand, since the translation you are making of the expedition of our doctrine has made us better known to Mr. Owen without a doubt, there remains only that Mr. Owen communicate to us his precise thought about our doctrine as soon as possible and we will try to furnish clarifications to smooth out the difficulties which may block our union of ideas and plans and sentiments. But we are still hoping to see Mr. Owen soon. Be good enough to thank him for making me acquainted with Mr. Hamilton. He left yesterday for Italy well disposed toward our doctrine and is to return here in a few weeks. If Mr. Owen has not decided on a lodging some place when he comes here I will take the liberty of looking for some for him. And finally will you ask Mr. Owen to write me and let us know when he expect to come to Paris.

Things are going better and better for us here. During our preaching sessions already the hall cannot contain the crowd which throngs in, and we always have more and more numerous listeners. We are increasing the number of our teaching sessions. Lately some people paid, it appears, by some retrograde people, have troubled us a little but it was a passing thing. In the provinces things are going progressively also and at a rapid pace. In a short time we expect to be able to set up centers of action in all the principal cities in France and from what has happened in Belgium with respect to us no doubt the news papers have informed you. I beg you to write me as soon as possible and let me know where you are with respect to us, answering the letter I wrote you at London. You did not answer all the points I made and since what you wrote represents a principal difficulty, I hope that the few little problems which were stopping you (before I left) from taking the positive step have been settled while I left you to your own work. If not write me about what is blocking you (with the feelings you have on it). When so many millions of our fellow men are plunged in such brutal misery there is no time to lose. You will also kindly give information on your readings, on the few conversations you attempt perhaps to carry on, and tell us if there is anything relative to us in the English papers. Mr. Rosa, I believe read the volume I gave him. I am curious to learn what he thinks of our doctrine, on my behalf ask him to write me. You know that my address is here, 6 Rue Montigny, at the office of the ~~Organiser~~. To Mrs. Crellin, to Mrs. Wheeler, to the Misses Helen, Elan, and Mary and to their brother, to Miss Feel, as well as all the cooperators whose acquaintance I had the pleasure to make, my most affectionate compliments. I embrace you with all my heart. May my religious wishes and the means by which I manifested them engender in you as soon as possible St. Simonist life.

Bogd. Jański

(MSS 8626, pp. 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63 - CRR)

Letter Nr. 17

Paris, February 26, 1831

[To Madame unknown]

Madame,

I have been in Paris for 10 days.

Behold, ten days since I have come to Paris. In leaving London I promised you that I would write from here as as possible [...?]. Ten days have passed and I have still not written to you.

~~Madame.~~ Do you think Madame that this enthusiast...

(MSS 8626 p. 57 – CRR)

Letter Nr. 18

Paris, February, 1831

[To Robert Owen]

M. [Sir]

I have just received your *Outline for a New Social Order* that Madame W... sent to me by you.

As you know, we St. Simonists are also proclaiming a new social order for humanity, an order revealed to us by our master and which we believe will prevail in the future for all humanity. We also recognize the only effective remedy for the ills which today are challenging the populations of the civilized world. Already we are such among ourselves and along with all that is alive we desire and must join you to us through a universal bond of union, affection and trust.

And although we have already discussed this, I have previously indicated and discussed with you rather completely all the points of difference that separate us along with their reasons and consequences. Though we have previously communicated our opinion about your ideas, such as they were, contained in your profession of faith, remitted to me by you before my departure for London two months ago, we are taking an active interest in your projects, intentions and we have a very deep faith in you. But frankly the more generous a man is, the more quickly he rallies to us once he has understood us. Now in order not to leave you without our judgment this new manifestation of your sympathies for the like humanity and in order not to address you some words, to insist again on the studies of our publications, which in brief will be the point of departure and the point of arrival concerning what I said about yours, the declaration of your principles.

Before making any observations in the name of the doctrine that I profess, about each principle of your outline, I will give you the *Outline of the*

St. Simonist Order. That will summarize for you what I have explained to you about our doctrine and will help you to recall the ensemble of our ideas in your study.

For Mr. Owen

1. the need for universal happiness is felt very keenly.
2. the problem of a social doctrine (the necessity of which is felt now and again as necessary) is posed in part but not resolved. And in its positions or apparent solutions the influence of critical ideas and even christian ideas call attention to it.

(MSS 8610, pp. 887, 888 - CRR)

Letter Nr. 19

London, March 28, 1831

[To Sir unknown]

Sir,

Since your departure from London my health had been in a bad state and it is with great difficulty that I can write you these few lines to thank you for your kind letter which gave me real pleasure written as it was under the true inspiration with St. Simonist good will. Your words whatever high value I attach to them were almost unnecessary to engage me to adopt your doctrine. Nature prepared my mind for that divine social religion. A life full of suffering, deep reflection and attentive examination of the ills of present day society have made me for a long time the most ardent enthusiast of the principles of St. Simon.

I call that religion divine because it is a religion of nature, a religion that every right mind and every deep intelligence desires to practise and to see practised generally. It seems to me that the goal of St. Simon is to give to Christ's law its primitive purity and to make of it a social legislative code, a universal and practical religion which Christ did not realize. As soon as the legistes took it in hand, they made it antisocial, St. Paul, Timothy and the others. And humanity was groaning under the cruel perversion of a law eminently beautiful in itself because it recognized all the moral, physical, intellectual needs of our nature and of each individual of our species.

It is with difficulty that I can get away from the dazzling effect of eloquence well calculated to banish every melancholy idea of the human kind perverted as it is today. I am convinced that until the time when all can be made to accept the great truths proclaimed by the legislators and orators, humanity will go through for along time the same circle of labours and misery, alternatively martyr and victim. For if ever a small corrupting influence

remains outside of society, in vain will a part of humanity call itself virtuous. The presumption of that exclusive virtue has created in the Christian religion many diversities, intolerance, and all sorts of selfishness which destroy now all bonds of social affection; the natural law of mutual reaction of all creatures cancels out every effort to achieve virtue and happiness. A universal principle of faith and practice should govern all humanity and this principle should be in harmony with the needs of human nature before any parts of the species can enjoy the fruits of its wisdom and its virtue. That is what weakens my hopes. For human society should again take all the steps, and the steps promise to be long and tiring for the little though intrepid army which must often come back from its glorious struggle covered with wounds and defeats, sometimes victorious, sometimes beaten until this new crusade ends, as always happens, by the triumph of general corruption and the hypocritical, false and individual virtue.

The abolition of hereditary rights would certainly be a big step towards perfecting our social system. But as long as money remains in use virtue is not possible in society. Money without a doubt is the root of all evil, (the evil) and at present we should use it only to be served poison to effect a cure. Why have men amassed individual fortunes to buy from their less clever and tricky neighbours their pleasures and their lives? Why are women penned up in shameful ignorance and cruel dependence, or abandoned in absolute poverty and prevented in every possible way from having an honest and independent existence for themselves, why? It is so that men can with the greatest and most unjust ease buy their degraded bodies. The work of the whole of society would suffice abundantly to fill the wants, the greatest needs of each person, provided that everyone were not excluded from the acquiring of all useful knowledge and the best way of using it. But if ever we can buy the labour of others, goodbye to virtue, that is to say goodbye to order, harmony, truth, a justice and to that sublime feeling which is the first need of moral being and which makes us love one another.

Christian morality also aims at the perfection of morals and brotherhood, but the miracles and mysteries surrounding it have made it an easy prey for bad-intentioned men and power has changed it into a mortal wound for humanity and especially for women. Power still remains to destroy or pervert the godlike efforts of great generous men who have devoted themselves to the elaboration and propagation of the St. Simon doctrine giving it a high degree of attractiveness; their great ability and knowledge of human nature and past human history are thus perverted.

I cannot express all my admiration for the great wisdom of the appeal to women, who at present, by their profound ignorance of the social causes of their misery, exert such a fatal influence on human destiny, obliged as they are to cherish and respect those selfish prejudices by which their masters have blinded them for the sole purpose of making them rut in superstitious fear and to give a religious prop to an authority which is unjust and irrational, an authority which men hold over them. Men do not feel the need of being loved, they ask only to be served, and among the most odious services we have to perform is like the fabled Pandora's box, it is to recapture error, prejudice, hatred, malice, envy, selfishness and every vicious and uncharitable passion in the whole of society. Thus excluded from all the social rights, woman by the nature of her position, to be a remote but always a cause acting against the happiness and liberty of men themselves. Giving the allegory its most reasonable interpretation, the fall of man represent to us the human species in the relations of one sex with the other. Man the arbitrator is at the same time both jailer and prisoner. The shadow of liberty for both sexes always is to be weak. The one who after having enslaved the other considers as his most pressing interest the matter of keeping the partner, and he or she for all useful purposes must be considered enslaved until each partner consent that both get up and walk together.

When will it come about that such general consent is granted by men? However, nothing is better calculated to effect this most important reform than

the plan of instruction drawn up by the eloquent doctors of the new religion, to open the eyes of women, and to expose their really degraded and unhappy social condition. Slaves of the privileged classes or unprivileged.

Women are always slaves and as such they are to be the principal and constant agents in perpetuating the evils that so deeply afflict humanity. I wished that Mr. Owen would not neglect this point of the greatest importance in the whole project of social improvement. Because no improvement is possible without their cooperation. But I suppose he feared that such a thing would shock the ugly prejudice of the people whose brute animalism is not yet redeemed by a single spark of soul and feeling and whose intelligence is only attracted by selfish individualism. As a result the intellectual and moral improvement is a subject proscribed; it is not with impunity that a man, and still more so, a woman, dare talk about it. The English put all their confidence in small political reforms and would not accept happiness based on a wide base. And nevertheless it cannot be obtained otherwise.

I see by the last publications, which I have just received and which you were kind enough to send me, that the doubts stated in that letter as regards the general adoption of your sublime religion have almost all been cleared up. The true meaning of the word religion appears to have been understood up to now only for the purpose of retaining our unknown social justifications. It was deemed well to make of it a mystery for the people and the women. Humanity, subject to a common destiny, a physical fate such as it is, requires another bond if it is to be up to fulfilling its moral, intellectual and social goal. This bond, when it includes God and when the justifications are not opposed to its practical results, is expressed very happily by the word religion. But at present this word is a dead letter and still worse a superstition.

I am accustomed to thinking that good justifications (which include a good education) cannot fail to produce in the whole race the finest features. And if such justifications are ever established, the word (religion) will then be without meaning, its contact will have no meaning, no bond with the divine

order and with the harmony which will reign in society, universal love. Consequently I don't see what will be made of rewards and punishment after one or two generations will have passed under the influence of this Millennium.

Ah! sir, do not accuse me of selfishness, you, yourself full of holy St. Simonist ardour, you will find, I could hope, the oneness of my affection redeemed by the character of the social sympathies stamped on it. I weep for her, she whose sublime and lofty spirit was stranger to every selfish thought, whose mighty heart was full of love and compassion for humanity, who felt all that is living and found divinity in everything. Her clever talents and acquired knowledge were deemed by her only as means of contributing to the happiness of all those who surrounded her. This person was of neither of the two sexes, she combined the strength of the one and the gentleness of the other. The beautiful proportion of this divine character confirmed my faith in the perfectibility of my species.

Yes, your humanity and your kind indulgence will permit me to mourn since my exhausted energy and my poor health left me no other alternative, and since trickery has deprived me of my fortune, I have no approbation to give expression to those feelings which are as burning as your own for the success of the great enterprise in which you and your fellows are engaged.

I offer you my most sincere congratulations on the victory obtained by the brave Poles over the barbarians. But what a costly victory! I am longing to go to Paris certainly and am only sorry now that my state of health suffers and on the other hand my lack of talent makes me such a useless member of the S. Simon society.

Accept, sir, the expression of my respect and esteem for you and my dearest sympathy for all those like you preaching and practising the religion of St. Simon. Give my regrets I beg you, to Mr. Boutem, with a thousand thanks to him and you for the intellectual nourishment so abundantly supplied to me. I cannot say anything else.

I am, sir, in St. Simon hope,

yours,

B. J.

(MSS 8626, pp. 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46 – CRR)

Letter Nr. 20

Paris, 1831

[To Carnot]

To father Carnot,

In accordance with your orders I have lately been busy finding in the third and fourth degrees, people who would have the desire and ability to be able to take an active part in the work of the research committee whose recent founding you announced to us.

Of the six members of the preparation degree who declared themselves at the last meeting willing to take part (Surblez, Selariez, Brailoi, Souzas, Volquin, Raymond) all can only give a small part of their time as they are occupied in other functions in the doctrine or work in the external world. Among the members of the third degree for the same reasons there is not presently anyone who could take it on, on a fulltime basis.

As for me, my particular situation makes me unsuitable here for teaching and private tutoring. The desire to be occupied in a job sanctioned [by the hierarchy] and to have a function in the accomplishment of which I would be able to give myself entirely and the taste I have for the kind of work in question that their conformity with my previous occupations make me attach the greatest importance that the organisation of works take place the most.

(MSS 8627, pp. 100, 101, CRR)

Letter Nr. 21

Paris, 1831

[To Carnot and Duveyrier]

to father C. and D.

My dear fathers,

For some months at first in virtue of the authorisation of the Fathers Directors of my degree and then by your appeal, I am busy exclusively with historical research whose necessity is called for by the need of our information.

Since the fifth of the last month while carrying out your orders I have attempted to associate those of my sons who would have the vocation for this kind of work. Three regular meetings of our committee took place on the 15th, the 22nd, and the 29th of last month.

I succeeded in furnishing a few historical notes to Father Gueroult for his lessons on industry. The work on his lessons on science and on education have begun.

The present position of our committee and the eager desire to fulfill in the best way possible the job you have given me activate me to present to you a few propositions relative to the organisation of our historical writings.

(MSS 8627, pp. 102, 103, CRR)

Letter Nr. 22

Paris, April 6, 1831

[To Crellin]

My dear Crellin,

The bearer of this letter is my friend and former compatriot Mr. Harvik who is very much interested in our doctrine and i hope that gives him sufficient claim to your friendship.

To answer you last letter, first I am going to satisfy your request and assure them that in a short time a mission of St. Simonists is going to leave for London; they too will belong to the mission. For a month I have been awaiting (news) and we should meet again soon; all that information that you have in mind will be more effectively given you then.

The news of your opening a St. Simon teaching (centre) gave us great pleasure. You will are continuing the project and if the interest generated among your audience will draw some of them to a closer relationship with you.

The difficulties you have in understanding how our doctrine is a religion are due to the fact principally: 1. that you habitually attach to the word religion a restricted sense. The meaning of religion for us is the totality of feelings, ideas, interets which form isolated men. It is an association tending toward a common end by a coordination of their moral, intellectual and physical work which unites them. It is then something social par excellence touching on politics only from the point of view that all beliefs and relationships of God to man will develop a political angle.

2. You don't attach enough importance to feeling and sympathy. Our religion is not arrived at as a logical result of reasoning, but we reach religion by being linked already sympathetically with humanity and the world. When one becomes a St. Simonian one thinks and acts like a St. Simonian because one is sympathetically tied to humanity, the world, to all that lives; one feels,

loves, lives St. Simonism. That is how behind all our thoughts and actions there is a religion, why it is not in our dogmas and why you must seek the cause of our enthusiasm for the happiness of humanity and the world, why you will find the reason of the truth of our thoughts and the character with which our actions are imprinted. And where do we get this love, this life, from? From God and the revealer. We receive it from our fathers, we give it to our sons. As for the hierarchy: do you think that by education one will destroy the differences of the faculties [...] [6 lines illegible].

Do you think the differences of intellectual and physical capacities and above all moral capacities is not inherent in the life of humanity as the life of everything? a single and multiple life? That is to say it has manifestations in individual lives, identical and different manifestations. That is its eternal and indestructable state, and the cooperative association of men, the coordination and subordination of their labbur is also inherent in their life, and let us rejoice in the fact. It is the source and means of our eternal progress in love, knowledge and well-being.

I greet my dear friend, a greeting composed of life and difference. You recognize the validity of our argument about principles of human love behind the opinions which you were accepting not long ago without restriction. You finally are firmly convinced that no improvement in the material lot of humanity is possible without common beliefs and above all without a union of sympathy. You feel yourself attached to our doctrine, to the destiny of the world. The first one in your country to do it, you are already acting, in so far as you can, to make it known.

You love it more and more. Grow in that love and you will find what you are seeking, for St. Simon has come and the desires of all are filled to overflowing. He is living in us, and he who seeks finds. I embrace you with all my heart

B

. J .

I join here a letter for Mrs. Wheeler; you will give me the greatest joy by the giving us some news about yourself and your work for St. Simonism. To Madame Crellin and her sisters and brothers, also to Mr. Owen my most affectionate compliments.

I embrace you.

(MSS 8626. pp. 3, 4, 5, 6, CRR)

Letter Nr. 23

Paris, April 6, 1831

[To Wheeler]

Madame,

I do not know if this letter will find you still in London. It has been written a long time already by a lady of the doctrine but as you announced your next arrival there, I wanted to give it to you here. However, I am using this opportunity to get it to you, I am taking advantage of it still hoping to see you soon in Paris. I am very much obliged to you for sending a book written by Mr. Owen. Accept, lady, the assurance of my respect.

B. J.

(MSS 8626, p. 6, CRR)

Letter Nr. 24

Paris, May, 1831

[To Harvik]

My dear Harvik,

First, take a good look at the kind of paper I am writing to you on; it's a St. Simonian pad. It has been two or three weeks since I got your letter. Why didn't I write sooner? First, you know that I am a bit lazy in correspondence. Secondly, I have been hoping to see you here for a long time already. Thirdly, you wrote me nothing which would start a correspondence between us, not a word on the doctrine. So I begin my letter by scolding you. How? When everything is exciting around us you want to remain a cold spectator of this drama which is so interesting, so pregnant with the future and such an invitation to energetic action. Oh, don't withdraw into the narrow sphere of your ego. Your feelings, opinions, needs call you elsewhere; you must identify your life with humanity.

And with what beliefs, what hopes, what interests should you live, I have tried to make you feel understand and practise it. And don't talk to me of Utopia. The whole history of the human race is it not the story of the realization of utopias, bigger and bigger ones, more and more useful ones?

And if the future of humanity, such as St. Simon revealed it, is the most desirable for all, if it is the necessary result of the past, humanity will wish it and realize it. And if you wish it and understand it, have you not shown your desire to work for it? What holds you back, what obstacle separates us from you? Tell me, tell me frankly and exactly and I will try to settle it. There is the subject for your next letter.

But perhaps if you have not yet left London you are about to... Very well, you will know what I want most eagerly to speak to you about on your arrival here. Be prepared for the answer. Things are better and better here; we

are increasing the number of our teaching sessions and we have there always numerous people, at the preaching session the hall cannot hold even now the crowd which gathers. You have read something in the papers about our efforts at Brussels.

Come and see us as soon as possible. I am staying at 61 St. Anne St., Hotel Choiseul. You would give me much pleasure if you wish to stay there too. If your letter is all doctrinal and religious address it to 6 rue Monsigny, otherwise to my lodging at Hotel Choiseul.

N.B. Notice the paper I am writing you on. That's progress. To Messers Hacholl Marle, Vesey, and Captain Seem, as well as Mrs. Pratt and the whole house my most tender greetings.

Barciński is still in Paris. In Poland everything is fine till now.

I embrace you with all my heart,

B

.J.

(MSS 8626, pp. 82. 83. 84, CRR)

Letter Nr. 25

June 27, 1832

[To Th. Crellin]

My dear Sir,

Full of confidence in your kindness and friendship for me which you have already proven, I am taking the liberty of renewing our correspondence which was suspended through my fault for it was you who wrote last. Before making any excuses I should certainly accuse myself to you for not having written for so long; confident of your kindness already shown me I ask you a thousand pardons. The relationships which existed among us have left marks in my heart and mind too deep, have engendered psychic needs in me too real for me not to try to satisfy them by renewing our correspondence. The memory of your friendship makes me hope that you will not refuse. What great changes have taken place in our opinions on reform, in our great hopes since our last letters and since we last saw each other. And what errors I unfortunately propagated to you. However, those errors were mixed with enough truth and they procured for me the knowledge and acquaintance with so many generous hearts in the "cooperation" and here among the youth, that I don't quite dare to regret having accepted and propagated them; and you are, I hope, enough persuaded of the good faith of my motives which made me a St. Simonist that you will pardon all that I was going to do for you as a St. Simonist.

Being able to judge my doctrines in the men who were the highest representatives of them, since my last contact with you my apostolic enchantment soon declined. But, if I did not have enough faith and ardour or else, if I had enough good sense to hold back from preaching as an apostle (which you no doubt noticed). My beliefs, accepted with the best good faith in the world, had taken such a grip on my mind, that I could not reject them suddenly. This struggle between my feelings and ideas exhausted me and

lasted until the cut-off from the St. Simonist clubs showed me all the emptiness of my beliefs and left me in an undefinable state of weakness and apathy. It seemed that every certitude all activity, all will power quite abandoned me. A few illusions which I have just lost and thinking made me neglect my duties as a Pole. In the revolution the loss of my brother and several other people related to me finally reduced me to nothing.

For a year, since I have ceased to be a St. Simonist and since the cause of Poland has failed again, I can scarcely pull myself together and find within me enough strength to dare to live again. It is only by dint of long efforts that I can compose myself and little by little rise from this fatal blow.

As for my personal position: you know that before our revolution I was in relations with our former government. Since the fall of Warsaw as I was not in my country during the revolution, they have made me very handsome offers to return. The mission I was charged with changed into a necessity my resolve to share to the end the fate of all my unfortunate compatriots who no longer wish to return to Poland except as conquerors or to assure its liberty.

No doubt you know from the news from Paris of the great push of the Fourier people which is to take place soon ...

Today I think that the mission of St. Simonism as the social movement of our time and set up as a corporation de facto is already completely finished, de jure it was already usurped in the past. However several ideas which formed this doctrine will be active as a critique of our society of today and as a preparation of the society to come if one excludes all the formulations and innovations of Mr. Enfantin; these were destructive of any idea of equality, liberty and sacrifice and should die forever with his throne and convent.

... occupied with the construction of the buildings for this purpose twelve leagues from Paris. It is (they hope to obtain a royal ordinance authorizing its foundation) to be done by 600 people. Messers. D'Eichstal, Duveyrier and several others left Mr. Enfantin two or three weeks ago and each one goes on his way. The rest of the apostles (that is St. Simonist in

costume) have gone to Lyon where they are, it is said, rather well received by the workers.

Lately I saw a few numbers of ~~Crisis~~ published by Mr. Owen. I read it with the greatest interest and learned that the cooperators are making great success. I hope you will be kind to write me giving news of yourself which I hope you will do soon. My address is rue Louis.

Remember me most respectfully to Mrs Crellin, to Mrs Pickersville, and Mrs Wheeler. Also you will oblige me a good deal by sending me, if you can, the address of Mrs Wheeler and of our dear Mr. Owen; offer them for me my good wishes. Please tell the cooperators that I know in London that I greet them warmly.

Finally permit me, dear sir, to assure you again of my sincerest friendship.

Yours

sincerely,

(MSS 8627, pp. 153, 152, 154, CRR)

Letter Nr. 26

Paris, July 15, 1832

[To the Minister of the Interior]

Mr. Minister,

As a professor at the Polytechnical School in Warsaw I was asked by the government of the kingdom of Poland to take a trip to France for scientific purposes. The political events make my return impossible now to my country, and I am taking the liberty of appealing to your benevolent protection.

The hope of being self sufficient on my own resources and by my own work prevented me until the present of claiming any help allocated to foreign refugees. However, all my efforts to this end were of no avail, there is only one way to get out of financial embarrassment and that is to beg the Minister to authorize me to participate in the funds destined by the government for this purpose so generously.

As for the truth of the facts which I put forth and for all which concerns me I appeal to the testimony and recommendation of General Kniaziewicz and of Count Louis Plater, Plenipotentiary in France of our last National Government.

Permit me, Minister, to point out again that deprived of all revenue for several months lately I have not been able to subsist except on the credit which I am accorded and that on the other hand the scientific work that I alone am doing requires that I live in Paris. And be good enough, Minister, while looking into it to have me paid the back funds of a few months already expired and to authorize me to receive in Paris itself what your generosity will wish to grant me.

Kindly accept, Minister, the assurance of my highest regards.

Bogdan

Jański

Paris, July 15, 1832

rue de Marais, St. Germain 3.

(MSS 8583, pp. 903, 904, 905, CRR)

Letter Nr. 27

Paris, July 25, 1832

[To Victor Courtet]

Greetings dear Victor,

Am I mean, ungrateful, lazy! Oh yes, and long suffering, indolent, and indeed half dead. But instead of making excuses, I prefer to ask your pardon for not having written till now. You are kind, you will pardon me and I promise to improve and from now on I will write to you very often.

It is not Carnot as you thought who is dead, it is his brother, former captain in the engineers. However, Carnot no longer directs the ~~Revue~~. He just leaves his name to be printed on the masthead out of kindness. I asked Leroux yesterday to have the ~~Revue~~ sent from July on. His brother Achille for this purpose went to the door to send. He took at once a copy to send to you. You have already received it or will receive it soon. Fool that I am, it was only after Achille left that I spoke to Peter of the first copy which was promised to you. And he told me he doesn't give any away to all his friends except the ones he gives to book sellers at a sixth or seventh of the price, I believe seven or eight francs. However, if you got him a few subscriptions he could consent to your proposition. You see then what a mess I made of it. The thing has been sent and if you do not succeed in finding a few subscriptions for him this semester we will have to make arrangements and pay him as he asks. However, do not hurry him by sending a money order; I will speak again to Carnot about this matter, wait then for my next letter on this subject. But believing that the word of Carnot was enough because I am and now etc.

You complain about not being up to date on what our former St. Simonists are doing. The church of Menilmontant is in complete dissolution; a few days ago Devevriier, d'Eichstall, Lambert left the retreat without breaking entirely with Enfantin. However, they did abandon the costume and each goes

his own way. Even before they had dismissed about twenty youths under pretext of assigning them the mission of getting updated on women and the people. They walk around Paris like Harlequins, each one authorised by the Father to give individual expression to his dress. Others, staff in hand and suitcase on their backs left for the Midi to glorify there the second redeemer. Our poor Ribes, having gone insane at Lyon is with his family; they say he is a little better. No doubt the affair of d'Humann is known by the papers and he is in a clinic. Barrault is to go at once to his wife; I was told today that Enfantin himself was proposing to leave Menilmontant and Paris.

The review claims to be no longer at all St. Simonist; it regards all the general doctrines as conceptions resulting necessarily from individual tendencies and not as the spontaneous conceptions of some great men, as for the other people I don't think they know what they want.

Rodriguez, believing himself Pope exclusively does stock broking, Cazeaux works at city hall, Charton at public work.

Since the death of Bazard those around him Dugied, St. Cheron, Fuster, Bannet, could never take any initiative. About fifteen of the industrialists among others Pleix, Caboche propose in the spring to go to America and found there an industrial colony.

Delaporte has become the Carlist of the Gazette, others republicans, others revellers, others indifferent. All is in ruins, in dust. Buchez alone remains up, his ~~European~~ is becoming a daily; he gives two or three courses and lately he is publishing the first volume of the development of humanity. Jules and Transon are still with Fourier though not entirely. Jules too has allied himself with Mr. Emile Girardin. They are setting up a Phalanstere next spring twelve leagues from Paris, on the estate of Mr. Baudret-Dulary. Another important piece of news:

beautiful and lovable Prosper Bellet, adorer of our good Madame Niboyet, Bellet whom you recall do doubt and has become in his turn revealer,

he has just published a part and prophetic letter. He was stifled in Europe and adored the ancient east as the source of his inspiration. That's enough news for today from me. So good-bye. I have a big favour to ask of you. Excuse I beg you as soon as possible a rich heir of the Dauphin and I will go at once to join you at your chateau to talk metaphysics, politics, theology and anything else and breath the fresh air, go riding and eating good dinners, because misery pursues me and knocks me down and ...

In the meantime, goodbye.

At your service,

Paris,

(MSS 8627, pp. 148, 149. 150, 151 - CRR)

Letter Nr. 28

Paris, July, 1832

[To the Prefect of the Police]

Mr. Prefect,

As a professor at the Polytechnical School of Warsaw I was appointed to take a trip to France and England for scientific purposes. Since political events make it impossible now for me to return to my country, I am taking the liberty of addressing you in my most difficult position asking your benevolent protection. The hope of being self sufficient on my own resources and by my own work prevented me till now from claiming any of the aid allowed refugees who are foreigners. However, all my efforts failing there remains only one way of my getting out of financial embarrassment and that is to beg you to authorize me to receive help from the funds destined so generously for that purpose.

As for the truth of the facts which I advance and in general for all that concerns me I appeal to the testimony for General Kniaziewicz and to Mr. Louis Plater, plenipotentiary in France of our last national government. Permit me, sir, to point out that lacking money for several months, I could only subsist lately by the credit given me and that on the other hand the scientific work in which I am exclusively engaged requires that I live in Paris. And be good enough, Prefect, while looking into it, to have me paid the back payments of some months which have already gone by, and to authorize me to receive in Paris itself what your generosity will grant me.

Accept, Mr. Prefect, the assurance of my high esteem.

(MSS 8583, pp. 908, 909, CRR)

Letter Nr. 29

Paris, September 19, 1832

[To His Excellency the Duke of Dalmatie, Minister of War]

Mr. Minister,

As a Polish refugee the hope of being able to get along on my own resources and by my work has prevented me until now from claiming any of the aid allowed to foreign refugees. However, all my efforts to that end being unavailing I find myself obliged to beg you, Minister, to authorize me to receive aid in conformity with my rank as a professor at the Polytechnical School at Warsaw, which rank is equivalent to that of a captain. As for the truth testimony of General Umiński.

Permit me, Minister, to point out that deprived of all revenue for several months.

Lately, I have only been able to live by the credit I was extended. On the other hand the scientific works which occupy me exclusively require that I live in Paris. And be kind enough, Minister, having looked into it, to have me paid the back payments of a few months already fallen due and authorize me to receive in Paris what your generosity will wish to grant me.

I have the honour, Minister, to present to you the homage of my high esteem.

Bogdan Jański

Paris, September 19, 1832

Rue des Marais, St. Germain, No. 3

(MSS 8583, pp. 906, 907, CRR)

Letter Nr. 30

December 2, 1832

[To Burgaud des Marets]

My dear Burgaud,

How happy to have found in you so much kindness and indulgence! Yes, I accept with greatest joy the favour that I no longer dared ask you and nevertheless a favour I wanted to obtain more than anyone, and I thank you again as a friend. I promise to give you no more cause to doubt my attachment. But you reproach me for the error I committed in assuming that you were taking revenge on my indifference (which I did not use) its ordinary sense and apply it to my sentiments as well as to my acts, that I protest. For your friendship formed the sweetest memory, that most ardent wish of my heart, and if I could today quite efface from my life the last two years, I would do so just for the reason alone that they made my conduct to you so contradictory, I would do so heartily. That contradiction was due to my mental state which then was only a contradiction with my weak past life, with my roofs with myself, such as that past formed me, such as I was and am.

You know that before you left Paris two and a half years ago I was drawing close to St. Simonism which formed then only a small philosophical school almost unknown. Well, shortly after I entered it completely. Why? you guess it. The generosity and grandure of the views of that society had blinded me, as many others, to all that was incomplete, false or impossible in it. Full of faith and ardour for the work which I regarded as most useful for humanity, exalted by the events at Paris of which I was a witness, I went to London and spent six months as a very zealous missionary, which only served to increase my illusions. Having returned to Paris and being able to judge our doctrines in the men who were its highest representatives, my apostolic enchantment soon

began to diminish, but if I had enough good sense not to put myself forward and to abstain more from talking to everybody as an apostle as my faith demanded my beliefs accepted with the best faith in the world had too much root in my mind for me to be able to reject them suddenly. And that struggle between my feelings and my ideas, a struggle which was draining me and killing me, lasted until the time a split occurred among the Saint Simonist heads and showed me all the emptiness of my beliefs and at the same time threw me into an indefinable state of feebleness and apathy. It seemed as if all certitude, all activity, all will power were quite taken away from me. The thought that my illusions which had just been dissipated also made me guilty to my country by retaining me in London and Paris whereas I should have been fighting on the Vistula and they made me neglect (the loss to me of my father and several persons in my family) my duty to you and others and increased my unfortunate state. Fortunately, I took no part in the follies of Mr. Enfantin. A year after I left the St. Simonists and when the cause of Poland again failed I could scarcely concentrate mentally and find again in myself the strength to survive again. One of the first uses I am making of my new strength is to write you, my dear Mr. Burgaud.

That's the whole history of the past two years and at the same time the sole reason for my indolence and negligence with regard to you. Please believe me. (Your [?] and leave there that past whose memory alone is painful to me; if I didn't have to answer your supposition of indifference. No, my dear friend). As I was not entirely indifferent to my fatherland in spite of the fact I didn't fight in the last war for its independence. I was never indifferent to you. I was guilty of neglecting people because of a great moral sickness which caused me much anguish as I just mentioned to you, you will pardon me. I thank you, and I promise you not to give you any more reason to doubt of my attachment.

As for the suspicion that you dreamed up one night, I can happily announce to you something quite opposite which will confirm what you said to

yourself about me when your dream left. You know that before our revolution I was in touch with our former government, since the Fall of Warsaw, as I was not in my country during the revolution and as my cooperation in its cause in London and Paris was probably not known to the Russian authorities, they made me afterwards some very advantageous offers for me to return. The manner in which I answered on the spot changed into necessity the resolution I had taken by my free choice: to share to the end as a refugee the lot my unhappy compatriots who no longer wish to return to Poland except to conquer or to assure its liberty.

Mr. Mickiewicz received no copy of your translation of Mr. Meniere. Mister Denain no longer had any at all, and he sent me back to Mr. Dupuis who gave me three copies. I gave them to Mickiewicz and he thanks you much and in spite of all you said about it he is delighted with your translation. He finds it essential reproducing faithfully his thought and he thinks it better and without comparison with the one he had read before. He would like to send you a new volume of his poetry. I beg you to indicate the most expeditious way of sending it and write me at the same time if we can hope to see you soon in Paris.

Goodbye my dear friend. I embrace you with all my heart.

Devotedly,
Bogdan Jański

Paris, December 2, 1832
24 Rue Louis le Grand

P.S. I forgot to inform you of a sad piece of news. I lost my brother in our revolution. One of my brothers is in Galicia as a refugee, the other remaining in Poland.

[Address:]

Mr. H. Burgaud des Marets

a Jarnac

(dept. de la Charente)

(MSS 8631, pp. 971, 972, 973 – CRR)

Letter Nr. 31

Paris, December 11, 1832

[To Burgaud des Marets]

I am sending you, my dear friend, this very day the fourth volume of the poetry of Mr. Mickiewicz. It is the first act and an episode of Dziady (I had told you that this volume was superior to everything, in my opinion, that our poet has written up till now and I believe so because) it contains poems eminently nationalistic and Polish, but as it presumes an intimate knowledge of a thousand details on the social state of Poland and Lithuania, it is possible that you will encounter some difficulties in reading it. I would advise you to first read the second scene of Dziady which is less local in character and which at the same time has so much lofty poetry. Yes, my dear friend, there is only the purest truth in what I told you, how Mickiewicz found your translation. I let him know, as best I could, all your feelings of admiration and enthusiasm for him and his talent. He received it as a man of heart, as a poet, he was greatly touched. But pardon me, I beg you; the feeling I have of the simplicity of his character and his extreme modesty did not permit me to do it in such flattering terms as you used because I am deeply convinced that he would not have understood as well. That was the most important thing to me. The reason was that there is something individual and personal in you, in him, in me.

You too suffer my friend. I am becoming a Christian again. And if I did not know that one suffers for the sins of others as for one's own, I would not understand how God is good and that you suffer. But if by the fall of our nature there is solidarity of evils and punishment here below, there is solidarity of hopes and joys by love which rehabilitates everything. Let us love each other then always. Love me as I love you.

Bogdan Jański

[Address:]
Mr. H. Burgaud des Marets
a Jarnac
dept. de la Charente

(MSS 8638, pp. 998, 999 – CRR)

Letter Nr. 32

Paris, 21.3.1833

[To Burgaud des Marets]

Do you know, my dear friend, that your letter deprived me of a great pleasure. Just now I was going to write you a spiteful letter including only these few words. You believe that I am the laziest man in the world. Very well, in spite of the fact that you had said you would arrive in a couple of weeks I was sending you a letter when yours came. However, don't think that I was disappointed and since you will come to Paris next week I believe now more than ever in the system of compensation of the good Mr. Azais.

How happy you are! Always in the clouds, always with the gods and idols. Someone has said that the faculty of admiration is the principle of all joy of all human power and I believe it may be so. For me it is very different, no more idols on the earth and if there are objects of love and sacrifice, it is because I have gone back to their origins and purpose. Despite what you are saying unflatteringly about my being a St. Simonist at Parnassian, you tell me you like me better since I no longer am a St. Simonist and because I had been one I fear appearing to be less worthy of your affection.

Your kindness and indulgence; permit me to desire to see you again as soon as possible.

Mickiewicz would agree to sending you a few words of recommendation for Lelewel but there is a simpler way. Mr. Chodźko who knows you well already by name and has wanted for a long time to make your acquaintance is also in Tours and lives with Mr. Lelewel. I will send you a letter for him and he will introduce Lelewel to you. But I beg you to lower your expectations before.

Mr. Lelewel is a very learned man who has rendered great services to our literature by his historical works but as a social and political man, as a man, you will not find him quite what you seem to imagine.

Goodbye my friend till a few days from now.

Bogdan Jański

[Address:]
Monsieur
H. Burgaud des Marets
Jarnac
dept [departement] de la Charente

(MSS 8518, pp. 221, 222 – CRR)

Letter Nr. 33

November 9, 1834

[To P. Dugied]

Mr. Dugied

I have just received a letter from the pastor of St. Mande in which he indicates for our meeting Monday or Wednesday of next week at 10 o'clock. But as on Monday he is not free till noon, we are choosing no doubt Wednesday to go there together. Tell me if you are free on that day by sending me a little note at Pinard's, the printer, Quai Voltaire, number 15, because I don't know when I will move to 6 Rue Verneuil, perhaps today, perhaps tomorrow. Goodbye

Jański

(MSS 8591, p. 950 CRR)

Letter Nr. 34

Paris, November, 1834

[To J. de Chossotte]

I beg your pardon, Father, for not coming to your place either yesterday or today. Business retains me in Paris the rest of the week. But next Sunday I plan to go to hear Mass at your church and I beg you to give me a day for next week

Jański

(MSS 8436/1, p. 17, CRR)

Letter Nr. 35

Paris, February 10, 1835

[To J. de Chossotte]

My dear Father,

I cannot begin my letter otherwise than thanking you for all the kindness you showed me and my friends that you became acquainted with. Above all be assured of our most sincere gratitude and in particular of my filial attachment. The Messers Celiński, Pierre and Leon, are well and they are persevering on the right path on which you directed their first steps. For my part, I have tried as much as I can to live a regular Christian life confiding more in the divine goodness than in my own strength; I will soon have to call again on your ministrations for a new confession. For the moment here is my request: a new friend of mine would like to make his confession this week. Saturday the 14th is his birthday and he would like to go to Communion on that day. If you have a few moments free on the 11th or 12th he would go to your place on the day and at the time you say. He is one of our members of parliament (or as we say at home "nonce") and at the same time one of our most distinguished poets, Zaleski by name. He was already been converted for some time, but the difficulties he has experienced keep him away from the confessional and this conversion remains incomplete. A year ago he experienced of necessity many temptations and falls of which he would like, with the grace of God and your help, to elevate himself definitively. I don't need to intercede for him with you because I am sure your zeal will help him accomplish this holy revolution.

On this matter I beg you to send me an answer as soon as you can, 6 Verneuil Street. That is still my address for a few days but I am moving soon, very far, to the Ternes, number 6 Arcade Street, Roule Gate; where I have

accepted the position of tutor in a Polish family very distinguished for its morals and social position.

I have the honour to greet you, Father, your devoted servant.

(MSS 8590, pp. 1036, 1037, CRR)

Letter Nr. 36

Paris, July 2, 1835

[To J. Reynaud]

Sir,

When I received your letter of Wednesday a great part of the article had been already sent to the office, at present the rest is already at Mr. Aicard's. I would seek uselessly, sir, to excuse myself for being late. It is certain that I was not sure of having enough time to finish the article at the time appointed. I took on the task and I should not have done so. But what I would like very anxiously ill will or voluntary carelessness had anything to do with my lateness. I beg your pardon very sincerely for the trouble I caused you in spite of my good will, and I have the honour of greeting you.

Here is the end of the article, and I do not dare address another to you. However, I should ask you and I beg you to be good enough to glance at the copy before giving it to the printers because it no doubt contains a lot of faulty expressions. Moreover, the more you change it the better it will be.

I have the honour of greeting you.

(MSS 8598, pp. 43, 44, CRR)

Letter Nr. 37

Paris, March, 1836

[To Charles Montalembert]

My very dear sir and friend,

I hasten to profit by the occasion of the departure for Dijon of my compatriot and friend Colonel Gawroński to write you at least a few words first to congratulate you on your change of state and on your reception of graces so elevated, consoling, and sanctifying attached to its participation of the holy sacrament of marriage; I want to wish for you and the whole new Christian family you are founding all sorts of good things and blessing which I implore for you, sir, and your new family from the divine goodness in my humble and fervent prayers. Then I would like to assure you of my unwavering feelings of friendship, respect and gratitude.

Then I would like to recommend to your Christian hospitality the bearer of this letter, Mr. Gawroński, worthy in every respect of your friendship. He was formerly a philosopher, lover of the best dispositions to whole heartedly return to the bosom of the Church, some edifying conversations, some chosen readings are going to make him decide on it soon, I dare to hope, and it is so that you may contribute to it also during his stay in Dijon that I write you about it in all confidence. I recall always with the greatest gratitude before God and men what I owe you in this respect myself. Your charity will counsel you the best. And it is precisely for you.

And finally it is for me to recall and assure you of enduring sentiments of gratitude, devotion, and most respectful attachment that I have taken the liberty of writing you these words. Be kind enough, sir, to accept the most solemn assurance and your usual goodness.

Your grateful and faithful friend, brother and servant in our Saviour J.
Ch.

(MSS 8598 pp. 48, 49 – CRR)

Letter Nr. 38

Paris, April 6, 1836

[To J. Aicard]

If by some happy chance the Brandenburg has not yet returned in the course of this week, perhaps you will yet use my article all the more as it is a repeat (used in Albert the Bear).

I still have the list of the (...?) of the Ascanian firm because you promised it in the same article (Albert the Bear). But what concerns me the most is to assure you, in spite of my so frequent set-backs, that the new delay comes from circumstances quite independent of my will. They deprive me lately of the free use of my time. I still have the firm hope of being able to be exact and regular in my relations with you in the future.

Yours sincerely,

(MSS 8598 p. 35, CRR)

Letter Nr. 39

Paris, May 13, 1836

[To the Prefect of the Police]

Mr. Prefect,

In coming together to live in common we were aware that sooner or later we were to attract the attention of the police in the natural course of events. This apprehension has already been realized by the friendly investigation of Mr. Hebert and by the home visit afterwards made by the superintendent accompanied by the same Mr. Hebert and four policemen, and finally by the arrest of one of us, Mr. Karski, as the result of a misunderstanding or of a persecution which was thought to be legitimate (all these relations happening between us and the police). That being so, we believed that it was our duty explain to you our situation and to make our situation clear and frank to you, especially when we thought that the relations already occurring between us and your department, Mr. Prefect, would surely not be limited to the expectation which is only the result of normal reasons. Consequently we have the honour of addressing to you these few words of explanation.

Having left different roads we met at the same point. Our past in great part is known to the police and assuredly to you, Mr. Prefect. As a result of long and often very painful experiences and serious reflection which is far from being the ephemeral product of a single day, our common conviction told us that there was no other route to follow both for our individual happiness and the happiness of our fellows than that of religion. This conviction common with us and first nourished at length by each one separately and so put to the test came out purified of all foreign alloy and particularly of that of politics of the day. It was very natural that such analogous sentiments should come

together and one day unite. The common life lent itself all the more to our wishes as we saw in it the easiest way to accomplish our Christian duty. And also we saw in it the greatest possibility of repairing by some good the evil we may have caused. This life presented still other advantages and we had hardly started it when we noticed them. Our troubles were united to be relieved, our skills came together to teach each one what he did not yet possess, our material and moral resources forming one were more profitable especially to each one than his isolation before. These are the advantages which to tell the truth are for the most part only external and they brought about our way of life. Although, in the Emigration it was a novelty, we believed however, that our inoffensive goal and the purity of our intentions and if we may say so that the very name of Catholics, so much desired politically, would put us beyond all suspicion. We believed that these things had just elevated us and we still believe; the force of events and merely the truth will direct us. We leave the answer to time.

However, from now on and to put your mind at rest on this subject we can assure you with the best good faith in the world that no political goal has any part of our projects. The reason for that is very simple. Precisely that state of effervescence in politics which the police complained about against most of us in the past, it is precisely that state which best explains our present position. Three years of long experience like desperate attempts and then a year to reflect showed us the emptiness of all the theories that most of us defended to the utmost. We came out of it with this conviction in common to us and those of us who have not passed by the same road, that no exterior and political arrangement will create happiness in our country or in society in general, convinced also that we must look for another way like for one which would regulate man's interior life and our conviction goes to the point of regarding political arrangements as something very secondary and not worth being concerned with before the interior and religious base is consolidated with

strength. The political form then will be only the result of circumstances and other given conditions and it will come of it self.

And in order to tell you everything we declare to you again that this religious base that we have embraced with all our heart is not a product of our heads but indeed the Catholic religion to which we add nothing and we change nothing. We take it pure and simple. That, it seems to us to wipe out the accusation of revolutionary activity at the root itself. In accepting it thus and in putting aside our former theories however, we have not done so out of disgust or being tired of seeing our efforts as useless; it was only because we were convinced of something better; the holier and purer the cause we embraced the more we want to be zealous and fervent in serving it. We are only writing this to explain a lot of things with regard to which astonishment was registered especially at the time of the two visits that we were paid and of which we spoke about at the beginning.

To explain these things you must credit us with good faith; that must also be done if you are to be just to us. But we are no longer insisting on that; we don't want to have our good faith suspected by reiterating protests. For it is certainly permitted in spite of the rather just remark, it seems to us, that if all that is only a comedy it would be a very bad comedy.

So here in short form is what we have the honor of declaring to you:

1. that no political goal enters into its plans and that is the reason that,
2. we live in common only to practice the principles of religion.

We declare it for you and for all those who will in the future enter into community with us, seeing as we will only accept those who will share the same sentiments as we do.

Kindly accept Mr. Prefect our greetings and the assurances of our high regard for you.

(MSS 8590 pp. 1074, 1075, 1076, 1077, CRR)

Editorial note:

The original of this letter is found in three nearly identical French copies:

- 1) Mss 8590, pp. 1074, 1075, 1076, Paris, May 13, 1836
- 2) Mss 8587, pp. 1013, 1014, 1015, Paris, May 21, 1836
- 3) Mss 8587, pp. 1010, 1011, 1012, Paris, May 23, 1836.

Written in the first person plural, it appears to be a group letter prepared by the members of the House of Jański. Two of the manuscripts are in the handwriting style of Peter Semenenko:

- 1) Mss 8587, pp. 1013, 1014, 1015, Paris, May 21, 1836
- 2) Mss 8587, pp. 1010, 1011, 1012, Paris, May 23, 1836.

In the original, Mss 8587, pp. 1013, 1014, 1015, Paris, May 21, 1836 carries a list of signatures.

Letter Nr. 40

Paris, May 20, 1836

Caesar Plater**[To Minister of the Interior]**

Count Plater has the honor of presenting to the Count of Montalivet, Minister of the Interior, the following note on the subject of the Poles living in common in Paris at 11 Notre Dame des Champs Street.

Two kinds of motives concern the Minister of the Interior. I know personally the people who live in the house as well as their dispositions and their lives and I see there the nucleus of a real moral reform in the bosom of the Polish Emigration, an enterprise undertaken conscientiously and with intentions which deserve the protection and encouragement of every good man. I have the conviction that the members of this house as political refugees conceive their duties to the government which accords them such benevolent protection and the conduct they have decided on in this respect, all this by the influence which the example of these men would have on the entire Emigration could have consequences of this highest importance to stamp out the disorders and irregularities which until now were a chief and almost general factor in the relations of the Polish refugees and the French government. In these two respects the house in question is quite exceptional in all that has been undertaken up to now in the Polish Emigration.

(MSS 8590 pp. 1074, 1075, 1076, 1077, CRR)

Letter Nr. 41

Paris, June 20, 1836

[To J. de Chossotte]

Thanks to be God and your charitable protection, Father, every thing is going marvelously. Last week I went to Father Auge and he welcomed me as I never would have been able to hope or deserve. He agreed to everything although, he thought it was a matter of immediately accepting and having our young men enter. Also he formally promised to come every day to say Mass in the college chapel, to come and take us for a walk in the gardens and to get acquainted with the house. He assigned Father Buquet to help Father Blanc to hear our confessions and he promised to be my confessor himself. So all goes marvelously. God be praised for it and may he reward you here and in the life to come.

But the matter of Peter makes me very anxious and to work things out it is again in your help and kindness that all my hopes are placed. Peter agreed to leave Father Desgenettes but without wishing to understand the reason well, only out of friendship and obedience to me. At any rate the news is about that prodigal son; you have opened again the gates of holy Mother the Church. We must indeed have recourse to you to guide us there. As a matter of fact through your kindness the means for making ecclesiastical studies has already been found for Jerome, it was done through your intercession, and that made some impression on him. For that was his first reason for coming back from Solesmes, which he had already abandoned a month after his arrival from Solesmes in December, and he only got that notion again at the time of the trip to Paris of Father Gueranger (Prior of the Benedictines at Solesmes) under the pretext that he was losing his time to no purpose waiting to enter a seminary, an admission to seminary which was not at all a sure thing.

The original reason for his plan to become a Benedictine is then gone but since he has embraced again this plan and is attached to it very much because he saw there alone all his future, all his happiness, and many feelings and ideas that he has in his head are still opposed to his changing rapidly and demand that we take great precaution in the advice that we would give him. I even believe that it would not be good to thwart right now his intentions. I am not making any formal opposition to it. I think that above all we must make him feel his need to recapture, with confidence in God, all the liberty of his spirit to examine his duty and the way he can employ his life most usefully for God and the well being of his neighbour.

In dealing with him I keep the above in mind but what would be the most useful and necessary thing for him would be a good talk with you, Father, especially as he feels vividly the rights that you have to be his spiritual director as his first confessor. So here is my request: that you be good enough to invite him to your place and write him about it and appoint a day when he can receive your counsels as soon as possible even this week. Perhaps it would be well that you invite him yourself in the letter you send him. I believe he would be less distrustful and would go to your place better disposed rather than if it were I who advised him to go and see you. In this case don't speak to him of this letter.

May your zeal inspire and plan for the best in this matter which concerns the life of a man dear to us. I have only to be conformed to your decisions in which I place all my confidence and hope.

(MSS 8596, pp. 1246, 1247, CRR)

Letter Nr. 42

Paris, October 4, 1836

[To Count Gasparin, Minister]

Mr. Minister,

I have the honor of recalling to your benevolent memory that on the tenth of August last I was introduced to you by Count Montalembert who pleaded in my favour (he gave you a note about this) to obtain from the Minister of the Interior the authorization to establish in Paris a house for Polish children and financial aid to help found this establishment. As you were kind enough to welcome this project with interest, I am taking the liberty of now asking you for a definitive decision, Mr. Minister.

The information given you by the Count Montalembert and Count Caesar Plater about the house of the Poles (11 Rue Notre Dame des Champs) of which I am the director have sufficiently reassured you with regard to us and I flatter myself that you are well disposed toward us. My intention, Mr. Minister, being to profit by a return of religion and order which is taking place in the minds of a great part in the youth of the Emigration and to consolidate it by impregnating in it a direction toward studies leading to useful work. The setting up of a Polish School in Paris would serve me effectively by furnishing a suitable occupation for the people at my house and by procuring in time some financial aid for the relations that I have with some Polish families make me hope for a development of that institution. Already my compatriot and friend Prince Giedroyć presently a colonel in the service of France (living in Paris, 10 Place du Pantheon) has confided his son to me and I have taken him as a student in my house to begin the realization of my project. However, so that it is realized and able to form the first nucleus of students I will be obliged to take some students of parents who are poor. For their upkeep I would have

to provide at least in part the expenses for the premises, the furniture and books will also be indispensable. That is why, Mr. Minister, I am having recourse to your generous protection by begging you to grant me financial aid for the expenses of the first establishment.

Please excuse me also, Mr. Minister, in the absence of our friends the Counts Montalembert and Caesar Plater who served as our intermediaries with the government, I dare to speak to you of yet other matters.

1. One of my friends and a member of the House on Notre Dame des Champs Street has just entered the Seminary of College Stanislaus. I have the honor of begging you to give him the same favor that three months ago Messers Kajsiewicz and Semenenko received as he is in the same position, that is to say, to get the same allocation of monthly government aid, and to give him a grant once only of four hundred francs for extraordinary expenses.

2. The Counts Montalembert and Plater had obtained the promise of the government that some additional permissions be accorded to the refugees coming to live in our House. I am asking from you similar favors for Mr. Joseph Marszewski (from Bayeux) for whom Montalembert had already obtained the promise of the early delivery of the authorization requested, and for Mr. Francis Mikulski (living at Brinon, Nièvre) a young man who would also like to enter our House and continue his studies under my direction.

One of the refugees recently arrived from Cracow and living at Bar-le-Duc, Mr. Służalski finds himself in the category to which the government refused monthly help. I have for him here in Paris a way of supporting himself and being sure of guaranteeing his good conduct I have the honour of begging the Minister to grant him permission also to come to live in Paris.

3. Mr. Joseph Maliński (of the House on Notre Dame des Champs St.) historical painter who has already lived in France for ten years went to London on his work and having lost his passport, he cannot obtain one from the French Embassy so he can return to Paris. I beg you, Mr. Minister, to be kind enough to have one delivered to him.

Accept, Mr. Minister, the assurance of my perfect gratitude and respect,

the very humble

(MSS 8591, pp. 1109, 1110, 1111, 1112, 1113, CRR)

Letter Nr. 43**[To Charles Montalembert]**

Paris, July, 1837

Praised be Jesus Christ!

Now and forever. Amen.²¹⁸

Your former master of Polish is arrogating himself the right to greet you with a eminently Polish salutation even at the risk of embarrassing you, is that not a gramatical sense of those few words?

Thank you our very dear Count, thanks with all my heart for the letter you were enough to write me on June 23rd. Immediately after receiving it I went to Mr. Caesar's and as it appeared to me that he had expedited on the day before the letter, and all that there was to be sent for you. There only remains for me to reserve the right to give evidence on the first occasion of my thanks for having thought of me in your anxiety which the long silence of your lazy correspondent caused. Now I am profiting from it obliged as I am to write you to protest against the pitiless decision of Mr. Caesar on my inability to do the printing of the papers arriving here for you. so I can accomplish this commission, your confidence being charitably accorded me there is scarcely required anything on my part but good will. I am capable of it, very capable, and I beg you to entrust it to me if thatt is your pleasure.

I also have another reason for writing you and it again is a request. Father Dłuski (former pastor of Nowogródek, the native country of Mickiewicz) who was been living for a few months in our house wants to go to Belgium to a convent of the order of St. Francis and to that end he wants to go

²¹⁸ Original in Polish: "Niech będzie pochwalony Jezus Chrystus. – Na wieki wieków. Amen."

to Belgium. For a certain time it has been his fixed idea. He is the same priest you hear tell of last year who had a beginning of a mental health problem. That actually took place nearly a year ago. Fortunately he has come out of it and for five months he has been living with us. I have not seen any trace of it. He has even confided to me the nature of his alienation and would attribute it rather to some quite spiritual influences which he suffered than to simple organic derangement. Moreover, Father Dłuski is not a learned man but a priest of the most fervent piety of the most regular morals and the purest.

I am taking the liberty of asking for him a letter for some superior of that convent's order or for some pious Belgian person who would be kind enough to help him realise his cherished project.

He is provided with very fine certificates from bishops and pastors among others the bishop of Nevers, of the pastor of St. Roch, of the Abbaye au Bois where he now says Mass. As I have that firm conviction too that you run no danger of compromising yourself by your recommendation of this worthy priest, I am very confident in your inexhaustible kindness for us, our very dear Count, and I ask you for that letter with real insistence, sure of obtaining it if you have the means of giving it. In case there would be some particular difficulties of his entry into a convent of the Franciscans and it would be easier to place him in some other monastery Father Dłuski would be resigned to go ahead provided that the rule and the diet were austere. He speaks little French, little German, so he would not be suitable neither for confession nor preaching. He would make an excellent religious under vows, tireless for the church offices, very zealous and very capable for any bursar job. Will you, dear Count, take into charitable consideration this matter.

Mr. Caesar goes daily to Amiens to make a retreat under the direction of Father Lacroix.

(MSS 8627, pp. 736, 737, 738, 739, CRR)

Letter Nr. 44

La Trappe, November 8, 1837

[To P. P. Cheruel]

Oh, my dear friend! What graces, what thanks must I give you for having spoken to me of la Trappe nearly a year ago and for having thus inspired me with the project of making this pilgrimage also; I am very disappointed not to have been at home the evening when you had the goodness (and the courage) to bring me your letter.

The next day, it was Sunday the 29th I spent the morning at your place but you had already gone out. In the evening at five thirty I left for Mortagne. Arriving there at Monday noon I went immediately to my destination.

Father Prior was not there; he was driving back the Bishop of Nancy who had come to visit La Trappe. Father Abbot was also away. He was on a visitation trip of the monasteries, so that I was admitted to the Guest House quite simply on handing over my passport.

It was only Wednesday, the feast of All Saints that I saw Father Prior. He had already read your letter which on my arrival I had given to the brother porter.

You know my arrival, my stay will be the most important date in my life, the time (I dare to hope in the divine mercy) of my entire renewal in J. Christ.

You did not suspect how much affliction and trouble was crushing me before I left. Well the good Father Prior took it on himself with God's help to deliver me from it. Oh, what a man of heart, of charity, vibrant, solid, energetic. That's your Father Prior. How happy you are to have such a friend. From our first interview he conquered my heart. I have just begun to make my general confession to him. He is going to direct my retreat himself. And really,

if I had the choice now, the entirely free choice of a spiritual director of all the priests I know, he is the one I would prefer to confide in. I am so glad, delighted, edified by his charity. I give my most humble and profound thanks to God for having led me here to your good Father Prior.

So thanks from the bottom of my heart, my Cheruel, because it is you who are the instrument of God in this work of such great good for me. It is to you that I owe such great consolation and hope. Help me with your prayers, I beg you, to keep my good resolutions. I ardently wish for the success of all your pious projects and works.

And be sure of my eternal friendship in our Saviour Jesus Christ.

B. Jański

Grand Trappe of Mortagne

November 8, 1837.

In a letter that I am sending to Paris for Mr. Kunatt, in case he arrives, I am giving him your address and asking him to go and see you as soon as possible. If he is already there and if you see him tell him, I beg you, that of all the houses and institutions where he would be able to live with his Vladimir, the one which best fits the conditions laid down by the Misses de Komar seems to me to be the boarding house of Mr. Meunier (4 St. Dominique) where the son of Prince Czartoryski is.

(Address:)

Mr. P. P. Cheruel,
Rue Saint Suplice, Paris.

(MSS 8653, pp. 1053, 1054, 1055, CRR)

Letter Nr. 45

La Trappe, November 18, 1837

[To P. Gueranger]

My very dear Father,

I am writing this little note to tell you that in a few days from now I would finally like to realise my dear and cherished project of the pilgrimage to Solesmes. Two days after I had the honour of seeing you at Abba Des Genettes place I left for the Grande Trappe at Mortagne where I just made a retreat and have remained to now. Being thus more than half way from Paris to Solesmes.

I told you good Father and Friend that I would like to profit from your kindness and go and spend a few days with you. Very well, I am ready but if my arrival now is to bother you at all, write me please. I will wait for your letter here until the 24th. But past that day even if it does not arrive, pardon me Father, I am setting out and I will arrive at Solesmes to have your holy blessing and your paternal embrace and a few moments of your edifying conversations and a few days of peace and meditation in your pious solitude.

While awaiting that pleasure I recommend myself most reverend Father to your charitable prayers.

Yours, devoted in our Saviour J. Ch.

B. Jański

The Grande Trappe
de Mortagne (Orne)

Nov. 18, Sat. P.M.

(MSS 8627, pp. 452, 453, CRR)

Letter Nr. 46

Solesmes, December
14, 1837

[Mr. Goney]

I am writing this little note to reassure you, Sir, as to the payment of my debt to you which must amount presently to about 200 francs, as well as to admit the indebtedness and to beg you to patient yet a few more days. As soon as I get back to Paris (which will be definitely before the end of the month) I will hurry to take care of it as well as to make my excuses to you for the great delay.

I have the honour to greet you.

Bogdan Jański

Solesmes, near Sable (Sarthe)
the 4th December, 1837

Please pardon me, sir, the delay that I am taking in paying the rest of my account. It is going to last however only a few days because I am coming back to Paris before the end of the current month and as soon as I am back I will pay you promptly. It is to reassure you in this respect that I address this little note to you.

And I have the honour of greeting you.

Solesmes, near Sable (department of Sarthe) 14 December.

[Two versions of the same letter.]

(MSS 8591, p. 1120, CRR)

Letter Nr. 47

Paris, 1837

[To Minister X.]

Mr. Minister,

I am coming to claim from your Excellency some favours to which I certainly no longer have the right. Only my confidence in past kindness and the protection you accord to everything concerning our Poland gives me the audacity to do so.

May I be permitted, Minister, to say first a word on my personal position. I am not a refugee. In 1828 I was named a professor at the Warsaw Polytechnical School and requested by the former government of the kingdom of Poland to make a trip for scientific purposes abroad. I arrived in France and since that time our national insurrection in 1830 occurred and the School where I was to teach being ruined then; I have resided here without interruption keeping up with the scientific work as my original mission dictated. However, I was deeply engaged early in the movement of philosophical ideas and social ideas. I had the ineffable happiness a few years after a lot of work and trials of arriving at the right conclusion by abdicating the sovereignty of reason before the authority of the Catholic Church. My feelings of the supreme importance that I attached from then on to the religious principle as restoring all individual and social life my feelings, I say, were shared by some of my young compatriots and it was for the purpose of aiding one another mutually to practise our beliefs that we came together nearly two years ago in the house in Rue Notre Dame des Champs.

The immediate result of our Establishment was to enlist several young fellows and settle them in an orderly life of work and piety. Their exalted opinions of former times on some movements could have caused their ruin.

Four of my companions, Messers Kajsiewicz, Semenenko, Duński, former students of our universities, and Mr. Hube, former professor at the faculty of law in Warsaw have entered the Seminary of the College Stanislaus, and receive the best reports from their teachers. The first have just left for Rome to continue there their ecclesiastical studies. The good effects that these examples of people from our House have produced on the generality of the Emigration, these good effects are to my great satisfaction admitted by those of my compatriots whose opinions merit without contradiction the highest consideration. At the same time the suspicions and anxieties of the local authorities, shown at the time of the formation of our Establishment have also been entirely dissipated before reality. However, the entry into the seminary, the departure from the Establishment of the others (namely of Messers Maliński, Stawiarski, Ziomecki) and our numbers diminishing I would have the greatest difficulty without your charitable protection. I have the honour of begging your Excellency to give permission to live in Paris to other persons who are personally known to me and well behaved and consequently I can take full responsibility. They would enter on their arrival in Paris our House and under my direction they will be occupied at studies like those who have been there already up to now, or other works which could assure them in the future an independent life. They are Królikowski (Charles) living presently at Bordeaux, Marszewski, (Joseph) of Bayeux and Mikulski, (Francois) from Brinon-Ies Allemends (department of Nievre).

I am taking the liberty, Mr. Minister, to add that the Count of Montalambert spoke to you, more than a year ago, in favour of the last two named; he even obtained your promise that the authorisation to come to Paris would be granted. One of them, Mr. Mikulski, still very young, behaved badly in the first years of the Emigration, but I would not have dared to present him to the favour of your Excellency, if I were not assured of his change for the better and even of the sincerity of his present intention to go into orders, and intention however, that I would like to test when he is living with me. The

prefect of his department was opposed recently to his departure because of debts which this young man contracted and that he had not yet paid. This difficulty no longer exists. I had an understanding with his family in Poland and I am in a position to care for his business to the satisfaction of the creditors.

Moreover, I hope Mr. Minister, that the reasons which I would like to put forth to Your Excellency to obtain the favour which I have the honour to solicit are quite unusual and not worth much in faro externo.

My request is excusable once more only by my confidence in your generous regard for good works. and for what is really good for our unhappy Emigration, and also in some benevolent words of my illustrious protector who is kind enough to give to Your Excellency this request.

I have the honour, Mr. Minister, to be with [...?].

(MSS 8591, pp. 1116, 1117, 1118, 1119, CRR)

Letter Nr. 48

Paris, January 18, 1838

[To J. Arago]

Sir,

I had the honour of visiting your place lately several times and as I did not succeed in seeing you and speaking to you I am taking the liberty of asking you to grant me a few moments of your kind attention and be acquainted with my business by letter.

One of my friends, detained at home because of illness, has intrusted an errand to me dealing with you. He had already gone to your place nearly a month ago to present to you a three-act play called Hospitality or Devotion. Since then he has written to Mr. Scribe wanting to give his play at the Gymnase. I am enclosing the letter he received in which although assuring him of the success of the play Mr. Scribe advises him to present it at the Vaudeville and seems not to doubt that will be well received by you, sir. What Mr. Witwicki (that is the name of the author) is doing is again appealing to you, sir. Also he has made a few changes and would like you to revise or have his manuscript revised.

I should advise you, sir, that Mr. Witwicki is one of our most distinguished poets and among us enjoys a well deserved reputation. He has written for the theatre already even and with remarkable success. That is why I have no doubt that his little Ms. For the theatre in French is well conceived and written and has a great chance of success. In this conviction I do not hesitate to assure you that the author and his work although foreign and Polish really deserve your distinguished attention. I have the honour of asking you to let me know if you will agree that we send the Ms. To you again for a new examination and reading and that you will let him know about a collaborator

who would make some changes necessary for the staging in your theatre and would share in the possible profits.

I could count on you, sir, for a few influential recommendations. Although I am unknown to you I am relying on your generous affability and I am relying on your generous affability and I have good omens about this matter and I beg you, sir, to accept the assurance of my most distinguished sentiments.

B. Jański

(MSS 8598, pp. 26, 27, CRR)

Letter Nr. 49

Nevers, February 15, 1838

[To Charles Montalembert]

My dear Count,²¹⁹

I have been here about ten days in the department of Nièvre, where I came to lend assistance to one of my young compatriots and confederates by the name of Mikulski whom you deigned to protect through Montalivet almost two years ago. He was living then at Brinon-les-Allemands and it was a question of obtaining for him permission to live in Paris so he could enter our house (which Montalivet had promised you but did not keep the promise after).

This Mikulski arrived in France as a refugee with the rank of second lieutenant of artillery being only sixteen. As a youngster his life was a bit irregular; that is why he was packed off and banished to a small town. However, long ago he came back to his senses and the practice of religion. He has behaved himself well and even conceived the very sincere and decided intention to enter the seminary. It was then that we wanted to have him come to Paris.

But unfortunately all our efforts, all the requests of Mr. Caesar, your intercession even did not succeed. Meanwhile the demon “circumivit quaerens ut eum devoret” and he was more successful. The poor young man isolated and in despair fell seriously, he lately made the acquaintance of some bad companions whose effects would have cost him eternity. I was obliged to act promptly before the domination of the enemy was consolidated and before the demon deprived me of all good influence on his victim. I acted promptly, the cross in my heart, to remove him from where he was living by force.

²¹⁹ Original Polish: „Kochany mój Panie Hrabio”.

Which thanks be to God, I have already done. The generous duty of charity and confraternity not only dictated it, but the personal obligations which I had to this young man who is a cousin of one of my former confreres, Mr. Duński (at the College Stanislaus) whose family I know. The family has been made of my fraternal-paternal relations with him. Well, thanks to be God, the first goal of this trip has been accomplished. But the Lord has confined for the moment to my care this lamb who has been snatched from the wolf's mouth, all that imposes on me the duty of finding for the lamb a shelter where his wounds can be healed. After I have rescued my young friend from the misfortune of sin we had to think of liberating him from the misfortune of isolation.

(MSS 8591, p. 1147, CRR)

Letter Nr. 50

Paris, May 25, 1838

[To Madame unknown]

Madame,

Don't be afraid because you see another handwriting and not the one you hoped to find. None of your letters has reached Frank and measures have been taken so that he will not receive any.

Please, Madame, recognize at last into what abyss you are obstinately throwing yourself. You are a woman, mother, and Christian. But God is greater in his goodness and mercy than all our crimes (throw yourself then into his arms, yours can still serve him). Humiliate yourself, confess your sin and he will absolve you and you will become again pure and innocent. Up to then no excuses. You are a criminal, and at least do not drag into your ruin a young man who is coming back to God and to virtue; rather follow his example.

Oh yes, you will follow him to the confessional. That is my hope, that will be your consolation which alone will calm your suffering and will make you more happy than you ever were. If a creature was able to occupy thus all the faculties of your soul what will it be if you give all your heart, all your thought to Him who is love itself, perfect love which we will enjoy in eternity.

You must then, Madame, cease all your correspondence with Frank - forever. (Pray for him as he is praying for you). Otherwise we will be forced to return your letters to you or even to your husband. That is something to which you would not want to expose yourself.

Penance! Penance! That is the only thing there remains to do. As a penitent pray for him, pray for us all as he and I are praying for you to the Father of mercy.

Be assured, Madame, of my entire discretion and accept my sincere wishes for your perfect reconciliation with God. Above all pray, seek with confidence, seek unceasingly your entire consolation in God and you will find more than you sought. Pray.

(MSS 8590, pp. 1034, 1035, CRR)

Letter Nr. 51

Paris, July 4, 1838

[To Husson]

My dear Sir,

Our former fellowship emboldens me to renew again with respect to you a recommendation of one of my compatriots employed for several months in your business.

In virtue of our former fellowship and indulgence to me I feel justified and inspired with courage to put forward a recommendation for one of my poor compatriots who has been employed for several months as a labourer in your business. Mr. Leonard Ordyniec himself will hand you this letter. He is the brother of one of our distinguished writers. He would like to have the job of road supervisor. I know him as a man of perfect morals, regularity, and an assiduous worker. He knows enough written and spoken French, he knows enough of mathematics that is probably needed for this job. Be good enough then, I beg you earnestly, to give him it to him. It will almost assure to destiny of a good man, a victim like so many others of our political misfortunes. Mr. Leonard Ordyniec is the brother of one of our most distinguished writers and good friend of mine. That is why anything you do for him will oblige me personally.

Accept in advance the assurance of my heartfelt thanks and my most distinguished regards.

B. Jański

(MSS 8598, pp. 28, 29, CRR)

Letter Nr. 52

Paris, July, 1838

[Michel Chevalier to the Minister of the Interior]

M. Jański (Bogdan), whom Mr. Michel Chevalier recommends to His Excellency M. the Minister of the Interior, having been named professor at the Polytechnical Institute of Warsaw was, in 1828, charged by the Minister of Public Education of his country with a scientific mission abroad. Although absent from Poland at the time of the events of 1830 and 1831, he found himself engaged in and compromised in the patriotic cause by adhering to it and his conduct which irrevocably attached him to the members of the Polish Emigration. But free from any tie with the parties which transporting on the soil of France the injustices, born of the national struggle, have so much (by their quarrels) afflicted the friends of Poland, he devoted himself while continuing his serious studies to finding means which could bring peace to these irritated minds. It was for this purpose that he published a newspaper (in Polish) and later in the beginning of 1836 having gathered around him a certain number of his young compatriotes, he founded for them an establishment of common religious life (N.D. des Champs Street, at present 75 Boulevard Montparnasse and 11 Vavin Street) concerning whom M. the Count Montalembert and the Counts Plater have had to intervene with the Minister [of the Interior]. The success obtained by Mr. J[Jański] is to have returned several of his young compatriots to a life of order and work. Political storms and error could expose these young men to misfortune. For that reason and by his public profession of his religious convictions he exercised a salutary influence on a great number of others.

Among those who gathered around Mr. Jański there are nine who are entering the ecclesiastical state (at present four continue their studies at Rome,

some have already found satisfactory positions) others devote themselves to studies and work which promises them an independent and honorable future.

However, it is on his personal resources that Mr. J[ąński] has tried to get along and to continue this work under the inspiration of the duties that he has imposed on himself. I take the liberty of recommending him to the benevolent interest of His Excellency the Minister for aid which once given will be all the more precious as he will regard it as honorable evidence and generous approbation of the Minister for his efforts.

(MSS 8598 pp. 15, 16, 17, CRR)

EDITORIAL NOTE:

The original of this letter is found in two French copies:

1/ MSS 8598, pp. 15, 16, 17, CRR

2/ MSS 8598, pp. 18, 19, CRR

Letter Nr. 53

Paris, October 25, 1838

[To Father de Salines]

Sir,

The hope of receiving some definitive news about Mr. Mickiewicz caused me to spend all day yesterday without writing to you. However, it was useless as we received no letter from him. And we are not sure what he will have to say. I beg you, sir, to go ahead without considering him and to accept the other candidate if there is still time. (If there is nothing even in Lausanne which would suit him and if he came back to Paris with no job). Perhaps on the return of Mr. Mickiewicz and if he has taken no post at Lausanne nor has found for the present and post at Juilly you would be able to promise him something for the next academic year. I think that would reassure him and would make him await patiently the fulfillment of your promise. But as for what is to be done now I beg you, sir, and I believe I should ask you, to go ahead without considering the candidacy of Mr. Mickiewicz (to avoid such a great difficulty).

Our men from Bordeaux and the one from Dax have not yet arrived; I am waiting for them every minute especially the ones from Bordeaux because [...] were to finish all their preparation and to leave last Thursday.

Mr. Guderley from Dax is still detained for a few days by some small financial worries which he hopes, however, to soon get out of.

I want, to satisfy your request and need, to introduce the Master of Studies and (as you are writing me) I will send you tomorrow and perhaps today coming at 3 P.M. one of my young compatriots whom I have just decided to accept for one of the three places. I am sure he will accomplish very well all the required conditions. He is a practical young man who successfully

finished in our country his studies and has the degree of license in law. He knows Latin and German well.

(MSS 8598, pp. 41, 42, CRR)

Letter Nr. 54

Paris, November 10, 1838

[To Father de Salines]

Of the two compatriots of mine only one is leaving for Juilly, Mr. C. K. [Kazimierz Kozarzewski]. I hope that he will make you a perfect Master of Studies. I have known him for a long time in my country more ten years ago, and I am sure of his character and of all his qualities to be able to recommend him to you in all certainty. He has, like Mr. Chełchowski, a licentiate in law (University of Warsaw); I believe that he will be able to do the repetitions of Latin very well and in Greek in a short time.

But as for his friend, Captain Późniak, that you, sir, wanted to offer the job of prefect of police, I fear that there are some obstacles to his taking that position and Mr. Kozarzewski will say a few words about it to you. I will try to come in a few days; I would, as well as he, wish that the matter be postponed for some days from now.

Mr. Późniak will go to Juilly to see you and even to take up the matter with you. Or else if you have to come to Paris in the near future be kind enough to let us know ahead so we can go to see you at the time you indicate. It is a question of necessary information on the [...]

(MSS 8598, pp. 39, 40, CRR)

Letter Nr. 55

Paris, November 30, 1838

[To Father de Salines]

Please permit, me dear Monsieur to satisfy a very precious need of my heart and at the same time to accomplish asking your charitable kindness a thousand pardons for the new delays in answering your last letter. The formidable and unexpected catastrophe that my compatriots Messers Kozarzewski and Mikulski brought you would explain my negligence but I do not excuse myself and I feel that it is then in your generous benevolence that I should seek uniquely and there I will find excuse and pardon. What has affected so sorrowfully all friends of Mr. Mickiewicz....

Mr. Mickiewicz has been already ten days back in Paris. His wife, thanks be to God, is feeling much better and her cure now is certain. The affair of Mr. Mickiewicz is not yet complete although very advanced, but today he is not yet busy at anything that he will have to do and will do in the future all absorbed as he is in caring for the sick woman.

The arrival of Mr. Gouderley is still being prevented and then I still have my reasons, and very grave ones, which I will communicate to you the first time that I have the honour of seeing you, reasons which oblige me to hold him back for some time among us before letting him leave for Juilly so that you, sir, may consider him if such is your charity as your candidate to come.

He has still decided to profit by the ministerial authorisation and to arrive in Paris, but for the moment such is his position that he would not be able to come and occupy the place presently vacant and reserved for him by you.

(MSS 8598, pp. 36, 37, 38, CRR)

Letter Nr. 56

La Trappe, April 30, 1839

My dear Mr. Goney,

I have just learned with pain and real sorrow that you have decided to take extreme measures against me and that you have even summoned me before the Justice of the Peace intending to bring me to court then. I admit to you that it is not so much the fear of the consequences of these rigorous measures that afflicts me as the circumstances that the measures are taken by you, sir, from whom for more than three years that we have been associates I received only evidence of esteem and kindness and that these measures were taken without your having had the obligingness even to [...?].

Since I met you the last time, it was I believe at the end of the month of February, and receiving no longer any demands from you for payment as pressing and urgent as before, I thought that sure of my good faith that you have many times assured me of and taking into consideration the manner in which I previously paid you, I thought you would have decided to extend to me your patience and usual confidence of other times and without any detriment to yourself and would have decided to give me all the time needed to settle up. And on my side I have been and am awaiting all the funds sufficient to pay the account.

I preferred to await the arrival of those funds than to offer you a little money on account which could make you anxious rather than satisfying you and making you now a new complication in the matter arises from what my confrere Mr. V[ictor] S[idorowicz] to suppose that the business would drag on for a long time. That is why I appeared to you neglect you for the past two months and what no doubt so disappointed you. [...?] as for what you declared to the Justice of the Peace to have heard about Count Ladislaus Plater.

Now a new complication in our affair arises from what Mr. Victor Sidorowicz tells me; in my name he answered the Justice of the Peace and that you declared you heard from Count Ladislaus Plater.

I can really take the words of Plater such as they were reported to me by yourself only as a [...] which he wanted to make before you, which I don't want to qualify, for I don't want to consider them seriously as an insult. I could not believe that he wanted seriously to set himself up truly with having the ridiculous importance of being the head of such a poor establishment as ours, something where there is nothing. The fact that Mr. Ladislaus was kind enough to insinuate that I was only creating a shelter for someone he knows full well does not yet exist.

The fact is that under the address of and the name of Mr. Ladislaus Plater I received for a year and half a little fund destined for me and even at present it is possible to believe (I have every reason to believe) that likewise that a good little sum has arrived for me but despite the attitude and friendship eagerly shown me all these times by Mr. Plater I have always experienced and would expose myself to so many annoyances, delays, and real difficulties in return for these funds. About the sum recently arrived I am sure of being expected to and I have reasons to pay my debts that I have decided to write to the person who sends them to send by another way so that merely financial relations existing between Mr. Plater and me are going to cease from now on.

That is the whole truth about Count Ladislaus Plater. Moreover, he could [...] the amounts that he mentioned to you about money for my house [...] there is really nothing more there to discover.

(I would be very happy if he paid our account in whole or in part, for that would clear me with you without obliging me in any way to him).

(Moreover) But at last, my dear Mr. Goney, (you would be better off to accept) since you so decidedly lack patience. (That is) what we had best do in a case like this, and above all if you consider the perfect agreement which existed up to now between us in all our accounts and relations. (We can)

conclude a friendly arrangement which moreover, even without this summons I was intending to propose to you; some recent small payments permit me to do this. However, it is quite simple (that for this arrangement) I can only propose with my present financial news (but) although I repeat and solemnly declare that in a short time I am counting on having the money which (disregarding the conditions fixed for the money) .

(Be assured, that if I could get the sum, I would hasten).

(I would not have asked that he pay you in whole or in part, for that would discharge my debt towards you without responsibility for my debts or any obligation. It would be impossible for you to take the amount he mentioned to you that he says was forwarded to him for my house. If that is his position it is very simple; he can bring up to you twice as many difficulties than to me so I can't have it myself in spite of such pressing needs and in spite of the fact that the amount sent to be handed over to me and in spite of the fact that I am spurned to the point of being forced to wait for new dispositions of the proof from the one who sent the money, it is quite simple, I tell you, that you) [...].

And after that, until there can be greater payments, I suggest that you accept 50 francs to be paid on the first of every month; thus, the first payment which begins in May will consist of 100 francs. This is my proposal to you, Sir, with all good will which, on my part, has never been lacking.

If you should so decide, my confrere, Mr. Sidorowicz, who has already been delegated by me to handle this affairs, will sign this agreement in my name or, at the time of my own arrival, we can settle this matter. I leave this to your decision.

I do not intend to bother other people with this matter because there is neither time nor the possibility to do so in the place where I find myself.

Nevertheless, this letter can serve, if you consider it necessary, as a document of our agreement which I have begun. It can also replace that which I would have said before the Justice of the Peace.

I am sending a copy to Mr. Sidorowicz. I have the honor to send you my greetings, Sir, and I ask to be forgiven from the bottom of my heart for the trouble and inconvenience which this matter has caused you.

B. Jański

La Grande Trappe
de Mortagne (Orne)
30 April 1839

(MSS, 8627, ss. 717, 718, 719, 720 , 721, 722, CRR)

Letter Nr. 57

Paris, July 26, 1839

[To Father B. Duge]

My very dear Father,

The young man who is going to deliver this letter to you, Mr. Frank Siennicki would like to spend some time as boarder in your Holy House. He is painter and if there were some copies, You could use his talent.

By this letter I am recommending to you a fine young man and compatriot of mine Mr. F. S. [Frank Siennicki] who would like to make a retreat and spend some time in your Holy House as a boarder. Be good enough to satisfy him. He is painter, and if he could useful to you for some works, copies, restoration of paintings he would be very glad to.

A thousand pardons my very dear Father for being very short this time but I am in a state—

For two weeks my health has been bad; I suffer a lot in the chest. That is why I can't write as I would like to write you this time at more length. I will add then only that on my return to Paris Abbe Rodet whom I was to take for my confessor (of the Congregation of Mr. Rodan and known particularly by Father Pascal) was dead and I approached Abbe Regnouf (known also by Father Pascal and a friend of his) and I am getting along well with him. My affairs are straightening out little by little. But otherwise the spiritual and temporal all goes well. I beg you, my very dear Father, to present my very humble respects to Reverend Father Abbe. Ten thousand greetings on my behalf to my good Father and be assured yourself of my filial attachment and my very keen gratitude for all your kindnesses. Kindly, I beg you to remember me sometimes in your prayers and to recommend me to those of my good Father Theodore, of Abbe Rooney, and all your good sons and confreres.

And finally once more I recommend to your paternal charity my confrere who is bringing you this letter.

Your devoted and grateful son in our Lord Jesus Christ and very humble servant.

(MSS 8598, pp. 32, 33, 34, CRR)

Letter Nr. 58

Rome, March 5, 1840

[To Madame unknown]

Madame and beloved sister in J. Ch.

Thanks, eternal thanks for your few lines of charitable friendship. But do you know? Divine friendship or the grace which raises up, regenerates and leads to salvation is wise, accommodates itself to our reality, to our weakness, and is given only as needed to raise up, regenerate, and lead to salvation.

It overflows. It troubles us and exposes us to danger. We must groan with the groans of the saints, flooded with torrents of the infinite love; when this love (separated and not limited by infinite wisdom) wished to be given to them in his infinite [wisdom], their life then becomes impossible to live.

Very well, they endure and are then necessarily very troubled and ready to lose their lives. Well [...]

(MSS 8598, p. 14, CRR)

Letter Nr. 59**[To Gentelmen unknown]**

Gentelmen

In speaking before you the first need that I feel is to ask some indulgence for the form of my language. I am not speaking my maternal tongue to you and it is the first time I am speaking publically in yours. May the at times strange colour of my expressions not turn your attention from their sense and import.

(MSS 8626, p. 92, CRR)

Letter Nr. 60**[To Sir unknown]**

[...] but what do they come down to? a weakness of religious love. When you invoked my ties with our sainted family no doubt I entered with great joy; the day of my reception I wanted it as the great day, the day of regeneration. But what feelings were the most loving? I accepted the religion because I was eager for humanity's progress and to achieve it I saw no other answer. I disapproved of or did not approve of much of what my superiors said and did. And you told me that everything we think and do is healthy and holy by our belief in progress, universal progress one and complete. I have sinned, I regret it and wish most eagerly, most sincerely that you love me and regenerate me anew [...].

O, that profound sentiment [...] the present error of the love I possessed causes me to stop and reflect on a manifestation of divine goodness which extends all the way to the source of all wisdom and might. I have been proud.

Write to me then. I committed a grave error. The remorse which I have felt is surpassed only by my desire to improve. And I am better because I have indeed (improved). Since I would have never written, it is an act of obedience, not wanting to live any other way than for the sake of religious love.

I would say then, full of joy, what I said so often with Chevalier. Everything has been and is good there. I would assure you of this with greater certainty when I receive your forgiveness. Then even my imperfections will become perfect in me.

I write that I am conscious of my errors. I won't bother you with a long list of my failures which have hemmed me in. I believe in the works of which I

am about to give an account - I do not want to lay aside the pen as yet without finishing this letter. In the few lines that follow you will encounter them once again. I apologize for the lack of a plan. Forgive my weakness (a more detailed list in the next letter).

The main purpose is that which I have already described sufficiently.

The rest, which I plan to write, be it complete or not, remains for the future. I will put this letter into the mail.

(MSS 8626, p. 27, CRR)

Letter Nr. 61**[To Sir unknown]**

I believe it would be well to draw up a little account, very factual and short, not flowery, only the facts and details which are positive, relating the history for the change which happened in some minds, and the story of the foundation of the mission and the vicissitudes in the lives of individuals. Let it be short and precise.

You must tell me what are the favours that they asked for and to what congregation they were sent.

(MSS 8598, pp. 58, 59, CRR)

VOLUME III

[letters numeration according to 1980 edition]

Letter Nr. 60

London, January 20, 1831

[Rough-draft of letters to J. Maliński]

Dear Maliński, my dear brother!²²⁰

I approach the task of writing a few words to you with such a warm feeling! What holy bonds unite us!²²¹ How great is our mission!

Why have I not written to you before? You have surely read the letters which I wrote to our fathers; you will have guessed at least part of the reason for my silence. Evil is a condition for good: through weakness and errors I had to end and take leave of my errors and weakness. I have taken my leave of them, I am finished with them forever; for I have grown in our faith.²²²

The foundation of our faith as saintsmonists is progress and perfection. Why then trouble the mind and roil the heart, and grow indifferent by remembering our dead past? Forward! Always forward!

Prior to my departure from Paris, there were a few very insignificant circumstances,²²³ not worth even mentioning that might have weakened the bonds of faith, hope and love that unite us, and which can never make us anything but a single perfect being.

²²⁰ Joseph Maliński (1801-1874). He came from either Gostyń or Koźminek, and went to school in Kalisz. He studied in Warsaw, in the Department of Fine Arts (from 1821), and then went on to Paris (from 1826), where he became acquainted with Bogdan Jański and painted his portrait. Later he joined the saintsmonists for a time; then participated in the religious activity of the apostle of the exiles, and became one of the first members of his new catholic society, i.e. the House of Jański. He spent the years 1836-1839 on London. Next, after a short stay in Paris, he moved to Italy, where he organized and participated in political activities. His known works include: Amor's Head (1823), a portrait of Bogdan Jański (1830), a portrait of Garibaldi, and a number of landscapes.

²²¹ Their joint affiliation with the saintsmonists.

²²² That is, in the doctrine of the French reformers.

²²³ Jański has in mind the matter of the portrait, which was not finished before his departure for London (it was completed in 1832), for which he could not pay.

Since then, you have been surrounded by the loving and beloved brotherhood our saintsimonist family. You, too, have surely grown.

We will soon meet in Paris, and we will be able to talk at greater length. All that I want to tell you now is: Don't let those trifles from the past disturb your feelings. Do not refuse me a warm, vibrant, brotherly embrace. The past is already so far behind us!

Let us move forward, always forward! Toward infinite truth, fraternity and love.²²⁴

Bogdan Jański

²²⁴ Rough-draft a letter preserved in CRR: Ms 8626, p. 79.

Letter Nr. 61

Paris, November 7, 1835

No, dear Joseph, I am sorry to say, I am still alive! My younger brother, Anthony, died recently in America. It was undoubtedly about him that you heard. I am alive; but life is becoming increasingly difficult, for age and experience reveal more and more of its vanity. What ever a person does here leads to the cross; but through the cross he reaches eternal salvation.

The cross is the banner, the symbol of our existence on this earth: to suffer, and suffer, and suffer. This is the end of everything on this earth. He who wishes to go higher and further, to live forever, ought not waste away amid sufferings; rather, he should love, love. It must be a true symbol; for God himself, having become man, gave the example of this only throughout his entire life. In the name of the cross of Christ, Joseph, I ask you to love me still, and continue to love me, in spite of all my ugliness and the neglect of my soul.

I realize very well how much I owe you. Long ago you bared your soul to me. I felt that I was in sympathy with you and understood you. Your soul seemed so like mine, like twins.

But, for a long time now, instead of offering signs of an ever sincere love and friendship, my behavior toward you must have seemed externally cold, inconstant and capricious. To his extent did my stormy thoughts and foolish dreams of drawing from reason the truth dealing with man's perfection and happiness on earth, take possession of my soul, twist and make my life ugly. Thus did the illusive poetry of this world²²⁵ lead me to neglect most sacred responsibilities, among which I had always listed my friendship for you. On the basis of personal merit, I have no right to that friendship today. Only you in your goodness can give it back to me. Knowing you, I have never doubted that goodness, and I cannot do so now. When you were leaving, you forgot about me completely; you did not even warn me that you were leaving. I am not

²²⁵ In 1835 that is how he describes the saintsmonist ideals, an enthusiasm, for which he had shared with Maliński.

complaining, though this did hurt me. I feel that I gave you reason to think that I did not deserve better. From the time of your departure, I often desired to write to you. But, for a long time I could not discover your address. Your landlady on rue Grenelle told me that she did not know where you are. Only recently did I find out about you from Chine.²²⁶

I write this letter, to jar your memory, to greet you and embrace you at least in thought and in writing, to express my warmest wishes for you: wishes of health, happiness and peace. Further, if possible, since Chine is leaving for Paris, I ask you to accept me as your correspondent here. I live in the Place du Panteon.²²⁷

You could make me very happy by writing a few words to me and letting me know how you are faring, and what you have in mind for the future. I promise to respond with regularity.

My situation has improved. At least I have been able to extricate myself from carnal misery. However, my soul is seething with longing, and yet with ever greater hope (but now no longer an earthly hope).

(You know about Podczaszyński, the Świętosławskis, and Boleslaus, about the history...).

Next time, if you will agree to correspond with me, I will write at greater length. For lack of time, I will finish here today. Once again I ask your pardon for anything I may have done in the past to offend and annoy you. From the bottom of my heart I desire to make amends and to merit your friendship.

Bogdan Jański

Karski²²⁸ is an outstanding young man. You have gained merit with God for the good word by which you nurtured him. Today he lives by that word. Right

²²⁶ A less-known former saintsimonist.

²²⁷ With the family of Prince Giedroyć, as a domestic tutor for their son, Napoleon-Thaddeus.

²²⁸ Edward Luce Adam Duński (1810-1854). He was from Ciechanów. He went to school in Pułtusk, and to Linde in Warsaw, where (in 1829) he enrolled in the school of Law. He fought in 1830-31, and also 1833-34, as member of the expeditionary force of J. Zaliwski. He was one of the first confreres to join Jański's community (1836-1949). He defended the followers of Towiański, and spent the rest of his life at the Church of St. Roch in Paris. He has left us many precious letters.

now the poor fellow is sitting in Saint Pelagie²²⁹ with the other fourteen, Ordega²³⁰ for one. But they will surely be released soon.

²²⁹ An old monastery in Paris which had been converted a prison.

²³⁰ Joseph Ordega (1802-1879). The owner of Koźminek and of 5 villages in Kalisz. He studied Law in Warsaw, in Jenna and in Wroclaw. He funded the Kalisz cavalry regiment and took part in the fighting in 1830-31. He emigrated to France together with his family and became a political activist TPD (Polish Democratic Society) (1835-38). He was arrested on this account and sent to prison for short time. He was one of the friends of B. Jański and a sympathizer of his religious activity. Later he was a follower of the Christian socialism of J. S. Buchez and the author of the pamphlet, "The Polish Democracy in the 19th Century".

Letter Nr. 62

Paris, June 4, 1836

My dearest Joseph!

How are you? Are you content, happy with the change of place, happy with yourself and with people? And, forgive an old friend if he asks: Have you mastered your sufferings and your impatience? Called to concern yourself with matters of eternity by the intercession of Christ and participation in the graces of rebirth and salvation committed to our holy and universal Church, are you superior to all reverses in insignificant trifles?

Dear Joseph, my brother for ever! I am disturbed and tremble at the thought that the disappointment of your expectations, combined with the realization of what we both feared, may have deprived you of peace of soul, reopened old wounds within your heart and awakened disastrous thoughts.

Unfortunately, at this time we cannot send you more than 50 fr. to satisfy your external needs. This month we had to pay 60 fr. in interest on the debt we had to incur in order to establish the house²³¹, over and above the usual household expenses for the past months and what is needed for the next month. Nevertheless, I will make every effort to send you at least a little more.

What is most important: Do not give up, do not willfully, for a single moment, lose your peace of soul, or the rebirth and the freedom in Christ you have worked for. Defend them tirelessly, lest you succumb to the slavery of the world with its misery, lies, malice and vanity! You know what your effective defense is: The cross in spirit and in body, and the Holy of Holies, the Body and Blood of the God-Man.

Your faith is firm. May your trust in the savior and in the means of salvation be total, able to conquer every uncertainty and never shaken as such. May your boundless love - your love for God, and for your neighbor in God -

²³¹ That is, for the establishment of the so-called "House of Jański" in Paris, February 17, 1836.

become ever, more zealous! This, as you know, is the beginning, the highest law, the mystery of perfection and happiness and life.

Dear Joseph, pardon this catechizing; but I feel that we are one old soul in two bodies. It is no wonder then that I feel and suffer when you are suffering, when your feelings are roused, when you are disturbed. And that's bad! You have no excuse. Just turn your mind and heart to Christ. I will offer you a quotation; you like French quotations: "Les plus precieuses des veritees que l'homme puisse connaitre", according to one famous religious philosopher, "sont des natures a ne pouvoir etre comprimees que par les pleurs et le silence". Dear Joseph, at this moment I feel this very strongly.

I wish I could be with you today, to express to you what I feel, what I advise, what I ask of you; with tears in my eyes, to formulate for you the truth of life, and to obtain for your soul through prayer, lasting peace, freedom, and the patience of Christ. Yet, limitations of space are no hindrance for the soul. Let us help each other by prayer and love.

I remind you of the promises you made to me before your departure, when leaving the church, at the grave of John Casimir.

Adolph²³² is drowning. May God keep him from going under! He is a slave of the time, the place and the atmosphere of the incident that is choking him: He wants to lead his life guided by narrow views, narrow-minded people, and even narrower passions²³³. He will be sorry! Profoundly disorganized, he does not sense the disorganization of our nature today, the root of all evil, and the need for radical, constant until the consumation of these times, and inner healing. He struggles and sweats, thrashing about on the mortal, decayed shell of human life, fearing to penetrate to the core, to the source of all good, for it springs forth and flows independently of him. Let him beware! He needs a very special grace. Let us pray for him especially.

²³² Adolf Zaleski (1810-1853), a brave revolutionary, and formidable spy in Galicia, a member of the Polish Democratic Society, who was converted by Bogdan Jański after a difficult struggle. He established a closer relationship only toward the end of the existence of the House of Jański, when he decided to become a priest. Following upon Jański's departure for Rome, he left, returned to the conspiracy, and died a tragic death in Poznań.

²³³ I.e., the political conflicts among the emigrants, and the plans for a revolution.

God willing, I shall soon write a lengthier letter to you and to him.²³⁴ I ask you to respond quickly and at length, about all that you feel and think and plan to do. Give my greetings to our dear friend, Adalbert.²³⁵ Urge him to add a short postscript to your letter. He would be doing me a real favor.

Bogdan Jański

June 4, 1836

To Maliński

²³⁴ A. Zaleski, after killing a Russian spy in Bronowice, near Cracow, January 6, 1836, fled first to Paris and then to London.

²³⁵ Adalbert Tur (1800-1875). Jański's colleague and friend from the Warsaw days. He was living in London.

Letter Nr. 63

Paris, May 25, 1838

My dearest Joseph,

My brother forever in Christ the Lord! What did you write in your last letter to Edward: that, if I think of you worthy, I would surely write to you? It is I, my dear friend... I who am unworthy that you should receive a letter from me... I, who caused you so much anguish by my silence, even causing you to judge that I had forgotten about you!

O no, no! God sees that I keep you faithfully in my heart and that I love you most sincerely. And, in our prayers for our brothers who are far from us - a prayer we continue to say each day from the time when you were with us - you are the first who comes to my mind. Let me assure you that my heart has not changed toward you; rather, and perhaps especially, because I stand indebted to you for such a lengthy silence and because I put our friendship to such a great test, that friendship continues, in spite of the fact that I have not seen you for so long, and grows stronger by virtue of a lengthier and more profound experience of the world and of people. Remembering the closeness of our relationship, my heart, my friendship, my Christian brotherly love for you grows all the more intense.

Nevertheless, it was not you alone... I wasn't writing to anyone! I continue to be oppressed by an old sin - I am very lethargic when it comes to writing. In your letter you once touched on some of the reasons for this: I allow myself to be overwhelmed by the problems and the circumstances that surround me, and to which I am subject. This is true; but the ultimate reason goes even deeper. I feel that I am not living as I should... I am not the person I should be. This is the reason for my inertia, and for my hesitancy to present in my letters, through stereo-typed words, my own unworthy person.

I could go on about this! Thank God, I am coming to see my needs ever more clearly, and I am becoming more and more convinced that there is just no way that I can divide myself between God and the world. In this respect, I have

yet to begin a wholly life, in which I would live according to the example of the eternal truth, and the incarnate love, Christ. This is what needs to be done. Until I set myself to accomplish this goal - the whole ideal, with all its divine qualities, with no regard for human respect - I will continue to experience unrest, inertia and disorder. O Lord, save me and support me!

My dear Joseph, if I were writing to others, some new friends, and forgetting about you, my old friend,²³⁶ in your heart you could justly feel that you had been slighted. However, the situation was completely different. While remembering everyone with whom I am bound in the love of Jesus Christ, I also maintained my silence towards everyone, keeping in contact with them only through others. Therefore, I did not write to you either. Have mercy on me, and do not be angry! Hold my unworthiness in contempt; but believe that my heart is deeply devoted to you.

However, we will discuss all of this at greater length at a later time. For now, accept my sincerest greetings, together with the assurance of my love for you. Out of love for Christ, be merciful to me.

You write that you wish to return to us. Why don't you return? My dearest friend, return as soon as possible! This would bring me such great happiness and such delight!

There should be no problem about the passport. Simply write a request to the Ministry of the Interior explaining your situation: that you have been in France since 1827; that you have never received a subsidy, nor do you wish to receive any; that you left France to seek work and that now you are returning. Send this request to me and I will obtain the passport. There is yet another special reason for you to come soon. You have probably not abandoned your plans to go to Rome. In which case you should know that things are going very well for our brothers there, and the situation there fills us with high hopes. I will let you in on a secret which you must keep; a new group will be leaving for Rome within a few months, either July or August.²³⁷ A new group i.e., two or three. We already have the

²³⁶ They were in contact with each other in Warsaw in the years 1823-26.

²³⁷ J. Hube and E. Duński left in October, 1838.

money to pay for their journey. Therefore, I could possibly arrange for you to go with them, contributing toward the cost of the journey or even covering it completely, obtaining the passport etc. And when you got there, your upkeep would also be made easy. N.B., I repeat: Say nothing of this to anyone! And come as quickly as possible!

John Koźmian,²³⁸ who will deliver this letter, is one of our brothers in Christ, a very fine young man. When he returns to Paris, he is to live with us. He will tell you about us all, and about the various brothers in Paris and throughout the province, whom God, in his infinite mercy, has called to union with the Church and with us.

Thanks to this same divine mercy, our house continues in existence, and, as of now, offers great spiritual promise. Right now we are awaiting the arrival of some new brothers. Among these: Doctor Terlecki,²³⁹ Kranas,²⁴⁰ Omieciński,²⁴¹ and Turowski²⁴² - the last mentioned will enter the seminary.²⁴³

Once again thanks to the mercy of God, I have slowly been paying off my debts. There is almost no debt on the house. This is due primarily to Divine Providence far more than to our own merits, and beyond all expectation.

Do not forget us in your prayers. Pray for us daily and most fervently! I ask special prayers for my sinful self. Receive the Sacraments as frequently as possible.

My dearest friend, come as quickly as you can. And answer this letter almost immediately. What is happening with Tur? Give him my greetings! See if

²³⁸ John Koźmian (1814-1877), a revolutionary, emigrant, student of the exile, follower and successor of Bogdan Jański in Paris. Later, he was the editor of the Przegląd Poznański; and finally a priest, and capitular canon in Poznań. He was the secret administrator of that diocese in the time of the kulturkampf. At this time he was traveling to London through Paris, in order to visit his mother and his brother, Stanislaus.

²³⁹ Hypolit Terlecki (1808-1889), revolutionary, emigrant, doctor, follower of Jański, Resurrectionist. He died in Odessa, January 3, 1889.

²⁴⁰ Francis Kranas (1810-1876), a member of the T.D.P. and president of the Society of Mutual Enlightenment in Chateauroux. He spent one year as a member of the House of Jański, and as a seminarian. Later he was a merchant in Poitiers.

²⁴¹ John Omieciński, later became a member of the House (1838). He did not persevere.

²⁴² Leopold Turowski, poet of the emigration; a Jew by birth, he spent some time as a member of the House of Jański, as a cleric in Paris and Rome.

²⁴³ College Stanislas.

you can find out anything about Xavier Mikorski, with whom we had some minor contacts here. Find out where he is, and how I can write to him. I had a letter from Królikowski.²⁴⁴ He always sends you friendly greetings.

As for Stawiarski,²⁴⁵ about whom you wrote in your letter, I was already aware of that whole matter. A frivolous young man! He is already in Poland. Cover over his action with Christian charity as often as you have the occasion to speak with anybody about him. What he did was done more from foolishness than from malice.

And love this old sinner Bogdan as much as you can, always. May God grant that we would love each other as perfectly as possible, through Christ, our Lord, forever!

Bogdan Jański

Paris, Boulevard Mont Parnasse,
May 25, 1838

(Address on the letter): Joseph Maliński,
London.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁴ The often-mentioned Luis Królikowski from Cracow.

²⁴⁵ Ignatius Bogdan Stawiarski, he speaks here of his contact with the Russian Embassy.

²⁴⁶ The original is in the Roman Archives of the Resurrectionists, Mss 8652, pp. 1049-1052.

Letter Nr. 64

Paris, February 9, 1831

[Rough-draft of letters to A. Kropiwnicki]Dear Alphonse, or Joseph, or Theodore!²⁴⁷

I write letter after letter, letter after letter to Poland, and no one answers. Barciński finds himself in the same situation. We know nothing at all about any of you. I don't know whether my brothers are alive. I have written eight letters to my wife and have had no reply. I don't know what all this means. I plead with you on our friendship, on the love for country, on your love for your wife, on all that you consider holiest, after you have received these few words, set aside a few moments to write me a short note. My address is: Paris, rue Monsigny, a la redaction du "Globe". (Let me know whether you are alive, and what are the most recent political happenings. From my address you can infer that I am connected with the editorial office of the "Globe". Your response, therefore to the latter category (information) is of interest to me in so far as I might be able to be of some benefit to our common cause).

Please communicate:

- A. with my brothers, Anthony is a student of Medicine;
- B. with Michael or Andrew, or John Jaroszewski;
- C. with my wife, with her father, or with her brothers.

Tell them that you have had a letter from me, and that in it I have expressed wonder that I have received no answer to the many letters which I have written. I beg them and entreat them to write to me at the above address, which you will give them. Let them tell me something about themselves and about matters that are of interest to us.

²⁴⁷ The people to whom it is addressed are his friends from Warsaw: Alphonse Kropiwnicki, Joseph Gorecki and Theodore Wosiński.

I trust that, as long as you receive this letter, you will do what I want you to do.

Last month we came here²⁴⁸ from England with Barciński, Królikowski is also tied up here. (You can imagine the turmoil in our hearts and in our veins!).²⁴⁹

To make sure that this letter reaches you, I will write nothing further. I have only one other request: We would be very much obliged to you if you could enter a three-month subscription for us to whatever periodical you would consider most useful to us here at the “Globe”. Send this not as a letter, but as a periodical, to the address given above.

We will settle the matter of the cost at a later time. My dear Friend, write as soon as you can! I embrace you sincerely. Write soon! Best wishes!

Bogdan
Jański

²⁴⁸ They left London at the end of January, 1831, and spent two weeks in Boulogne waiting for a visa to Prussia.

²⁴⁹ The sentence in brackets were erased from the text.

Letter Nr. 65

Paris, March 4, 1837

My dear Alphonse!

Has it ever crossed your mind that I am still alive, and that I continue to love you with my whole heart? We lived together only for a short time; but that brief interval has left me with the fondest of memories. I shall always love you with my whole heart. I write these few words, first to remind you of our brotherly love; secondly, to give you a bit of information about myself, and to make one request of you.

The one bit of information is this: After blundering about for a long time through a variety of philosophies and philanthropies, three years ago I returned completely to the Catholic unity of the Church of Christ, finding there alone, all that can satisfy one's love for the true and the good. All of our blundering resulted solely from our own profoundest ignorance of most important matters, and (in spite of ourselves) from our egoistic passions.

May God grant that you would come to this same understanding very soon.

The one, and the only, request I have to make of you is that you would send me some news about Alexandra at your earliest opportunity. For the past few years I have had absolutely no information about her, about my brother Stephen, or about anyone in the family.

Dear Alphonse, your kindness and the friendship you once had for Alexandra prompt me to seek your help. Right now, not knowing about her, troubles me very-much and disturbs any plans I might have for the future. In any case, I am her husband; and, if I had not left her forsaken as I did, perhaps now things would not be as bad as they are! Briefly, regardless of her behavior, I can never shirk my obligations towards her. Maybe the dissolution of the bond between us would facilitate the future for her and would be best for her and for me? I can reach no decision at all without knowing anything about her. If my

relationship with her, I wish to surrender any selfish interest and to forget grievance and all resentment. I only desire to follow the voice of conscience and be guided by a sense of duty.

But this sense needs to be enlightened. I am asking you for counsel. In the name of the friendship that I feel you have for me, and for that for her, of which you have given so many indications, do not refuse to help me...Visit her, observe her situation, and speak with her very openly, then write to tell me what you advise me to do. I am relying totally on you. In this matter I choose you as my counselor. Advise me...²⁵⁰

To Alphonse Kropiwnicki, in Warsaw.²⁵¹

²⁵⁰ The letter is left unfinished.

²⁵¹ E. Callier published this letter in his work, cited above, according to the copy in the Roman Archives. The rough-draft has been preserved in CRR: Mss 8568/7, pp. 1086-1087.

Letter Nr 66Paris, June 7, 1837²⁵²

My Dear Alphonse!

I wrote to you in March concerning what is, for me, a most important matter dealing with my wife. Since the occasion presents itself, I renew my request. For the love of God, write soon to tell me where she is living and what she is doing. Speak openly, hide nothing, and advise me what I am to do.

If, de facto, there is no chance of our uniting, then it is better that we also separate de jure. For, things between us cannot remain as they are. Therefore, write to me, using the occasion to tell me about yourself and about our friends.

My address is: rue Notre Dame
des Champs 11.

Mr. Sainte-Marie, who will deliver this letter to you, is a friend of the people with whom I am living and who are very good to me. Please receive him hospitably and advise him about what to see in Warsaw and its environs.

Since you once loved me at least a little bit... Accept the recommendation I make to you, as a friend.²⁵³ With my whole heart I wish you well.

Your,
Bogdan Jański

P.S. Urge Michael Jaroszewski to write to me.²⁵⁴

²⁵² The date has been established according to the "Diary" and the contents of the letter.

²⁵³ The recommendation of the above-named Frenchman from the College Stanislas.

²⁵⁴ This letter was published by E. Callier on the basis of the rough-draft. At the top, a note is added: "To Alphonse Kropiwnicki, in Warsaw", an abbreviated address of the letter which was to be delivered by the Frenchman. The rough-draft is preserved in CRR: Mss 8568/9, p. 1132.

Letter Nr. 67

Paris, December 16, 1839

My dear Alphonse, forgive me if without your permission, I presume to send a few hundred zlotys in your care.

Please accept them, and make the proper disposition of them. After you have received the money, write to Mrs. Szotarska,²⁵⁵ (whose address you surely know: Żelechowo. District of Łuków, c/o Mr. Mrs. Ordęgów),²⁵⁶ to inform her that you have the money for her disposal.²⁵⁷

Your friend, always,
Bogdan Jański²⁵⁸

Address: Mr. Alphonse Kropiwnicki,
Architect for the City of Warsaw.

²⁵⁵ Julianna, nee Zawadzka, Szotarska, Bogdan's sister-in-law.

²⁵⁶ John Ordęga had bought the Żelechowo estate, together with the palace, from Thaddeus Zakrzewski.

²⁵⁷ This by way of material assistance for Alexandra, nee Zawadzki, Jański, the wife of Bogdan.

²⁵⁸ This letter was published by E. Callier, on the basis of the rough-draft from Rome: Mss 8568/7, p. 1125, and Mss 8568/15, p. 709. The original was delivered to the addressee by Lucy, nee Giedroyć, Rautenstrauch, at the request of B. Jański.

Letter Nr. 68

Paris, Summer, 1831

[Rough-draft of a letter to Mrs. Matthew Łaszowski]

Dear Madame Benefactress!

I must first apologize very humbly to my dear aunt, since I presume to trouble you for a while with my concerns. Further, (speaking, or writing openly), since, in these difficult times, I expose you to an expense by this letter. Dear aunt, I hope to thank you personally within a short time for this favor, as well as for having provided a place of refuge recently for my poor Alexandra.²⁵⁹

Where is she? Is she well? This is what I want to ask about especially. It is this knowledge, above all., that I seek... a knowledge that I have been seeking in vain, despite having written a few letters.

I have had no news since Alexandra last wrote from Warsaw at the beginning of June.²⁶⁰ Neither have I had any news from my brothers. At the present time I do not have the address to any of my acquaintances in Warsaw. The fact is, I don't know to whom I should write in order to obtain any information about the persons closest to me - my wife, my father, and my brothers.

I would be much obliged to you, dear aunt, if you were to pity my sad situation and answer my request. My request is: Please be kind enough, dear aunt, to inform Alexandra and my brothers that you have received a letter from me, in which I beg them to provide me with some news about themselves.

You should be able to find the address of my brother, Stephen Jański, a doctor in the third regiment of mounted riflemen, either in the War Commission or in the medical department. I don't know where you can obtain any information about Anthony Jański, who was in the artillery. Perhaps Mr. Garbiński, the former

²⁵⁹ Alexandra had been asked to leave Pękowo by Francis Grabowski. For short time she found refuge with Mr. and Mrs. Łaszowski, who lived at Kozłów together with her parents.

²⁶⁰ After a year of silence, Alexandra wrote to inform him that she had moved to the Łaszowski. That letter has been lost.

director of the Polytechnic Institute, will know something about him. It is even possible that my brothers are in Warsaw and visit my dear aunt occasionally.

Once again dear aunt, please see that my brothers receive my address, which is: rue Sainte Anne Nr 61, "Hotel Choiseul". Oblige them in my name to write to me as soon as possible: about themselves, and about the whole family. Shortly, within a month, I plan to leave Paris, and move closer to Poland. However, I would not wish to make such a move before I had received a letter from them. Or even, should it happen that neither Alexandra nor my brothers are in Warsaw²⁶¹ at the time when you receive this letter, to me a very great favor by writing a few words about what is happening to them, either yourself, or through someone you commission to do so. The address is given above.

Once again I apologize to you, dear aunt, for presuming to bother you with my concerns.

I hope to be able to offer that apology and to thank you, personally very soon!

Please give my most sincere regard to Mr. Łaszowski.²⁶²

I remain with due respect, your humble servant,

Bogdan Jański

²⁶¹ Mr. and Mrs. Łaszowski had moved to the capital, under the protection of the Polish Armies, when the Muscovites once again occupied the territory around Pułtusk.

²⁶² Matthew Łaszowski, the son of George and Julianna, nee Wińska, the brother-in-law of Augustyn Zawadzki; his sister, Isabelle was mother of Alexandra.

Letter Nr. 69

Paris, September 15, 1831

[Statement to the Polish Mission in Paris]

To the honorable: General Kniaziewicz,²⁶³ and Count Louis Plater,²⁶⁴ plenipotentiaries of the Polish National Government in France:

In August, 1828, I was commissioned by a rescript of the Government Commission for Public Enlightenment to occupy the chair²⁶⁵ of economic studies at the Polytechnic Institute in Warsaw.

Until the school opened, I was assigned to travel abroad in a sabbatical tour at the government's expense. This past January, in London, through the Bank of Poland there I received my sustenance check for the first nine months of this year according to the 6,000 yearly stipend, i.e. 4,500 Polish zlotys. The period provided for comes to an end with this month. I am confident, Honorable Sirs, that you are concerned not only about the public interests of Poland, but also about the private interests of individual Poles as these were committed to you by our National Government. Therefore, I humbly present this petition to you. Honorable Sirs, asking you to advance me, if possible, my stipend for the last quarter of this year.²⁶⁶

On this occasion, I wish to assure you, Honorable Sirs, that I hold your persons in the highest respect.

Bogdan Jański

²⁶³ Charles Kniaziewicz (1762-1842) a Polish General who participated in the battles for independence in 1792 and 1794, as well as in all of the battles of the Polish Legion serving Napoleon. He earned special recognition for his part in the capture of Smolensk, and for his service at Możajsk (Borodino) in 1812. He was representative of the National Government in Paris from the Spring of 1831. Later he became a partisan of the politics of Czartoryski among the emigrants.

²⁶⁴ Louis Plater (1774-1846) Senator and Keeper of the Castle for the Polish Government, president of the Board of the Polytechnic Institute in Warsaw, and, after March 8, 1831, an envoy of the secret diplomatic mission in Paris. Later, he was a right-wing activist among the emigrants. He was a respectable geographer, and a forestry expert.

²⁶⁵ Hence he had received his appointment as professor from the highest educational authority in the country already in August, 1828. This document has not been preserved.

²⁶⁶ He bases his claim on the stipend allotted for a three-year sabbatical, which had been assigned to him.

Paris, September 15, 1831

Address: Paris, rue Sainte Anne,

“Hotel Choiseul”²⁶⁷

²⁶⁷ The original of this statement has been -preserved in the Polish Library in Paris: Mss 358, Vol. 7, pp. 553-554

Letter Nr. 70

Paris, March 2, 1832

[Rough-draft of a letter to J. Lubowidzki]

Honorable Sir!

It will surely amaze Your Honor to receive a letter from me, particularly the kind of letter I am writing. Had not Your Honor's goodness left a lasting impression upon my heart, and if the memory of that goodness had not awakened hope in me today that these few words of mine would be received with more than amazement. I honestly do not know how I could justify to myself the audacity of the step I am taking.

The nature of the reasons and purposes that promoted me to beg Your Honor so urgently to facilitate my journey abroad, and which provided me with theories and friendly relationships, surely justify my conduct as completely legitimate, at least as far as its consequences affect me personally. However, in the present instance, for the request which I address to Your Honor in this letter, in conscience I have no other sanction than my trust in your gracious and friendly attitude toward me.

Four years ago, supported by Your Honor's protection, I received my appointment as professor of industrial economy and commercial law in the Polytechnic Institute in Warsaw and then left Poland. At the time of my departure, Your Honor was not in Warsaw; therefore, I obligated my brothers, and especially Michael Jaroszewski, to convey to Your Honor my heartiest thanks for opening up to me a future I so ardently desired. Since then, visiting Germany, France and England, I continued to nurture the hope that in the ordinary course of events, having finished the three-year term of my sabbatical, I would be able to thank you personally for your assistance which has given such decisive direction to my entire life.

The news of the events of November, 1830 caught up with me in London. I have been in Paris now for one year. At first, friendly, or rather doctrinal, relationships provided a possibility whereby I could be of to myself and to others.

(The combination of news and articles from Poland recommended that I stay here for a longer period of time), and even bound me to remain here for quite a lengthy period. However, a few months ago, when it became impossible to work together by reason of a conflict of views,²⁶⁸ was forced to break off my relationship with these people. As a consequence, for a time now I have also lost my means of support.

In this circumstances, after September 8th²⁶⁹, I first wrote a letter to the Educational Ministry of the kingdom with a request, as one who depended on them and in virtue of former obligations, that they send me instructions and the means necessary for my return to Poland. I have received no reply to this letter. Meanwhile, I have learned that the Polytechnic Institute to which I had been assigned would not open; I feel that this is the reason for the Educational Commission's silence in regard to my request.

Finding myself in a very difficult economic situation, I next approached the Russian Embassy here with the request that, as a former pensioner of the Polish Government who had no part in recent events in Poland, they provide me with the means necessary for my return to Poland. My request, based on a lack of funds designated for this purpose, was rejected.

I wrote directly to persons who had belonged formerly to the make-up the direction of the Polytechnic Institute in Warsaw, but also to no avail.

Without any money for sustenance and without hope of obtaining any here, I presume to recall Your Honor's gracious kindness of which I once experienced many proofs, and, in my present difficult situation, to ask for help and advice. I cannot assume the position which had been assured to me in Poland, for it was part of an institution that no longer exists.

Your Honor surely knows that for a long time now I have been involved ex professo in the study of legal and commercial economics. Is there a possibility

²⁶⁸ Jański has in mind the break-up of saintsimonism in November, 1831, and the demise of their press.

²⁶⁹ This is the date of the collapse of the November uprising.

that some task or some mission having reference to the Bank of Poland²⁷⁰ could be entrusted to me? While I have not been compromised by recent events in Poland, yet, for many important reasons, if possible, I would prefer to spend some time here working for a living. However, if Your Honor advises me otherwise, deigning to lend me his gracious assistance in some other way, I would accept this just as well, with great gratitude.

Fully confident that I will soon receive a brief response from Your Honor, I remain very respectfully, Your Honor's devoted servant,

Bogdan Jański.²⁷¹

P.S. Please give Mr. Matthew my most sincere regards.

My address is: rue des Marais Saint
Germain, Nr 3.

²⁷⁰ We might remember that a distant uncle of Bogdan Joseph Lutowidzki was a director of this bank.

²⁷¹ The rough-draft of this letter has been preserved in CRR, Mss 8599, pp. 120-121.

Letter Nr. 71

Paris, April 26, 1832

[Letter to Adalbert Lempicki]Dear Adalbert!²⁷² Greetings!

Your letter from Lunel²⁷³ dated April 18, arrived yesterday. You begin by complaining about my silence, in the event that I had received any of your previous letters. Your complaint would be very justified if there were no circumstances delaying my reply to this present moment. On the other hand, even if there were no such circumstances, can you honestly think that I could ever cease to know you? Could you doubt my friendship for you until you saw a visible sign of that friendship?

No, dear Adalbert! In my eyes, what once bound us and filled us with mutual confidence is so strong that it must remain in us forever; for, it is identified with our very being, rooted in our mutual intuitive awareness of all of our actions and thoughts, based upon that which constitutes the sole motive of our whole moral life: the desire to dedicate ourselves to the welfare of our country and of mankind.

This awareness and this desire, are they not combined and identified in us with the conviction of their sincerity and strength in the both of us? Now many good and sublime moments, how many individual circumstances combined to strengthen the confidence we have in one another? Without this mutual confidence, I cannot at all conceive of us as persons, as moral individuals. For us, it seems to me, to live and to be joined by such mutual confidence is one and the same thing. Just ask your heart, and it will answer: Yes!

After this protest against your aggravated and exaggerated complaints, I return to my silence. Before I enter into the difficulties that explain it, let me say that I could have written sooner. I have waited until today to write a few words.

²⁷² Adalbert Napoleon Łempicki (born 1807 in Szczawin Maz.). One of the graduates of the Provincial School of Płock. He was a colleague of B. Jański at the University of Warsaw, and one of his closest friends. He was a participant of the October uprising and an emigrant.

²⁷³ A town in southern France, in the department of Aveyron.

Set this down, at least in part, to a sin that is common to us all: laziness. But only in part. Remember too, that a frank admission is half of reformation and a complete title to forgiveness. Never even dream that I could be for you any other than the one you know. To imagine otherwise would be for you the same as a denial of my very being.

Here is the history of the actual facts: With the arrival of Mochnacki,²⁷⁴ I learned of your stay in Avignon,²⁷⁵ and that you had previously written two letters to me. (Why didn't I receive them?). First, you must know that I changed my place of lodging a few months ago. For this reason, because of a few minor circumstances, I had already experienced some embarrassment with regard to other correspondence. Therefore, I went to the area postoffice for rue Sainte Anne, to which you had addressed your letter, to ask about it. They promised to search. I waited first a few days, then a week. No letter! I went down to the central office. After two or more weeks they sent me both letters. (N.B. You mailed them to rue Sainte Anne Nr 64, whereas I lived at Nr 61. As a result, since they were addressed to a person who was completely unknown, the letters were sent to the dead-letter office at the main post-office.) Next, I went to Ramorino,²⁷⁶ but he was out of town - a la Campagne.²⁷⁷ I repeated the visit; again he was not at home. Finally, I discovered that it is practically impossible to find him, for he either drives out into the country, or does not receive visitors. Since I do not know him personally, I left your letter at his residence, together with my address and a request that if he were to make any reply he should send it to me. Again I waited. I waited for the response. I waited in vain. I made a further attempt to contact him... in vain. After more than ten days I decided to give you some response, even though I could report no result in the matter which concerned you. However, at the time I was sick to my stomach and my head ached, and so I kept putting off

²⁷⁴ Camille Mochnacki, the brother of the famous literary critic and historian of the uprising, Maurice Mochnacki; he would soon be a friend of B.Jański.

²⁷⁵ An old town in southern France, famous as the residence of the Popes in the Middle-Ages.

²⁷⁶ Jerome Ramorino (1792-1849), a General during the November uprising. He gained fame by being the first to surrender to Galicia. He was later sentenced to the firing squad in Turin, during the Revolution of 1845, for disregarding orders.

²⁷⁷ Champagne, famous for its vineyards.

writing from day to day. Your letter arrived yesterday. I am writing today, therefore, as you see, only a small delay can be attributed to my count.

As for Ramorino: The only solution is for you to write another letter immediately and send it directly to him. His address is: Paris, Cite Bergere Nr 4, Faubourg Montmartre.

You write that you have the rank of Lieutenant. Your salary now and in the future depends on your rank. And your rank is not the highest. You undoubtedly know that they are building a depot for civilians at Chateauraux.²⁷⁸ It is really closer to Paris. The company in general would probably be a little more select. Therefore, it is open to question whether it would not be better for you to go to this civilian depot. Nevertheless, particularly in view of the common interest, I will clarify this notion later, I think that the place where you are staying at present is to be preferred. Therefore, write to Ramorino immediately.

As to a means for coming to Paris, you wrote to me about this long ago, there is no other way, nor can you expect any other way in the future, except as a deputy from one of the depots. It is true that a certain number of our young people who have not finished their studies will get an opportunity to continue them; but I doubt that they will be allowed to do so in Paris Neither can you include yourself in this category. As for the deputation: it is worth considering. About this too we will write to each other later. N.B., in any case, concerning all of the information that I send you now or in the future, whether it pertain to persons in general, or to the party, I have one over-all request: Do not reveal the source of this information to others, except, perhaps to Stanley²⁷⁹ etc., in order to avoid misunderstanding. For almost the whole of Polonia here lives on suppositions and intrigue.

Mochnacki told me that in Avignon you were the company quartermaster. I expect that you still hold this position. That is one mark to your credit.

But first, according to your wish, a few words about your present situation. Two recent events have made it particularly embarrassing: 1. Your orders to go to Lunel; 2. The law concerning aliens which has passed both houses. As to the first:

²⁷⁸ A provincial town in the center of France.

²⁷⁹ Stanisław Lempicki.

Since you had not decided to leave France, your resistance could only be futile and your complains less necessary. However, this did not require blind compliance; a discussion with the local authorities entered into respectfully was very much in place. As a result of the law on aliens, you haven't a leg to stand on where there is a question of leaving France. You ask me further: What does the future hold? Is it worth waiting any longer here in France? It is worth waiting, and it is necessary to do so.

Undoubtedly, from the standpoint of personal, material benefit to the exiles, living conditions might be more advantageous elsewhere. But, not in Germany, or in England, or in Switzerland. Where then? In America. There you could obtain land, establish colonies, enjoy greater freedom, eat more abundantly, marry, etc. But, how would this be a voice raised in support of our national cause? In that case our exile would be of practically no benefit at all to our country. Perhaps half of the exiles so dispersed might decide to rally to the defense of their homeland, if an occasion presented itself after the battle was begun by others. But the exiles themselves could never initiate this struggle and this is their essential mission. The fact that we remain in Europe will always continue to encourage and build the hopes of our patriots, groaning under the yoke of the oppressor. It stimulates, supports, expands and strengthens that hope.

Our presence is a constant annoyance, that continues to disturb the Tsar and encourages him to reaction in our homeland. This, in turn, hastens the moment of a new uprising, even if it be caused despair. The Tsar would give us money for the journey to America; for, in this way we would put an end to his fears as well as to the hopes of our compatriots.

Therefore, our patriotic concern bids us to stand firm and hold tight to France. (N.B., by way of parentheses, I would have communicated these and the following observations of interest to the exiles immediately, as soon as we heard about the legislation. However, we consulted with Mochnecki, and he assured me that once he had discusses the matter with the authorities at Avignon, there could be no doubt that they would all agree with his viewpoint. But, from now on, in similar instances, we can communicate with each other immediately). In reference

to the offence to our national honor stemming from this law: In the light of notions of the mission of the exiles mentioned above, I regard the complaints on this point to be totally without foundation. Thus, if Poles could reside elsewhere with greater benefit to their national cause, yet consented to remain there only for their own personal and material benefit and surrender to the police, they would thereby sully their national honor. If, on the contrary, they could live elsewhere more comfortably and with greater freedom, submitting here to severe persecution only for patriotic reasons, they are behaving in a manner that brings greatest honor to them.

Further, neither the heroism of the unfortunate person suffering persecution nor the moral perseverance of the person who is physically powerless, can ever, ever shame him. In fact, it becomes a new title that speaks for him and for his cause. The whole shame falls upon the persecutor.

Therefore, even if the whole of France were to share the intentions and the feelings of their Ministry towards us, and we were the only ones to know why we are suffering this persecution, the shame would fall to the ministers, and to France, whereas our patriotism and our present powerlessness would add only new splendor to our honor. However, as you know, this law has made the people so angry that the Ministry has not even dared to deny that this bit of legislation was dictated by the Russian Cabinet. And so, above all, this law brings dishonor only to the French Cabinet.

Moreover, do not think that if the position of the exiles has been changed by the word of the law, *de jure*, it has also been changed *de facto*. *De facto*, before and after the law, the material situation of the mass of the exiles has been, and will be, unfortunate enough. (We should be reconciled to this. It may be that since the law, the government is considering its obligation to concern itself with the exiles more solemnly). The moral position offers a definite plus, full of hope for our national cause. Apparently, it is especially here in Paris that some of the exiles will be affected by this law. Today, after the law, *de jure*, in both instances the situation is horrible; each of us is left at the mercy of the local police.

Have a little more confidence in local public opinion, and do not think that the Ministry can boldly abuse its power. As it applies the law to a few, especially of those present here, it will undoubtedly hurt us all, and surely hinder our overt activity here in the national cause. However, be assured that the Ministry will not use that power except in rare instances, that, naturally, it will not touch us, and that it cannot destroy all of our patriotic activity.

So much for the residence of the exiles in France. General conclusion: Is it still worth waiting in France? It is worth waiting. And, it is necessary that we remain here, even forcefully resisting any effort to expel us.

You posed an even more general question: What is afoot here? That is, in my opinion, what general political events can we expect? Evidently, having already written at such great length, though I would not wish to do so, I must bring this letter to an end. Therefore, I will leave this matter to a future letter. Based on hope in the triumph of our cause, you already have a categorical answer in what has been said previously. Ultimately the question of events to be expected is so closely bound up with the question of political principles in general - a question which at present should be of greatest interest to a person expecting to be a Polish citizen - that I must add at least a few words here at the end in response to your question.

In reference to the political opinions of the Polish exiles, and your own behavior in this regard, for the time being I can only give you this advice: As you know, the Polish Committee, established here to represent the democratic opinions of the opposition, is only one party here as well as in the various depots. The Philosophical - Democratic society of Puławski,²⁸⁰ Gurowski,²⁸¹

²⁸⁰ Alexander Puławski (1800-1838) - A priest of the Piarist Order, a teacher in secondary schools, a patriotic orator (exiled from Warsaw by the authorities in 1829). He was a left-wing political activist during the uprising and an army chaplain, later a secret agent among the emigrants and the author of articles and pamphlets. He was co-founder of the Polish Democratic Society.

²⁸¹ Adam Gurowski (1805-1866) - Active in the independence movement in Poland, he participated in the coronation plot and in the uprising. He was secretary of the Patriotic Society, a left-wing activist in the emigration. He collaborated with the Tsar in the years 1834-1844, after which he again became an emigrant and the author of many political brochures. He was co-founder of the Polish Democratic Society.

Krępowiecki,²⁸² etc., is demagogically striving to make itself a second. The aristocratic party, defending all the older revolutionary notables, which today is becoming a part of the Central Council (n.b., do not let this worry you in the least) has yet another opinion. It surely can further be differentiated from the “Party of Choppers”,²⁸³ an exclusively military party, with military virtues and biases, etc.

All of these coteries of intrigue, either have, or will soon have, repercussions in Lunel as well. All of them, with their leaders and their principles, have either already given evidence of their futility during the revolution, or must do so for more general reasons. Therefore, I counsel you not to embrace any of these totally; do not support any of them (especially, what may have bothered you, the present democratic party), and even, as far as you can, neutralize their activities one after the other. I will explain myself more fully later. To put it simply: Be a Pole, a patriot and a demagogue (for moreover, every revolution that is to be organized today must be for the good of the people) and an aristocrat, praising in each party what can be good for our country in general, and criticizing what is bad.

God forbid that I should advise you to maintain forever a happy medium between parties existing among the Poles. No. Simply, because in the presently formed parties I do not see truth, strength or a future. I counsel you (for now) do not join any of them.

A second piece of advice: In spite of remaining apart from any party, be very energetic in support of the establishment of some kind of central authority representing all of the exiles. Even if it is not good, it can be changed later; it must first come to exist, being formed by a suitable majority. I consider this a matter that is essential to our cause.

Third: In order to fulfill at least the preceding two counsels, naturally I wish very much that you would not be with others an automaton without a will,

²⁸² Thaddeus Krępowiecki (1798-1847) - A neophyte from Ujazdowo, and agitator among the youth at the University in Warsaw. He was co-founder of the Patriotic Society, defender of the peasants, and Adjutant-General to Krupowiecki during the uprising. In exile, he was a mason, a left-wing political activist in France, Belgium and England. He was co-founder of the Polish Democratic Society.

²⁸³ Members of various partisan parties.

without any influence on those around you. And I wish that you would strive very resourcefully to obtain that influence. It seems to me that I indicated very clearly at the beginning of this letter the relationship that should exist between us; consequently, I should be able to speak clearly and openly about this. One of the principal reasons for the failure of our national cause is that people who desired it most ardently and who knew better than others how to save this cause were too indifferent toward assuming its leadership because of political traditions of abnegation. Nevertheless, if this world is not to become a hell, or a forest of tartars, it must be ruled by talent and dedication.

If you do not strive for leadership despite being completely dedicated to the common good, some ambitious and self-seeking egoist will take it over for his own good. Therefore, as far as you can, push yourself to the top. I tell you this because I am sure that you are the kind of person you have always been. Naturally, you no longer have, as you once did, an existing fatherland to save. But, you can do much to resurrect it. All that is required is that people sincerely dedicated to our country, and with minds that are not closed, enjoy the confidence of the masses, who trust their honesty and their ability, and we shall have both peace and a fatherland.

This matter is tied to the statement I made earlier about your deputation to Paris, especially if, as time goes on, your depot should grow larger. But you will not be able to assume any position of prominence unless you have the confidence and the favor of the people. Therefore, make friends for yourself early, by yourself and through the friends you already have. In Lunel, organize for yourself a general society, a kind of military council, or a nucleus of such, etc. If you are to have staff, and leadership and confidence, there must necessarily be based on common, stable and sound political principles and norms of civilian life. This is another reason why we have to understand each other in this respect.

I have offered you three pieces of advice. Write to tell me your ideas, and present your position. Describe also your relationship with people in your depot, as well as in other depots, who are some of the talented men you have met. Since

in this letter I am encouraging you to a more active civic life, make a brief confession to me of your citizenship before emigration and before the revolution.

I expect that neither revelry nor poverty will have stifled your feelings, your intentions, or your activity for the common cause.

I should write a few words about my history, and about myself. I promise, for my part, to send a few lines from my foreign biography.

I will expect a letter from you within a short time. Answer all the questions I have laid out to you here. Among other things, tell me how you got along with Camille Mochnecki and what you think of him. Also, let me know if there are still some of our acquaintances in Avignon or Besancon.

Goodbye for now! Give me regards to Stanley and Kozarzewski.²⁸⁴

Bogdan

P.S. My address is: rue des Marais Saint Germaine.

Write to me directly.²⁸⁵

²⁸⁴ Casimir Kozarzewski (1804-1839) - A graduate of the Provincial School at Plock, from 1824, he was a colleague of B. Jański in the school of Law in Warsaw. He participated in the uprising and was an emigrant. Later he took part in Jański's religious activity in France. Toward the end of his life he was a student at College Juilly. He died in the House of Jański in Paris.

²⁸⁵ The rough draft of this letter has been preserved in CRR: Mss 8599, pp. 157-164.

Letter Nr. 72

Paris, March 3, 1832

[Letter to Anthony Barciński]

Anthony,²⁸⁶ my dear friend!

Although my letter of response comes so late, do not think that I have been as slow to fulfill the commission that you gave me. Indeed, immediately after I had received your letter, I went to visit Frederick.²⁸⁷ First, in my own defense: Your suspicion was unwarranted. I mentioned nothing at all to him about your situation at the Gills.²⁸⁸ Hence, I felt that I was very justified in scolding him for being facetious in his remarks without foundation.

I will confess, however, that the following circumstances did disturb me. One of our compatriots (with one eye), who had met you only once before your departure, was leaving for London (he has been there almost a year). Before leaving he asked me for advice about the best and cheapest way to live there. I counseled boarding houses. Where? I mentioned a few places (even without thinking, I mentioned the places that I knew).

Consequently, he stopped first at the Newtons Hotel, and then moved to Surrey Street. What happens there? Each time she sees him, each time there is mention that he is a Pole, Miss Gill bursts out in tears. Finally, before his departure, she asked him whether he knows how you are doing, what your address is, etc. He told her he doesn't know, but promised that he would ask me. I thought that if you were so inclined you would be corresponding with her, and would have sent her your address. Therefore, I answered that I do not know your address, nor do I know anything at all about your history there. And that is how it ended.

Naturally this man soon forgot the whole matter. He was not in contact with Frederick; neither did he have any way of knowing that the latter knew you.

²⁸⁶ Anthony Felix Barciński. (Refer to the explanation in the first letter to F. Skarbek).

²⁸⁷ Frederick Francis Chopin (1810-1849). Famous Polish pianist and composer.

²⁸⁸ The Gills in London rented rooms. Toward the end of 1830, Barciński lived with them.

The whole matter was forgotten, therefore, until I received your letter beginning with the words.

Hence, I was worried, lest by some extraordinary chance Frederick should have heard something from her side. And so I tried, as tactfully as possible, to engage him in conversation on this matter. But I came away convinced that he knew nothing at all about it.

If he wrote anything like that you, it was, obviously, by way of a joke. He swears most solemnly that he doesn't even remember the incident. However, at my insistence, he promised with equal solemnity that in the future he would be more careful in his letters. Therefore, I expect that, according to your wish, the case is closed.

Returning to Miss Gill: You are still a knave, my brother if you have not written to her, as least for her peace, trumping up some kind of excuse, and offering some imagined reason for rescinding your promise (on which, apparently she is counting, and which she holds as binding). It is better to choose the lesser of two evils.

And now, dear Anthony, you must help me in a similar matter. In your letter you tell me that my wife is in good health, and that she is in Warsaw. For the love of God!²⁸⁹

²⁸⁹ The conclusion is lacking. The rough-draft on this letter is preserved in CRR: Mss 8627, pp. 142-143.

Letter Nr. 73

Paris, June 9, 1832

Dear Anthony!

You have not heard from me for some time now. It would take too long to explain all the reasons for this delay, and it probably wouldn't help, undoubtedly you have been informed about the letter I recently wrote to the Board of the Polytechnic Institute. I presume that you know me well enough not to think that my decision not to return to Warsaw at present was prompted by some madness, rather than simply by the material condition in which I find myself.²⁹⁰

The business firm where, as I told you, I was working and which until recently provided me with an income, closed a few months ago.²⁹¹ Of the people who formerly belonged to the corporation, some are trying to retain the former concept of the business, but pursuing completely new developments which seem to me to be poorly conceived. Others, properly, have made slight changes, in management. Still others have changed completely - to me it would seem for the better. But it matters little what others are doing, when, in spite of their efforts, my pocket is still empty.

The School of Commerce is doing quite well under the direction of Blaqui.²⁹² Vraigne has opened a separate school on rue d'Arcis, or d'Avoye - at this moment I can't remember which. If you should want to write to him, send the letter to my care. I saw him recently. He refers to you often with great pleasure, and he asked me to give you his regards.

Take the books which I sent two years ago in care of Mr. Lanckoroński and use them for yourself. (I have already written to Mr. Lanckoroński about this). If you can, make a list of the more important ones. And if my brother is still pursuing polytechnic studies, do not withhold your advice from him; and should there be anything in these books that could be helpful to him, share it with him.

²⁹⁰ Bogdan truly was in a sorry financial situation after his sustenance checks had ceased.

²⁹¹ He is speaking here of saintsmonism, its break-up gradual collapse.

²⁹² Jerome Adolph Blanqui: See Letter Nr 50.

Also, tell him, or my other brother, Doctor Stephen, if you should see them, to write to me. Be good enough yourself to write a few words about your health, as well as about dear Joseph Gorecki, Alphonse Kropiwnicki, Wosiński,²⁹³ Radwański,²⁹⁴ and our other colleagues. For letters are now delivered regularly, back and forth, unlike the unfortunate period during the war.

If you meet Michael Jaroszewski, ask him, too, to write to me. My address is... etc.

Since various circumstances may keep me here for some time yet, and I very much need certain Polish books, I have a big request to make of you. There, little by little, you could buy some things for me from the second-hand book sellers for almost nothing particularly books that deal with our history (Naruszewicz,²⁹⁵ Czacki or one of the chroniclers), and theology (Birkowski,²⁹⁶ Skarga,²⁹⁷ Moskorzowski²⁹⁸ etc.; as well as older translations of some of the Latin and Greek philosophical writings) written in Polish. Perhaps, later, I could think of a way to obtain funds for a few of the newer books. Then you could pack them all together and send them to me here.

Dear Anthony, I know that you, too, are short of funds. Therefore, I am not insisting. I am asking only insofar as this might not be difficult for you, and only because the possession of collection of such books is for me a “conditio sine qua non” of some small income. Briefly, I have great need of these books. Finally, you may be able to steal a few of these books from friends, for example from Zubelewicz.²⁹⁹ In this respect I can surely count on your ingenuity. (To be sure, as

²⁹³ Theodore Wosiński; See Letter Nr 31.

²⁹⁴ Andrew Radwański: See Letter Nr 31.

²⁹⁵ Adam Naruszewicz (1733-1796) - Jesuit, bishop, historian, poet and translator from Latin; editor of Pleasant and Useful Games. Jański has in mind his valuable History of the Polish People.

²⁹⁶ Fabian Birkowski (1566-1636) - A Dominican, preacher at the court of King Ladislaus IV Waza; writer, author of Latin and Greek verses, as well as many baroque sermons.

²⁹⁷ Peter Skarga (1536-1612) - Jesuit, court preacher for Zygmunt III Waza; eminent theologian and author of Sermons for the Sejm and Lives of the Saints.

²⁹⁸ Jarosz Jerome Moskorzewski (d. 1625) - Religious writer for the Polish Socinians, polemicist, adversary of Skarga and defender of the Polish arians. He was the author of many polemic-apologetic works in both Polish and Latin.

²⁹⁹ Florian Alexander Zubelewicz (1801-1859). His brother Adam was a professor at the University of Warsaw. He was an older colleague of Bogdan during his studies at Warsaw and

our colleague who is about to be robbed would say). Shortly, through the Honorable Radomiński,³⁰⁰ you will receive from me some pamphlets on economics. Keep well, my dear Bart, and .write to me soon.

Pay special attention to Fr. Gerbet³⁰¹ and Rev. Reynaud.³⁰² You may also find something of interest among the books which Karwowski³⁰³ is sending to the Honorable Radomiński. Try to get them through Theophile. N.B. Lanckoroński has asked me to send the bills on the books which had previously been bought for the library of the Polytechnic Institute. These books have been sent long ago; but the gathering of the bills on them is now proving difficult for me. If you can, try see that I am not bothered for them. Among others, I have no bill for your bookkeeping ledgers³⁰⁴ ...

(the conclusion is lacking)

abroad. He was to have taught mathematics at the Warsaw Polytechnic. But when schools of higher learning were liquidated, he taught in secondary schools in Płock and Warsaw.

³⁰⁰ John Aloysius Radomiński: See Letter Nr 20.

³⁰¹ Philip Olympius Gerbet (1798-1864) - French Philosopher and Theologian, author of publications and books, and co-worker with Fr. Lamennais, Through the Conferences from Catholic Philosophy and Reflections on Dogma: the Source of Catholic Piety, he contributed to the conversion of Jański at the beginning of 1832.

³⁰² John Reynaud (1806-1863) - A Saintsimonist philosopher. He left the movement with Jański, November 19, 1831. A contributor and editor of Revue Encyclopedie and Encyclopedie Nouvelle, to which Jański contributed articles.

³⁰³ John Joachim Karwowski (1798-1870) - An older colleague in the School of Law at the University of Warsaw; and amigrant after 1831.

³⁰⁴ The rough-draft of this letter is preserved in CRR: Mss 8568, pp, 131-133.

Letter Nr. 74

Paris, June 11, 1832

[Letter to Kaurice Mochnacki]

Dear Maurice!

The information you shared with me about the conditions³⁰⁵ you accepted for the publication, or rather for the sale of your book staggered me, since it was so unexpected. I do not wish to waste your time or mine justifying either your or my views in this regard. I will make only one observation about the real contradiction this poses in reference to your own person; and which, by robbing your work of any trace of conscientiousness³⁰⁶, renders it a purely monetary speculation of almost no moral worth.³⁰⁷ You would surely know that my opinion is diametrically opposed to your action from our frequent discussions about political events in general and on studies of conditions for cooperation. You could easily guess where I stood, if you regard me as the kind of person I claim to be: a person who says what he thinks; and conviction is not changed because of personal gain. Why you would think that I have changed makes little difference to me today. It is possible that the people with whom you are bargaining are highly respectable Poles; I know very little about them. (But, without reference to their real aims, this could contribute to the intrinsic value of your work. Remember, however, what you yourself stated so very clearly...)³⁰⁸. Forgive me if, without qualifying your relationship with them and with me, I tell you outright, that from now on I do not want to have anything to do with the publication of your works. You have the manuscript in your possession. As I promised you, while I had it,³⁰⁹

³⁰⁵ Being in grave need, and with his brother Camilus mortally ill, he sold his manuscript to Czartoryski, permitting him to make the changes he required.

³⁰⁶ Composition = work.

³⁰⁷ As a secret business proposition involving historical truth.

³⁰⁸ Jański often spoke with M. Mochnacki about the events from the time of the uprising, and of written account that would present these events faithfully, not favoring the leaders and Czartoryski.

³⁰⁹ Mochnacki had given Jański the manuscript in order that he might translate it into French.

no one on this earth even saw I will write immediately to the French-woman³¹⁰ who has been correcting my translation, commanding her to silence. Moreover, no one will ever read even one letter of my translation, for I will destroy it immediately. I promise that, for my part, I will remain absolutely silence about this whole matter.

However, I ask you most sincerely to be good enough to dissociate me completely from all of your propositions or statements!

Bogdan Jański

Monday, June 11

7. Rough-draft of a letter which has been preserved in CRR: Mss 8599, pp. 165-166.

³¹⁰ Eugenia Mouchon, whose pseudonym was Niboyet, a French writer and journalist, a friend of Bogdan Jański.

Letter Nr. 75

Paris, December 8, 1832

[To the Society for Educational Assistance]

Dear Doctor!

The pen in my hand grows heavy, as I venture to write to you, Sir, in such a serious matter. What a great favor you could do me, if you only could and would! I need 60 francs by the beginning of next week.

On my honor I promise that in precisely³¹¹ one month, I will scrupulously return this money to you. In any event, I would regard it as my obligation to repay you with gratitude.

Would you be good enough to send me a brief note saying “yes” or “no”; at the same time, if you will have visited Butten /?/, please let me know what his reply is.

Always ready to serve you,

Bogdan Jański³¹²

Very probably Boleslaus Casimir Dobrowolski (s.1843) staff doctor. He came from Podole, and later lived in Paris.

³¹¹ Bogdan uses the Latin precise.

³¹² The original can be found in CRR: Mss 8627 “Diary”.

Letter Nr. 76

Paris, November 24, 1833

Honorable Council of the Society for Educational Assistance!

I am writing this appeal to the Honorable Council in the name of a young fellow-exile who does not know to write - Dyonisius Wysocki. He is seventeen years old today; but he has already served in the regular army, during the last war, as the certificate from the commander of the battalion which I have included testifies. He served in the 10th infantry regiment of troops of the line, under Major Witkowski. Wysocki finds himself in a very sad situation today, due to his age and lack of education, and is unable to manage for himself. He will waste his youth passing from one service to another, unless he is saved by the gracious help of his compatriots.

If he could obtain such assistance, he has an opportunity at present to learn a craft which we hold in high regard, that of a gunsmith. The enclosed letter should convince you, my dear compatriots, that Mr. Monvier, a gunsmith in Paris, rue des Magasins Mr. 8, testifies that he is willing to accept Wysocki into his shop. He even promises that within two months, or even sooner, he will be able to teach him enough about the craft that he will be able to earn something for himself.

But this is all under conditions which Wysocki cannot fulfill without the gracious favor of your Honored Society. Mr. Monvier wants 60 francs as a guarantee against what the apprentice might break while he is learning, as well as an assurance that once he has learned, he will work in the shop for some time. Besides, he needs 20 francs for tools. Moreover, Wysocki receives no salary, and has no other income; he lives only from his service. He could not enrol as an apprentice unless he had 20 francs a month for food assured.

I present this matter to the Honorable Society, certain that if funds and the present procedures of the Society permit a grant of assistance to the suppliant, he will not be rejected. At the same time, I ask you to accept the assurance of my own true respect. I remain your honorable benefactors most humble servant,

Bogdan Jański

Paris, November 24, 1833.

Letter Nr. 77

Paris, November 6, 1833
rue de Seine (Saint Germain) 59

[To Ladislaus Plater]

Freedom - Equality - Unity

The Polish Pilgrim

A National, political and Literary Daily³¹³

I am honored to inform you. Honorable Sir³¹⁴, that I received a letter a few days ago from Mr. Burgaud des Marets³¹⁵, in which he asks me to deliver his manuscript of the translation of "Dziady", particularly the fourth part, to Mickiewicz (in the event the latter comes to Paris). With this request before me, and convinced that I have the good of the editorship of Le Polonais³¹⁶ in mind. I have moved to hold up the typesetting³¹⁷ of Mr. Burgaud's manuscript, (which I came across accidentally today in Mr. Pinard's³¹⁸ printery), and I will deliver it to Mickiewicz. As soon as it is corrected, I will return it to the printer. I ask you, Sir, to let me know whether this course of action is contrary to your wishes. If it is, I will return to manuscript immediately to Mr. Pinard.

With due respect, I remain Your Honor's most humble servant,

Bogdan Jański

Address: Monsieur le Comte Ladislaus Plater
rue Vivienne 17, au bureau du

³¹³ A printed inscription - the motto of the publication The Polish Pilgrim, of which B. Jański was editor. Hence, as editor, he uses the official letter-head.

³¹⁴ Ladislaus Plater (1806-1889) - The brother of Ceasar Plater; officer, Lithuanian revolutionary, delegate from Wilno to the Sejm of 1831. In exile in Paris, he was a conservative politician, a follower of A. Czartoryski, and a publicist. He founded the famous Rapersville Collection (the library and museum), which was almost totally destroyed during the last war in Warsaw.

³¹⁵ Henry John Burgaud des Carets (1806-1873). A friend of B. Jański from 1829. He became interested in A. Mickiewicz, learned the Polish language, and was co-translator into French of Konrad Wallenrod and Dziady.

³¹⁶ A journal published by Plater in Paris.

³¹⁷ The composition of characters by the type-setters.

³¹⁸ August Pinard - the owner of the printery on the shores of the Welter, where the majority of the emigrant publications were printed, with Jański overseeing the printing.

“Polonais”³¹⁹

³¹⁹ W. Mickiewicz’s hand-written copy has been preserved in the A. Mickiewicz Museum in Paris: Mss 779/11, letter 6.

Letter Nr. 78

Mortagne, June 29, 1839

Dear Gracious and Honorable Ladislaus!

My departure for La Trappe came up suddenly; I snatched at the first opportunity, even to the neglect of all proprieties. Therefore, it was not as it should have been. This was due to a state of general exhaustion and spiritual suffering in which I found myself at the time, as well as to an intense desire of extricating myself from this condition - a desire so intense, that every consideration of human relations fell before it. As a result I seemed to lack the strength and the will to accomplish what was expected of me before my departure.

Further, every journey involves one in explanations of where and why, in responses to questions, which, in view of my preoccupations and suffering at the time, I was absolutely incapable of facing. Besides, I felt that such action on my part would be to no purpose. Moreover, I feared that to do so would delay my departure ever so briefly; but even a short delay might provide the occasion for an even longer delay, as has often happened before.

"Quoiqu'il en soit", this does not excuse the transgressions of which I became guilty, in particular, with reference to Mr. Ladislaus with whom I have been in contact so frequently of late. Immediately upon my arrival at La Trappe (I say this most sincerely and most solemnly), I felt that I must apologize to him for neglecting to stop by before my departure.

I meant to write a letter for this purpose immediately. If I did not write immediately, it was only because I was convinced that, just as my relationship and spiritual oneness with Caesar transcended, thank God, all such trifles, so also Your Honor's gracious and friendly attitude toward me and our undertaking rests on something more stable than conventions, and cannot be shaken by any failure to observe these.

Therefore, I was always sure that even if I should postpone my apologies until my return, they would be received with equal graciousness. However, I do admit that from the conventional point of view, this delay with an apology

becomes another fault, another offense. Agreed! Let it then also be a second proof of Mr. Ladislaus' good will toward me. Appealing to your goodness in all the instances in which I may have offended, I ask your pardon.

There is another situation about which I had intended to write to Mr. Ladislaus: The difficulties with our baker. What he claimed (even in court) to have heard from Mr. Ladislaus, created in him a great antagonism towards me, destroyed all of his confidence in me, and prodded him to sue me, in order to discover (as he said) who is truly the head of our community, and responsible for its debts.

Thank God, having received some totally unexpected assistance, we were able to appease him... and so avert a scandal.

I am convinced that this was all due to some misunderstanding³²⁰ which did all the damage, and that he must have either heard or understood wrongly what Mr. Ladislaus said to him. I am sorry that I did not write to Mr. Ladislaus as soon as I became aware of the problem; for in my letter I would surely not have concealed the anxiety I suffered on this account.

Today, once again thanks to God, I have come to regard this and the other as a problem that stems ultimately from my former faults. With total confidence, I leave the explanation of this matter until we meet. I have no doubt that, after a mutual exchange of views, this last circumstance will not shake in the least the harmony that has existed between us until now.

A few days ago³²¹ I finally left Da Trappe.

I had intended to go on to Solesmes, but I decided not to. However, I will remain in Mortagne for about a week, in order to finish up some of the work I began (lectures, and writing), from which I would be diverted if I were to return directly to Paris. And it is very important to me to finish this work.

For I have a very strong feeling that, in spite of all our domestic difficulties, the present circumstances and situation of things and people in the emigration is such that it is the right time to resume the work of religious

³²⁰ "Malentendu."

³²¹ June 24, 1839 he left the Trappists, but remained for a time in Mortagne.

propaganda that had been temporarily suspended, with very strong faith, and with every hope of success. And one cannot prepare himself too long time for such work.

Moreover, I would wish (and this has been the primary goal of my recent spiritual endeavors) to establish myself well enough spiritually, so that no difficulties, even material and managerial catastrophes, could disturb our future spiritual undertakings; and that I might be able to follow my call and fulfill my responsibilities in a Christian manner, with unfaltering peace, with hope and courage, “arrive que pourra.”

But I also feel, that having taken such a resolution, it is my duty not to be foolhardy; to delay or avoid such catastrophes as far as possible. These catastrophes might cause real harm, albeit temporary (and to those who are spiritually weak). Therefore today, before I return and get to see Mr. Ladislaus; I make this request of him: recently, again, most urgent needs and household expenses have piled up to the point where they cannot possibly be put off for later.

Consequently, I am asking the Honorable Mr. Ladislaus to designate for the payment of these expenses the remainder of the 400 francs allocated to our House by Caesar. And if, by chance, any new funds should arrive intended for our use, please hand these over also, at least the greater part.

Because I expected help from other sources. I planned to abide by the wishes of Fr. Ladislaus, and to leave the money that remained in his care for some other time. These expectations kept me from presenting my request sooner; so far, however, they have not been realized. What can I do? There is nothing I can do today. I repeat: it is impossible to postpone the many expenses that must be made at the end of this month.

Therefore, I expect that the Honorable Mr. Ladislaus will not cause any difficulty, and will do what I am sure the Honorable Caesar would do in similar circumstances.

Sidorowicz, who has lived with me longer than any of the other, brothers, is my proxy when I am absent. Please give him the money that has been assigned to us.

In reference to those 400 francs, I might recall here that when the Honorable Ladislaus gave me a voucher for 100 francs to pay for lottery tickets on March 25th, he wrote on the voucher: “sur le compte de mon frere Caesar”; however, that 100 francs did not come from the original fund of 400 francs. I mention this to avoid confusing the accounts.

Nevertheless, the Honorable Ladislaus is free to adjust, for the moment, to the demands made upon him by his own account; as long as he does not delay, for by doing so he would create tremendous problems for me. The very existence of the House is at stake.

My address is: a Mortagne chez M. Batier du Lion d’Or.

I ask and I beg the Honorable Ladislaus not to make any further explanation on my part the condition for payment. I will explain everything later. A delay at this time could spell definite ruin for us.

I would be very grateful to the Honorable Ladislaus for even a few words about himself, his brother, Caesar, or anything pertaining to us.

At La Trappe I happened to come across a copy of Univers Religieux³²². I was very happy to read about the results of the Honorable Ladislaus’ recent efforts in the House.³²³ I congratulate you most sincerely. May the Lord assist you! I recommend, myself to your kind hearts.

Bogdan Jański³²⁴

June 29, 1839

³²² L’Univers - Journal Religieux - a Catholic journal in Paris (from 1836).

³²³ I.e., in the French Parliament.

³²⁴ The rough-draft of this letter has been preserved in CRR: Mss 8633, pp. 979-983.

Letter Nr. 79

Paris, November 21, 1833

[To Louis Plater]

I offer my humblest apologies to you, Mr. Vice-President,³²⁵ since, having received your letter yesterday, I respond quite late, only today, to the gracious invitation to the subscription dinner of the Society.³²⁶

To my great sorrow, circumstances beyond my control make it impossible for me to attend.

With this note I include my most sincere regards.

Your Honor, the Vice-President' colleague³²⁷ and most humble servant,

Bogdan Jański

Paris, November 21, 1833.

Address: Monsieur le Comte Louis Plater,

Vice-President de la Societe

Litteraire Polonaire etc.

rue de la Papiniere 11.³²⁸

³²⁵ Louis Plater - Mentioned previously as Jański's superior in Warsaw; in exile he became the Vice-President of a society of Polish scholars among the emigrants.

³²⁶ The Polish Literary Society, organized in Paris in Spring of 1832.

³²⁷ In Autumn of 1832, B. Jański became a regular member of this Polish Literary Society in Paris.

³²⁸ This letter is preserved in Polish Library in Paris: Mss 493/J, letter 1.

Letter Nr. 80

Paris, January 29, 1834

I thank the gracious Mr. Vice-President most kindly for remembering me, and for informing me that it is my turn to read a paper³²⁹ at the meeting of-the Society tomorrow. I beg Mr. Vice-President to excuse me before the members of the Society for not fulfilling, this once, an accepted responsibility. I simply lack the time.

Your colleague and most humble servant,

Bogdan Jański³³⁰

Wednesday, January 29, 1834.

Address: Monsieur le Comte Plater,

11 rue Papiniere

Added note: Porte rue Dongouleme, nr.23

³²⁹ Meetings were held regularly on Thursday. At these meetings the members of the Society were to read a paper.

³³⁰ The original is preserved in Polish Library in Paris: Mss 493/J, letter 2.

Letter Nr. 81

Paris, May 2, 1838

I offer respectful greetings to the Honorable Castellan,³³¹ and ask a favor of him.

I recently met Mr. Daniel de Saint-Antoine³³², who apparently is an associate member or correspondent of the Literary Society. I sensed from our conversation that he felt hurt that he had not been invited to any of the meetings of the Society.

If it would cause no difficulty, I would ask the Honorable Castellan to send him an invitation to tomorrow's meeting. It would bring him great pleasure. His address is: Place Vendome, nr 12 or 18.

Your Honor, the Castellan's always devoted former student and most humble servant,

Bogdan Jański

May 2, 1838.

Address: Count Louis Plater;
rue 32 de Lourdes.

This letter has been preserved in Polish Library in Paris: Mss. TLP-234, p. 1420.

³³¹ Louis Plater was a Senator-Castellan.

³³² President of the French Society of Universal Civilization, a friend of the Poles, who supported the project of gathering books for Poland, which had been stripped of cultural values by the Muscovites.

Letter Nr. 82

Paris, August, 1834

[To Voivode A. J. Ostrowski]

In accord with the Honorable Voivode's request, I am sending the last three chapters of the manuscript, from Conclusions Concerning the Need for Politico-economic Reform. I am sending it so late, because you asked me to send it with a bound copy of the next, the eleventh, proof sheet; but I am still waiting for this. To speed matters, I am sending the manuscript today, without the expected binding, with a clean copy of only the eighth proof-sheet. I have added the most recent issue of the Tygodnik. I urge the Honorable Voivode to make corrections, and send the manuscript back tomorrow, if possible; for it would be an injustice to the type-setters³³³ to suspend their work, without giving them something else to do.

N.B. On Monday, when I received the Voivode's first letter in this matter, the composition³³⁴ of the chapter "Conclusions" was almost completed.

The thirteenth proof-sheet, which I was correcting "en premiere"³³⁵, included 12 pages of this chapter.

It is possible to add notes, even very long ones, to this chapter practically without cost.

Tomorrow, without fail, I will send the Voivode the eleventh proof-sheet, printed "bon-a-tirer"³³⁶, and a clean copy of the tenth. Once again, I ask that you send the manuscript back as soon as possible, especially the last part of the chapter "Conclusions", and the next chapter on "Transition."

³³³ "Compositors" - today, type-setters.

³³⁴ Type-setting.

³³⁵ I.e., corrected for the first time.

³³⁶ After the final correction.

Mr. Kraiński's³³⁷ health continues to improve. Delegate Chełmicki³³⁸ still has not delivered Mochnacki's second volume. He keeps saying that when he is ready, he will send it to the Honorable Voivode through Kraiński.

I add respectful greetings.

Your servant,

Bogdan Jański

Wednesday evening.³³⁹

³³⁷ Vincent Kraiński (1786-1872) - Studied Law in Warsaw, and obtained his doctorate in 1825; participated in the uprising; secretary to Voivode A.J. Ostrowki; a Resurrectionist from 1843 to 1849; studied in Rome and was ordained; worked in the mission in London. After 1849, he settled in Wrocław.

³³⁸ Vincent Chełmicki (1786-1846) - A delegate from Przemyśl; he came from Płock.

³³⁹ This letter has been preserved in AGAD (Main Historical Archives): Mss AOU - 473, v.3, b.p.

Letter Nr. 83

Paris, September 7, 1834

First of all, Honorable Voivode, I would like to thank you most sincerely for the bit of assistance you sent through Klimaszewski³⁴⁰. Secondly, I apologize for not sending anything today except the twelfth proof-sheet, printed in a clean copy. Sheet thirteen, which includes “A New View in Tomaszowo”, and also sheet fourteen, will be ready for sending tomorrow. I am presently making the first correction of sheet fifteen. The compositors³⁴¹ are now working on the sixteenth. It now appears that the whole work will take about 20 sheets, probably twenty two or three.

I add respectful greetings,

Bogdan Jański

Sunday, September 7, 1834

Address: The Honorable Voivode, Ostrowski

³⁴⁰ Hippolyte Klimaszewski 1802-1875 - A grammar school teacher, and a leader of the young people in Wilno at the time of the uprising. In Paris he was a librarian, and director of the Polish school.

³⁴¹ I.e., type-setters.

Letter Nr. 84

Paris, September 17, 1834

The Honorable Voivode is probably wondering why he was not received any further sheets from me since the last mailing. The fact is that, in spite of constant reminders, I received the fifteenth sheet only today.

Our “mettre en pages”³⁴² has also been assigned to work on Wrotnowski’s³⁴³ Memoirs and to a great extent this draws him away from our work.

Moreover, after correcting Your Honor’s two recent “final emendations”, and spending more than one day doing so, he went on such a binge that he could not possibly continue. It was only yesterday and today that another compositor³⁴⁴ corrected the fifteenth sheet.

I have already made the first corrections in the sixteenth and seventeenth sheets; but these corrections have not yet been made by the composers (they are setting up the eighteenth). However, I expect to send them to Your Honor within a week for his final emendations. I include with this letter a clean copy of sheets thirteen and fourteen.

I remain respectfully, Your Honor’s most humble servant,

Bogdan

Jański

P.S. Comrade Krański sends along the collection “Brukowiec”, and the first number of the Tygodnik.³⁴⁵

³⁴² The type-setter making corrections for printing.

³⁴³ Felix Wrotnowski (1805-1871) - From the region of Wilno, where he finished his legal studies; wrote for the “Dziennik Wileński”; served as an officer under Chłapowski; in exile, he was editor of the “Dziennik Narodowy” (an organ for Czartoryski) and “Wiadomości Polskie”. Jański has in mind a work edited by him: “A Collection of Memoirs about the Lithuanian Revolution”.

³⁴⁴ I.e., type-setter.

³⁴⁵ Andrew Słowaczyński’s Tygodnik Emigracji Polskiej (1834-1837).

Letter Nr. 85

Paris, December 10, 1833

[Letters to H. Blotnicki]Dear Sir!³⁴⁶

Confident that, as he has done in the past, Prince Czartoryski will take two copies of the third issue of "*The Polish Pilgrim*", I make bold to send you the bill, and request that you pay the subscription price to the one who delivers the copies. Kind Sir, from this procedure you can easily infer that, right at this moment, I am an "Entrepreneur in trouble". I make this request in advance only because I am sure that its fulfillment will cause my honorable subscriber³⁴⁷ no problem. The last pages of the first issue will be published, within a few days.

I also wish to inform you, dear Sir, that I will shortly have the pleasure of defending the good name of Prince Czartoryski, General of Podolia³⁴⁸, against remarks recently made in *The New Poland*³⁴⁹. I am enclosing an article of one of our venerable fellow-exiles, of Mr. Orchowski, in which he refers to what he himself heard and saw, and in particular a statement of Kościuszko about the Prince's patriotism.

Sincere greetings to you, Honorable sir!

Your colleague and servant,
Bogdan Jański³⁵⁰

³⁴⁶ Hippolite Blotnicki /1792-1886/ - Noted pedagogue and writer, revolutionary, secretary of A. Czartoryski in exile and right-wing political activist, tutor of the Prince's children and home instructor.

³⁴⁷ Adam George Czartoryski (1770-1861) - Son of the General of Podolia, political conservative; Minister for Education and External Affairs; President of the revolutionary regime and leader of the conservatives (aristocrats and monarchists) in exile.

³⁴⁸ Adam Casimir Czartoryski (1734-1823) - Commander of the Military School, member of the National education Commission, advocate of reform and founder of the cultural center in Puławy.

³⁴⁹ Radical left-wing publication among the emigrants, published by J.B. Ostrowski.

³⁵⁰ The original of this letter has been preserved in the Czartoryski Library in Cracow: Mss Ew. 1551, b.p.

Paris, December 16, 1833
rue des Gres (de la Sorbone) 22
Address: Monsieur Błotnicki
rue d'Angouleme 21.

Letter Nr. 86

Paris, June 28, 1837

Dear Sir!

The person delivering this letter is Mr. Adolph Pawłowicz³⁵¹, of whom you have surely heard, and possibly even seen, since he was receiving assistance from the Women's Society³⁵². He created a beautiful scene of Puławy, in bas-relief, out of cardboard: with clocks and running water, and ships, etc. etc. - very sophisticated³⁵³, and very beautiful. It needs to be seen to be appreciated. He spent much time on this work, and money too (more than 300 francs for advance payments, for frame-work, and machines that supply movement). He wishes to offer it to Prince Czartoryski and his wife.

I know Mr. Pawłowicz personally and through his colleagues in Poland. His upbringing and conduct indicate that he is a respectable person. However, the destitution of exile had ruined him. Therefore, without hesitation, I make this appeal for him to you, dear Sir. I would like to dispose the Prince and Princess favorably towards him, and, at the same time, advise him on the best way to make his offering to them. Above all, dear Sir, I would like to encourage you to find a few spare moments in order to view this work at the home of the artist.

Your goodness, dear Sir, always ready to help someone, assures me that my request will be received favorably.

I add sincere personal greetings.

Bogdan Jański³⁵⁴

³⁵¹ A little known emigrant artist, living in destitution. B. Jański was trying to help him in this way.

³⁵² The Catholic Women's Society - An emigrant society of richer Polish women, with Princess Czartoryski as its leader, established for charitable purpose.

³⁵³ I.e., a very clever, artistic work.

³⁵⁴ The original letter was sent there.

Wednesday, June 28, 1837.
rue Notre Dame des Champs 11

Address: Monsieur Błotnicki
rue du faubourg du Roule 25.

Letter Nr. 87

Paris, August 25, 1839

Dear Sir!

Fr. Czerkas³⁵⁵, who will deliver this letter, has lived abroad for a long time (almost twenty years) under the name l'abbe Lachaise. He came here recently from Rome, and has a letter for Count Zamoyski³⁵⁶. From what he tells you about his situation, please, Sir, advise him as to how to deliver or send this letter.

A few months ago, Mrs. Dawson Damer³⁵⁷ wrote to the Prince about Fr. Czerkas (l'abbe Lachaise). Perhaps the Prince will remember this. Please, Sir, ask him whether he remembers, and whether he wishes to see Fr. Czerkas. If h does, please arrange the meeting.

Anyway, after you have seen the person and talked with him, you will know better what to do. I will only add that, previously, even before Fr. Czerkas' present visit to Paris, I knew of him from a very eminent source by way of information from Rome. Therefore, "en toute sunte", I recommend him to Your Honor's known graciousness.

Bogdan Jański

Sunday, August 25, 1839

rue Vavin 13

Address: Monsieur Błotnicki,

rue du faubourg du Roule 25³⁵⁸

³⁵⁵ Rev. Roman Czerkas (1801-1875) - a former Jesuit; exiled from Plock in 1822, and while he was still a cleric, he came to France, Saint-Acheul, near Amiens. He was transferred to Piedmont, but returned to France for some time. This led to his dismissal. He tried in vain to arrange with Fr. General Roothaan for a return to the Jesuits after this he worked in Paris, teaching mathematics and physics in colleges there. He celebrated Mass at St. Severin.

³⁵⁶ Ladislaus Zamoyski (1803-1868) - Count, a General, active political supporter of Czartoryski.

³⁵⁷ A London patroness of the exiles.

³⁵⁸ The original was sent there.

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³⁶⁰ Ladislaus Zamoyski (1803-1868) - Count, a General, active political supporter of Czartoryski.

³⁶¹ A London patroness of the exiles.

³⁶² The original was sent there.

Letter Nr. 88

Paris, December 9, 1839

Dear Sir!

I had the privilege to see the Prince last Thursday. In reply to my request³⁶³, I received his most gracious promise that he would write a letter to Mr. Dessages³⁶⁴ asking him to grant me a government passport for Italy.

This letter was to be sent to me at my present address. However, I have not yet received it. And, since it is only waiting for this passport that delays my departure, postponing it to an unsuitable time, I ask you, kind Sir, at your convenience, to remind the Prince of my request and of my need.

If, by chance, there were some problems with issuing this passport now, problems that could be solved only with time, then I would begin my journey with a police passport that allows me to travel to Aix. I would prefer to wait there, where the climate is warmer, for a further resolution of the matter, or simply spend the Winter there.

I will expect a few words of response from Your Honor. I would be indebted to you once again for a quick reply; hopefully, with the requested letter to Mr. Dessages.

Your most humble servant,

Bogdan Jański

Monday evening, December 9.

My address: Rue Vevin 13 (quetier du Luxembourg)

³⁶³ Application for passport and visa to the Papal States.

³⁶⁴ The Bureau-Head in the Ministry, of External Affairs in Paris.

P.S. The matter is very urgent. Perhaps it would be better to frenchify my Christian name for the passport: Dieudonne, instead of Bogdan.

Address of the recipient: Monsieur Błotnicki
25 rue du faubourg du Roule.³⁶⁵

A city in Southern France, where W.N. Łempicki, a very dear friend from Warsaw, lived.

³⁶⁵ The original letter was sent there.

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Letter Nr. 89

Paris, end of December, 1833

[Letter to a subscriber]

Dear Sir!

From the time when I met with you, contrary to my desires and hopes, there has been an unusual delay in the publication of "*The Polish Pilgrim*". The reason for the delay was the bad news among book-sellers from Galicia³⁶⁹, which so frightened Bodlange³⁷⁰ that he would not assure me that he would take same number of copies to Poland; and my venture definitely depended on this.

Amid this uncertainty, I had to wait for a special decision in reference to my periodical by the book-seller Milikowski³⁷¹. The decision arrived a few days ago: In the process of cutting down the number of periodicals they take, they are cutting down on the number of copies of "*The Polish Pilgrim*". As a result, I will no longer be able to publish this periodical.

At present I am printing the last number in this series, and announcing its suspension. As you know, dear Sir, if a periodical includes an article that refers to a third party, that party, ipso facto, acquires the right to a response in the same periodical. Since this will not be possible for the persons referred to in the letter you wrote to my periodical, I simply am not able to include your letter in this final number.

It was already in print some time ago, as you can determine from the early "épreuve number" I have enclosed.

If you wish it, dear Sir, I can have it printed separately. I include the original with this letter.

Rest assured, dear Sir, that this disappointment affects and hurts me deeply; however, it really is not my fault.

³⁶⁹ The usurper regime had tightened the censoring of periodicals imported from France.

³⁷⁰ The spelling of the name is uncertain.

³⁷¹ John Milikowski (1781-1866) - a bookseller and publisher in Lwów, the regular recipient of emigrant publications, and of the works of writers in exile.

If there is anything I can do not to compensate, I am ready to do so.

The honorable gentleman's most humble servant,

Bogdan Jański.³⁷²

³⁷² This letter is preserved in CRR: Mss 8606, pp.706-707.

Letter Nr. 90

Paris, January 11, 1835

[To V. Kraiński]Dear Counselor!³⁷³

This is a response relative to the matter³⁷⁴ about which the Honorable Voivode spoke with me briefly yesterday.

I know for certain that Mr. Bochenek³⁷⁵ wrote to Jełowicki³⁷⁶ recently from Cracow requesting that he no longer send books addressed to him because this made him responsible, and the books were in danger of being confiscated.

To this time we have simply packed the books and sent them by cartage, putting the address: a Monsieur Bochenek a Cracovie on the outside, and making our declaration for customs through the hauler: “Une cuisse adressee a...pour Mr. ...contenant les articles in librairie, valeur. (tout), envoyee par Mr...”

From now on another method will have to be used. Bochenek sent Mr. Jełowicki another way to address the packages, not under his name. If the Honorable Voivode wishes, I will ask Mr. Jełowicki to send him this address.

You do not pay the hauler anything here, but there is always some cost for packaging. If the Honorable Voivode plans to send anything on his own, I would recommend our packager, or packer, Mr. Fornet, rue des Boucheries (St. Germain), just before you get to the rue de l’Ecole de Medecine, the third or fourth house on the right. In front of the house you will see signs that he lives there, i.e., packages.

³⁷³ Vincent Kraiński.

³⁷⁴ The matter of sending printed materials to Galicia.

³⁷⁵ John Bochenek (1810-1870) - a buyer and banker in Cracow, middle-man in the illegal traffic of forbidden emigrant publications to Galicia. From 1833 he kept up his contacts with B. Jański, who directed Polish publication at the printery of A. Pinard, and was in charge of distribution.

³⁷⁶ Alexander Jełowicki (1804-1877) - an alumnus of the Vineyard School, the Universities of Warsaw and Cracow, insurgent from Wołyń in 1831, emigrant, owner (with E. Januszkiewicz) of the Polish Printery and Book Shop in Paris, advocate of Czartoryski’s “monarchy”, Resurrectionist.

I remain respectfully, as always, your friend and servant,

Bogdan Jański³⁷⁷

Sunday, January 11, 1835

³⁷⁷ The original letter is preserved in AGAD: Mss AOU-473, v.4, 1.79.

Letter Nr. 91

Paris, January, 1835

[To J. Zawadzki]

My dear Joseph!

You surely have reason to complain about me. (Here is an unexpected letter. Isn't it true? You are a trifle angry with me, and justly). In the short correspondence between us in exile, your letter was the last. (That was in 1833. You were requesting that I facilitate your coming to Paris. Truly, though I desired to do so, I could not help you. Therefore, I did not hurry to reply. And thus the correspondence ceased.

You did not wish to re-open it. I was more guilty, for it was my duty to respond, but I was too lazy. And from that time I have encountered so much trouble and misery, that I neglected all correspondence... And that's how it has been until now)³⁷⁸.

You wrote last, and you received no reply from me. I admit my guilt and immediately correct myself, as you see. In the first place, then, I am writing this letter to apologize to you my lengthy silence. Please do not ascribe this silence to indifference or forgetfulness in your regard; for I testify solemnly, in conscience, that I continue to love you sincerely as my brother-in-law and compatriot. In fact, my heart frequently summoned, even commanded, me to get in touch with you.

If only there had been some good news to write! Instead, there were only constant problems, worries and need!

In 1834 I was laid low by a serious chest ailment. My friends and acquaintances were ready...³⁷⁹

A letter to Joseph Zawadzki brother-in-law of B. Jański. At this time, he was an emigrant in southern France.

³⁷⁸ The statements in brackets are crossed out in the rough-draft of the letter.

³⁷⁹ The letter is left unfinished. The rough draft has been preserved in CRR: Mss 8568/17, p.45.

Letter Nr. 92

Paris, January 26, 1835

To the editors of The New Poland

On January 10th, your publication contained a list of commissioners to gather votes for the organization and selection of a Committee³⁸⁰. By some mistake, undoubtedly, my name was included among those participating in the formation of this Committee. I have never participated in any such formation, I could not participate, for I still know nothing about it. True, a month ago, Joseph Zaleski³⁸¹ showed me a circular issued by the institutions³⁸², summoning countrymen, who recognize the need for such a Committee among the emigrants and wish to vote in the election of members, to signify by their signature that they wish to do so.

Since last year's election proved inconclusive, due to the indifference of the voters, I considered the summons to be valid. And so, I signed, but only as one wishing to vote for the Committee, not as one participating in some yet unknown formation³⁸³ ... much less as a candidate.

I ask you to make this correction.

Bogdan Jański³⁸⁴

Paris, January 26, 1835.

³⁸⁰ The Committee for Poles in Exile was organized by J. Lelewel and J.N. Janowski in September, 1831, in Zakroczym, as a government in exile. It tried to set itself up in Paris as an autonomous government for the emigrants, but failed by reason of Universal disagreement.

³⁸¹ Joseph John Zaleski (1789-1864) - A soldier of the principality of Warsaw and of the Polish Kingdom, the owner of Pietruszka near Kijów, insurgent, emigrant, a member of the United Brethren, an external brother and benefactor of the new community of Bogdan Jański; constant companion of the poet J.B. Zaleski.

³⁸² A name for the emigrant centers in France.

³⁸³ The secret left-wing among the emigrants, under the symbol of The New Poland, was trying to use this as a means to gain authority over the exiles. Without their being aware of it, the exiles would be asked to vote for a constitution drawn up by the left-wing, the content of which would then be presented to the people as obliging, by reason of the voting.

³⁸⁴ The rough-draft has been preserved in CRR: Mss 8520/2.

Letter Nr. 93

Paris, November 1, 1835

[To Joseph Hube]

Dear Joseph!

You undoubtedly feel resentment toward me, and justly so. You wrote such a friendly and heartwarming letter to me at the end of 1833, and I did not respond at all. First of all, I ask you not to infer from this that I am indifferent to your friendship. No, dear Joseph! The understanding we came to among ourselves could not be so short-lived and passing; for, it relates to something in our minds and hearts that is most essential and most enduring... it was accomplished in us by mutual trust and good faith... it was generated by a feeling of true friendship for you, and so was, and continues to be, very much alive in my heart. You would do me a very grave injustice, if you would entertain even the shadow of a doubt in this regard. When I received your letter, and long after that, I was so weighed down with troubles and sufferings of body and soul³⁸⁵, that I was practically incapable of saying anything. As a result, I had to put aside correspondence for a while, and that is why I didn't write to you.

Last year, everybody thought that I had consumption, and that I would die any day, since I was so weak physically. At present and for some time now, I feel much better, I can even say that I feel good. The truth is that I kept postponing the realization of my desire to write to you until now only through negligence and laziness. For this I apologize sincerely.

As for you: how are you, what are you doing, what do you plan to do? The purpose of this letter is, first, to initiate a correspondence with you, into which I trust you will not refuse to enter. I promise to be diligent and faithful. Secondly, I want to present a proposition to you, for which I need a reply very quickly.

³⁸⁵ He had suffered through a serious lung ailment.

A very profitable teaching position is available here: all the comforts of home, and a yearly salary of 2,000 francs, more or less. It is in a French home, with the family of Mr. Bonoiste, once a French peer. Because of their confidence in our moral and religious character, they are seeking an educated Pole to teach their fourteen year old boy. They want someone who can teach Latin, Greek and German; but, especially, someone who can give proper, religious direction to the whole of the educational process. One half of the year they live in Paris, and other half they live in the country, in the departament de la Nievre. They allow for one month vacation, and all the evenings are free. They also have younger children, and so it would be possible to retain that position for as long as you like. They promise to treat you completely as "a friend of the house and a member of the family." The father himself is supposed to be a very educated and affable person. The position can be assumed immediately, that is, as quickly as possible. The whole matter is being handled by Mr. and Mrs. Ogiński, who are my good friends, and to whom I presented your name as a prospect.

Your decision is required as soon as possible! I ask you, then: Do you accept, or do you not accept? Answer immediately, the same day you get this letter. They are anxiously waiting for an answer, and I promised that one would be given very quickly.

If you think that you can accept, I will try to provide all the details possible, and I will support your application to the time when you begin to correspond directly with the people.

Because I am in a hurry, and because I lack the time, I will not relate any of the news as regards political doctrines, or the daily happenings of the Poles in Paris. I leave that for later, and conclude this letter.

N.B. It may occur to you to ask: If this position is so great, why didn't I accept it myself? First, because I think you fit the position better than I do; secondly, thanks be to God my upkeep and livelihood are covered at present. I am tutoring the Giedroyć boy, who is attending College here; and I also have another tutoring job that is not too bad. I have been able to sell some of my articles to

French periodicals, etc. All in all, I would wish to remain where I am for the moment. My address is: Place du Pantheon, rue Soufflot 10.

Please give your father³⁸⁶ my greetings and sincere regards.

Write to me as soon as possible, and be assured that I am your friend always.

Bogdan Jański.

P.S. Miscellaneous: Gronostajski³⁸⁷ was in Paris recently. He is married. You surely know that Melanie is already Mrs. Oleszczyński³⁸⁸, “*coram Deo et sociate humana.*” Mickiewicz’s daughter was baptized the day before yesterday. Her name is Maria, and the godfather is Niemcewicz.

What Czyński³⁸⁹ wrote recently in Północ about the Papal Congregation, Catholic intrigues, and about me is completely false.

We recently received the sad news that Brodziński³⁹⁰ died in Dresde. The day before yesterday we celebrated a Requiem Mass here for Pac³⁹¹, who died in Smyrna on the 30th of August. Wołowski³⁹² was chosen as a deputy. Not too long ago he was on his death bed, but today he is completely recovered.

Once again, nothing will come of the Sejm: Nakwaski³⁹³, Przewozowski³⁹⁴, Tymowski³⁹⁵ and Pietkiewicz³⁹⁶ have already gone their separate ways, etc., etc.

³⁸⁶ Michael Hube (1779-1840) - a lawyer and an official of the Kingdom of Poland, head of the reconnaissance committee of the Russian police headquarters in Poland, General Kurut’s clerk, some of the material of which he was able to take with him in France.

³⁸⁷ Gerard Gronostajski - a grammar school teacher from Wilno; one of the leaders of the college youth during the November uprising; an emigrant.

³⁸⁸ Wife of the artist and engraver, Anthony Oleszczyński (1794-1879) - from 1825 he worked in France, mainly in Paris. He left more than 500 engravings and original drawings.

³⁸⁹ John Czyński (1801-1867) - a Polish-Jew, lawyer and newspaper man; editor of Północ; collaborator with other secret left-wing and masonic publications in France.

³⁹⁰ Casimir Brodziński (1791-1835) - Professor of literature and Vice-Rector of the Royal University Warsaw; a poet, bordering on Polish classicism romantism.

³⁹¹ Louis Pac /1780-1835/ - Castelan, Voivode and General of the Kingdom of Poland; wounded at Ostrołęka; he died a few years later. Obsequies were celebrated in Paris only on November 30th.

³⁹² Francis Wołowski (1786-1844) - lawyer and deputy the revolutionary Sejm, politician among the emigrants, member of the Committee.

³⁹³ Henry Nakwaski (1800-1876) - deputy to the revolutionary Sejm, curator of the archives of the Sejm in exile, son of the famous authoress, Anna, nee Krajewski, Nakwaski.

Address: Monsieur Joseph Hube,
refugie Polonais
a Caen (Calvados)

Postal stamp: Caen, November 3, 1835

13. The original letter has been preserved in CRR: Mss 14, pp. 208-211.

³⁹⁴ Anthony Przeciszewski - deputy to the Sejm.

³⁹⁵ Thomas Tymowski (1790-1850) - deputy to the Sejm the Kingdom of Poland, member of the Kalisz resistance group and of the revolutionary Sejm; a mason and left-winger; author of historical and political pamphlets, as well as of patriotic verses,

³⁹⁶ Michael Pietkiewicz - deputy to the Sejm.

Letter Nr. 94

Paris, April 10, 1836

Greetings, brother in Christ!

My friend for life, I give thanks to the most kind God! My friend for eternity! I cannot describe the joy that your great news brought me.³⁹⁷ Not just words, but life itself cannot suffice to thank God for such joy. Let us help one another... let us help each other by prayer and mutual love, to show ourselves worthy of the great graces that God has poured out upon us.

Besides the expression of my joy, there is much, very much that I have to say to you. However, since you wish to come to Paris - and I have not only the hope, but the certainty, that permission for you to come here can be obtained today - I look forward to the time of your coming with longing, and with the expectation that it will be soon. Then we will be able to talk things over better, more satisfactorily and in greater detail. The great spiritual step that you have taken - pardon the impudence of my love - is conclusive also for the whole of my future. I cannot conceive of it as anything else but my total union with you.

My dearest Joseph, Ziomecki has already told you that we are living together, that have joined with four other brothers in a spiritual community, with the intention of living, as far as we can, according to Christ, of working at our own improvement, ready for every sacrifice to which God will call us in defense of our faith and for the good of our neighbor. This community also keeps alive the national ideal; for in Christ we find our only hope of moral and intellectual betterment, and of national unity, in Christ we find the complete salvation of our country. It has pleased God to use me as the instrument and means of our fraternal union.

Thanks to be God, at this same time he has afflicted me with a great and extremely humbling abasement... Dear Joseph! I am guilty in your regard, not just

³⁹⁷ After many years, Joseph Hube made his confession for Easter, and ultimately decided to enter the new community. This took place, however, only on August 15, 1836.

as a friend and as a Christian, but even as what they call a man of honor. I committed a most disgraceful act of negligence that concerns you. Mr. Benoiste came to Paris toward the end of December. I met with him in the beginning of January, and found him to be a most respectable person, a very worthy person on all counts. I should have written to you immediately. Yet, how awful, for such a long time I neglected to fulfill this holy obligation, which was also a true and profound need of my heart. I have no excuse to cover my fault.

True, this was a time, first of preparations and exertions to establish our house; then, arrangements to furnish it, therefore, constant occupation. Besides, there were duties concerned with providing a source of income, of bread, as well as spiritual duties involving people... work, constantly, from morning until late at night... Head and heart filled with hopes, sufferings, pressing labors.

True, I regarded a letter to you as a special occasion, because there were many things I wanted to say to you. Therefore, I was waiting for a free moment, when my mind would be free to write to you. And, while I continued to remember this responsibility, I also kept putting it off from day to day. I can honestly say that this is all true. But it is also true that in this time I could have written not one, but several letters, if I were something better.

It was a very serious fault on my part, greater even because I must admit that it is the result, by way of punishment,, of another even greater fault! I have confessed both of these faults in confession as serious sins, and obtained absolution on the condition that I improve. I am confessing to you. Would that I could find mercy from you as well!

In the days that followed my visit with Mr. Benoiste, and my promise to write to you, persons who were aware of your interest (Caesar Plater, Mickiewicz, Ziomecki) kept asking me whether I had already written to you? Since I really had the intention of writing to you as soon as possible, to avoid this constant questioning, I once replied: I have already written. And, having lied once, pressed by the questions, I repeated the lie.

Such a base fault merited a severe penalty. In the course of more than three months, I thought each day of writing to you, and frequently prayed for you; yet,

while God gave me the strength and the grace to do so many other things, I did not have them to write to you... I did not find a free and suitable opportunity to think. I uncover before you my weakness and shamefulness, as God himself showed it to me, so that I might not consider that I had ever done anything good of myself, and not by his grace alone.

Surely it is worldly vanity suggesting now that I beg you not to reveal my nakedness to friends and acquaintances when you come, and counsels that I offer the fear of scandalizing others as the motive for my plea. However, Christian humility requests that you uncover my weakness, and that you do not hide my great offense.

Nevertheless, fortunately, your interest has not suffered any loss through my delay. Mr. Benoiste has hired another tutor for the time-being; but he continues to await your coming. As I said, he impressed me as a most respectable person - a man about 40 years old, a good Christian, educated and friendly. Apparently the salary will not be as large as we had understood, but still definitely more than 1,000 francs. You would spend a half year in Paris, and a half in the country. For the subjects you do not wish to teach, he would hire teachers during the stay in Paris. Hence, this position is available now as it was before.

Could it be that your stay in Caen until Easter³⁹⁸ was also necessary? Is it possible that the freedom and disposition of your time that was a consequence of my delay, may seem necessary to you now, for new and important reasons? God leads us by strange ways to his own ends.

But not just maybe, but definitely, I have proved myself unworthy of your friendship! And, if I still make bold to beg for it, I do so with the greatest sense of my unworthiness, not for my own benefit, but for the love of our Savior, who in his mercy receives the sinner who repents sincerely.

Dearest Joseph, from the bottom of my heart I promise that I will strive with my strength to make this serious offence against you the last such transgression in your regard. Through Christ, restore to me the friendship which I

³⁹⁸ To make his confession there, without pressure from the Parisian zealots.

have lost so wretchedly through my own fault, and without which I would know no peace in my soul! Christ will reward you for this.

When you receive this letter, my dear Joseph, write to the Ministry immediately for a transfer to Paris. Present as your motive the need to continue your work in education, and the greater opportunity for earning a livelihood which could some day free them from granting a subsidy. For your worthy father, if you so judge... you can use as motive his need to be with his son, and wish to lighten the exile in his latter years by association with former friends and acquaintances, the greater number of whom are in Paris. On the same day that you present your request to the prefect, write to inform me about this, so that people who are well disposed toward us³⁹⁹ could support your request in the Ministry as soon as it gets here. Everything indicates that you will receive a quick and a favorable decision, possibly even within this month.

I say farewell in my letter, with the hope that I will soon greet you in person.

I owe you a debt of gratitude for acquainting me with dear Ziomecki. What a pure and upright soul!

For your response I will give you yet another response. Give your father my deepest respects and sincere greetings.

With my whole heart and with my whole soul I commend myself to your gracious and Christian friendship.

Yours forever,

Bogdan Jański

P. S. Joseph⁴⁰⁰ adds a letter. However, nota bene, we have not read each other's letters. Kajsiewicz, Semenenko and Karski also send sincere greetings.⁴⁰¹

Address: Mr. Joseph Hube, son - a Polish

³⁹⁹ Count Charles Montalembert, C. Plater etc.

⁴⁰⁰ Joseph Ziomecki.

⁴⁰¹ The letter has been preserved in CRR: Mss 8515/1, pp. 1078-1079.

emigrant in Caen Calvados
rue St. Janveur 49

Letter Nr. 95

Paris, May, 1836

My Dear Joseph!

I am only writing a few words to you, and that in a hurry. Your visa has not yet been issued, for from the time of the ill-fated confederacy⁴⁰² all favorable decisions on Polish request have been withheld, and by order of the Minister, rather the Vice-Minister, the Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Gasparin⁴⁰³. They have not even been presented to the minister by the head of the bureau. There is a general decision to reduce the number of Poles living in Paris, even down to 200. This order, apparently, was given a long time ago, but never put into execution. Perhaps it will not be applied at this time either. To make a long story short, it has become very difficult to obtain permission to come here. However, next week your case will be taken up with Mr. Gasparin himself, and there is hope that things will go well.

I am truly awaiting your arrival in Paris with genuine impatience. There are so many, many things I want to talk about with you, and seek your counsel. May God grant that we will see each other very soon. I also have a request to make of you regarding Marszewski: If he is truly the respectable person your father and Ziomecki say he is, we would be very happy to have him with us. But, explain to him that if his convictions are really those he expressed in his letter to Ziomecki, if he sees the truth and his salvation in Christ and the Catholic faith, then without any consideration for one position or another, looking forward to joining Ziomecki and us sooner or later, he must begin to give witness to the truth by his action, by living, as a Catholic, by way of complete reconciliation with God in the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion. Joseph wrote him about our

⁴⁰² Confederation of the People of Poland - a recent attempt by General J. Dwernicki and deputy John Ledóchowski to unite the Polish emigrants in France. The only result was the arrest and dispersal of the exiles.

⁴⁰³ Andrew Stephen Peter de Gasparin (1783-1862). French politician and statesman; at this time he was the director of the Department of Justice and Vice-Minister for Internal Affairs; he wrote books on agronomy.

kitchen, suggesting that he might want to take over as head cook. This is also a secondary matter. As our brother and member of our fraternal society, he would occupy himself with the work to which he would feel best suited, and which would fulfill our common need. This is the general consequence of his joining us and the general obligation. There corresponds to this the right to equal participation in the whole of our common life.

Joseph, I repeat that I have much to talk about with you that would be hard to set down in writing. In spite of crosses and more crosses, which we must bear patiently, God is blessing our endeavor. I have great hopes, and all kinds of plans. You can surmise that they are all concentrated on my personal salvation and that of others, by means of the truth, and a life that is fully imbued with the truth, and that truth is love, Christ, the Holy Catholic Church.

Let us not lose confidence, but rather trust that God will permit us to see one another soon, and to exchange, an embrace of friendship - a friendship that has come to take on a nobler character; religious and holy. May God preserve it forever, for his own greater glory, for the good of our fellow man, and for our own salvation.

Bogdan
Jański

P.S. Ziomecki wrote something to you. He did not even want to show me either your letter or his, ashamed of your reproofs and his own excuses. Forgive him once again, for I have the hope, which is practically a conviction, that he will improve. And so, forgive... forgive!

N.B. The position at the home of Mr. Benoiste has been taken. But that means nothing; for if and when you get here, we will find you another. Among other opportunities, I have an opening at the Encyclopedie Catholique⁴⁰⁴, Encyclopedie Nouvelle⁴⁰⁵ and at last a partial opening at Encyclopedie du XIX-me Siecle⁴⁰⁶ for

⁴⁰⁴ Encyclopedie Catholique: Paris, 1838-49, v.18 in quarto.

⁴⁰⁵ Encyclopedie Nouvelle: Paris, 1841-45, v.8 in quarto.

myself and companions. I have already submitted articles to the first - some of them paid. In a word, the main thing is that you get here as soon as possible. We will offer our prayer this evening for that intention⁴⁰⁷.

⁴⁰⁶ Encyclopedie du XIX Siecle: from 1838. Publication an with the last volume.

⁴⁰⁷ This letter has been preserved in CRR: Mss 8645, 1021-1022.

Letter Nr. 96

Paris, October 31, 1835

[To. Mrs. Białopiotrowicz]

Madame⁴⁰⁸ knows the ancient proverb: “To error is human; but to persevere in error is diabolical.” Even though I am a very bad person, I do not wish to commit a diabolical deed; and so, although I am very late, I respond to your letter.

According to your wish, I have honestly given some thought to a program of studies for Caroline⁴⁰⁹. I am still thinking about it. (However, I definitely need to discuss this at greater length with you. Hence, we will be able to draw up some kind of schedule only after you come to Paris).

I am also very confident that I will be able to find a Polish tutor for you. I know many of our younger people, and sincerely intend to find one with whom you would be content, one who would satisfy your desires. However, I could not offer this position to anyone, without knowing the moral, scientific and material condition you have in mind. I shall have to discuss these with you at greater length. I was waiting for the opportunity to discuss these details with you personally, since I thought that you would be returning to Paris with your mother, the Princess⁴¹⁰. In the hope that I would be able to speak with you personally, I withheld a response.

I sent the examples of calligraphy only as samples, for I don’t know whether they will be of any use. If you wish further samples, I can send them.

Finally, when you come to Paris, I will very readily meet with you for a pedagogical conference at the earliest opportunity. And now, taking advantage of the old-world custom of concluding a letter with assurances, I conclude this letter

⁴⁰⁸ Kunegunda, nee Giedroyć, Białopiotrowicz (1793-1883), daughter of the napoleonic General Romuald, lady-in-waiting at the court of Josephine Napoleon and Tsarina Alexandra; wife of Adjutant George Białopiotrowicz; author of several books in Polish and French.

⁴⁰⁹ Probably the daughter of Madame Białopiotrowicz.

⁴¹⁰ Frances Giedroyć - the mother, of Francis Joseph Stephen, and of Kunegunda Białopiotrowicz and Lucia Rautenstrauch.

with the assurance of my heart-felt respect and gratitude for your undeserved confidence in me - undeserved thus far...

I assure you of my desire to deserve that confidence in the future, and to serve you in whatever way I can be useful.

Bogdan
Jański

October 31, 1835

This letter preserved in CRR: Mss 8537/8, pp.961,952

Letter Nr. 97

Paris, October 19, 1835

Monday

[To P . Semenenko and J. Kajsiewicz]Dearest Brothers!⁴¹¹

Forgive me if I am late, and do not feel that I have forgotten about you; for God knows that you are with me each day, in my heart and in my mind. Caught in the midst of constant troubles, I put off writing to you, first until Adam's⁴¹² departure, then until I moved⁴¹³, and so on until today. And today there is no need to write at length, for you will surely be in Paris soon.

You may have read in the newspapers about the arrest the day before yesterday of 15 of our people, who had gathered for some kind of meeting⁴¹⁴ at Batignolles. Among these were Joseph Zaleski and Ordęga, as well as Zwierkowski⁴¹⁵, Hłuśniewicz⁴¹⁶ and Nabelak⁴¹⁷. I learned of this today - only a few moments ago - and so I know nothing about Karski. I do know that Bohdan⁴¹⁸ was not there. I will go to Chaillot tomorrow to get all the details, and will send you these in a postscript.

⁴¹¹ B. Jański sent P. Semenenko and J. Kajsiewicz to make a retreat with the Benedictines in Solesmes at the end of September, 1835.

⁴¹² Adam Celiński was one of the first confreres of B. Jański in the Service of Country, and the first to live with him. A little stubborn about the impact of a big city, he decided to become involved in religious activity in southern France. He went there alone. October 5, 1835.

⁴¹³ From rue Surene 14, to rue Souflot 10.

⁴¹⁴ Of radical emigrants with the TDP and the masons.

⁴¹⁵ Valentine Zawierski (1788-1859), a follower of Napoleon, an insurgent, left-wing activist among the emigrants, a distant cousin of B. Jański.

⁴¹⁶ Anthony Hłuszniewicz (1793-1861), a lawyer and a doctor; insurgent; a left-wing activist among the exiles in France.

⁴¹⁷ Louis Nabelak (1804-1883), studied Law in Warsaw and Lwów; took part in the capture of the Warsaw Belvedere in 1830; adjutant to General Skrzynecki; historian and poet; left-wing activist among the emigrants.

⁴¹⁸ Joseph Bohdan Zaleski.

I have just moved from rue de la Surene, and now live at Place du Pantheon. Once again God has forgiven the disorder in my accounts and helped me to pacify the landlady; but I had all kinds of trouble!

As for your lodgings, without further ado I will find you a place in the Latin Quarter, close to me. Tell Jerome to forget about his Hotel de la Providence on rue Saint Honore⁴¹⁹. For formalities sake, I ask you to send formal acceptance of the room I will find for you after you have received this letter. I will try a cheap room on a quiet street - two rooms with a connecting door, one of which would be large enough to accomodate the few people you might want to meet with on occasion⁴²⁰

Write to tell me positively on what day you will come. I have much to tell you. Several weeks ago it was announced that The New Poland had uncovered and was preparing to release to the emigrants information about the Society of the Lamb of God⁴²¹, whose president, naturally, is Adam Mickiewicz, with all of us as members, according to various categories: science, propaganda, philanthropy. Metternich⁴²² is supposed to be the hidden mover behind all this, and Montalembert the go-between. So far The New Poland has not published its article; but Czyński has beat them to it. A few days ago he issued the last (again) number of Północ, in which he has an item about a Catholic Papal Congregation, founded at Chaillot by Bohdan Zaleski, Kajsiewicz and myself. Semenenko is represented as a zealous preacher. Especially astounding is the statement: "Karski and Ordega, vigorous people, imbued with the latest 19th century ideas, have fallen into the snare of mysticism, which should be incapable of seducing even old ladies today"⁴²³ etc.

⁴¹⁹ B. Jański had just moved from beyond the Seine to the Latin Quartier. The rue Saint Honore was on the other side of the Seine, about an hour's walk away.

⁴²⁰ . This was the name the leftist emigrant press contemptuously gave to Jański's conciliatory Service of Country.

⁴²¹ For common spiritual reading, prayers and discussions

⁴²² Clement Metternich (1773-1859). Austrian statesman and political leader from the fall of Napoleon to the Revolution of 1848; originator of the so-called "holy alliance" of kings against revolutions and uprisings.

⁴²³ A citation from the article entitled: "A Catholic Papal Congregation", in Północ, Year 1:1835, nr.16.

I shall also have to relate extensively how we observed Edward Karski's Feast day on October 13th. On November 4th, the Zaleskis are inviting all of us to Sevres to celebrate the Feast Day of Kaczanowski⁴²⁴, Różycki⁴²⁵, and all the other good people whose name is Charles.

Undoubtedly Montalembert is at Solesmes⁴²⁶. Give him sincere greetings from Mickiewicz and myself. Mickiewicz would like to borrow from his library Lelewel's book about Matthew Cholewa⁴²⁷. Ask him if there is any way in which the book might be borrowed.

Just in case you do not return before the first, I would ask Peter to tell me where I can find the pawn ticket for my coat.

N.B. While we were moving, by accident⁴²⁸ one of the packages with his books came apart, but nothing was lost; and, although it's all in a mess, everything is here with me. In any case, as soon as you receive this letter, give me your reply on the room. My address is: Place de Pantheon, rue Soufflet 10.

2 N.B.: Know that, after your arrival in Paris, you will inevitably find me at home between the hours of 5 and 7, i.e., during the dinner hour. At other times, "cela depend"⁴²⁹.

A few days after you left⁴³⁰, Peter, a fellow came to see you. He seemed very concerned as he kept inquiring about you, and seemed surprised that you had gone after having approached him a few days before for a job⁴³¹, which he had obtained for you in some kind of "bureau d'agences"⁴³². His name was Mr.

⁴²⁴ Charles Kaczanowski (1800-1873), artillery captain, engineer, insurgent, emigrant, Resurrectionist, misionary in Bulgaria.

⁴²⁵ Charles Różycki (1789-1870). A Colonel during the uprising at Wołyń, and commander of the cavalry, a left-wing activist among the emigrants.

⁴²⁶ At the time, in fact, he was staying at the ancient Abbey, and was writing an historical work about St. Elizabeth.

⁴²⁷ Uwagi nad Mateuszem herbu Cholewa, Wilno 1811.

⁴²⁸ "Per casum fortuitum".

⁴²⁹ "It depends".

⁴³⁰ P. Semenenko and J. Kajsiewicz were walking from Paris to Solesmes. *They* left on September 25, 1835.

⁴³¹ "emploi".

⁴³² In the office of some agency.

l'Arnaud, and he lives on rue Saint Honore. I don't remember the number. I have it written down somewhere.

3 N.B. There is still no decision about Kajsiewicz's Ireland⁴³³. God bless you, for your letter!

Finally. God bless you brothers. Return in good health! If you can, make a short detour to la Chesnaye⁴³⁴. Write to me. Let us continue to love one another in Christ, our Saviour.

Bogdan

Jański⁴³⁵

⁴³³ A short historival poem written by J. Kajsiewicz entitled: "Et nunc dimittis - powieść irlandzka z XVI w." was published in Paris in 1836, and so, a few months later.

⁴³⁴ More properly Le Chenais, the residence of Rev. F.R. Lamennais, called "The Oasis of Brittany".

⁴³⁵ The letter is preserved in CRR: Mss 8537, pp. 958-961. This letter was also published in Fr. P. Smolikowski's Historia Zgromadzenia... (Kraków: 1892), Vol. 1 pp. 92-95.

Letter Nr. 98

Paris, December 27, 1835

[To A. Celiński and L. Przeclawski]Misericordia omni peccato!⁴³⁶

How gravely I must have grieved you! I am much at fault, since for such a long time I have neglected to respond to your letters! And although he himself has written several letters in the course of his travels, good Adam does not even complain about my silence. I thank him from the bottom of my heart for not doubting my friendship and brotherly love. I also thank him for the words of admonition by which he seeks to arouse my zeal.

I might complain a little about Leo, for he ascribes my silence to coldness and lack of affection. It was never-been that bad. It isn't that bad now! Apparently I should thank God for permitting me to be humbled in this fashion, by such neglect of my sacred fraternal duty. This may save me in the future from receiving the kind of compliments which Leo used to shower upon me, in my absence or to my face, to the point where I was forced to regard his words as sheer fantasy, a joke, and to doubt about his true friendship for me.

However, this hope does not justify me in the least. I feel this deeply, and therefore I acknowledge my guilt. I have no desire to excuse myself before you by listing the many real exertions, works, problems, and the constant occupation of my mind with thoughts that so oppress me as to leave me powerless to fulfill even a slight responsibility if it requires that I perform some external action. With a sincere promise of amendment, I turn to you in simplicity and plead: "Misericordia omni peccato!" And, since I am beginning this letter with my "Confiteor", I need to acknowledge and condemn another fault, which will put friendship for me to yet another test.

Would you believe that when I received your letter - after I opened it and saw that it was from the both of you - I was so deeply moved, I felt so guilty in

⁴³⁶ "Mercy for every sin"!

your regard, I was so ashamed that in spite of the fact that I had neglected you, you were still speaking to me, that I could not muster the courage to meet with you by way of reading your letter. I arrived on the 15th or 16th of this month. It is true that at the time I was overburdened with tasks that occupied my time from morning until late at night, and deprived me completely of freedom to think. Yet, this was not the real obstacle. The real obstacle was: I somehow sensed that the news you were communicating was holy. I wished to read your words with a religious spirit. I felt that I needed spiritual preparation in order to heed your apostolic message.

What was the result? All knotted up spiritually by several days of necessary, external occupations, I carried your letter with me throughout those days, suffering the greatest agonies. Your letter was always on my mind; yet, I did not feel worthy., I did not have the courage-to read it. I am opening my soul to you. I ask a brief remembrance in your prayers, and for forgiveness.

I finally read your letter only on about the 20th. In one single pardon, grant me, brothers, forgiveness for delaying my response for another several days. The delay was unintentional, caused, in great part, by difficulties beyond my control. I sincerely intend to amend my relationships with you. Adam surely will not take it amiss that I begin this correspondence under a good omen, for today is the Feast of our beloved St. John⁴³⁷, the special patron of Christian love.

It would be impossible to describe the joy with which your news filled my soul. Without delay, I shared these items with Peter, Kajsiewicz, Karski, Mickiewicz and the other brothers⁴³⁸. Everyone was delighted. They send their greetings and bless your work. As a regards your intention to make a holy pilgrimage, I thought it would be best not to mention this as yet, and so I did not.

I myself accepted your project without difficulty or criticism, and received it into my heart with greatest joy. With all my soul I desire to do whatever I can to help you to realize your plan, almost as though, it was I who had taken the vow. Moreover, I take it upon myself as a solemn responsibility to remind you of your

⁴³⁷ St. John, Apostle and Evangelist.

⁴³⁸ That is: C. Plater, I. Domeyko, S. Witwicki, etc.

promise, and to keep needling you until you fulfill it. And so, we are agreed. Amen.

However, be reconciled to the fact that you cannot in this fashion avoid a prior responsibility. It is necessary that you remain here, at your post, for some time longer. Here, among the emigrants, at home, through the emigrants, throughout Christianity, by means of our country, a decisive battle is being waged in the great crusade for God, Christ, love, truth, Christian justice: in politics and, philosophy, in society and in the private domain, in the spirit and in the flesh, in the whole of public and private life. In this holy crusade, you have enrolled as soldiers for life. Do not so soon desert the troops of the faithful. Wait a while! let them gather and become more numerous. Let them be bound together, in the name of God and country, by a unity of faith, hope and love, in the steadfast community of sacrifices and responsibilities. Today, this is our first duty.

A great deal of labor remains before this duty is absolved; but God will always be there to assist good and holy intentions. The love of Christ is earnest, but patient; it is simple, but prudent. Let us be patient and prudent, tireless in work and in prayer. Let us love one another with our whole soul, and have confidence in God. The ground is ready; it awaits the sowing. The sowers should not leave it uncared for.

Brothers, you will go to honor the grave of the Savior; but first, as an offering, you must gather the harvest of good works for which, today, God opens to you an extensive field.

Allow me to offer one further bit of advice. Your step forward on November 29th⁴³⁹ was a great, noble and Christian work. Clearly, it has enjoyed God's blessing. The reconciliation of inimical factions, the burning of the attestations of discord and hatred, emphatically testify to this. What are the further steps to be taken in this holy work? This is a question of capital importance, calling for most serious reflection. The value and effectiveness of your future labors depends on how you solve it. It seems to me that, since the obvious

⁴³⁹ The reconciliation of factions among the emigrants which took place in Agen on the anniversary of the outbreak of the insurrection, and the reception of the Sacraments.

beginning, the corner-stone, of the marvelous work accomplished by you through the grace of God was the practical act of. humility, and act of simple living faith: Confession and Holy Communion. Then you ought to build the whole structure of your work on this same foundation. That is, you must go on untiringly, using all of your personal influence and relationships for the glory of God and for the good of neighbor. Which means that you must return to the embrace of the Church people who have become exhausted wandering about in the pathways of error... lead those returning to the practice of the faith to complete union with God, marvelously realized in Holy Communion... and this requires that you work without ceasing to realize this holy union within yourselves. This work, at once spiritual and practical - a work that is sincere, quiet, which renews our whole being, and through our life influences the lives of others, which binds us and others together in God and in Christ - is our principal responsibility today. At present, this is the whole hope of Poland and of mankind. This work alone can give rise to peace, virtue, wisdom, freedom, happiness and glory.

Therefore, my brothers, I advise you to adopt as your primary goal and principal effort the practice of the Christian life and an apostolate concerned with establishing a community that desires to live totally in the spirit of Christ. I also recommend that, for now, you accept as your primary concern involvement in general works relative to such a foundation as well as work among the emigrants. A time will come for the other; but it has not yet arrived.

Be careful not to allow the success to the moment, or some slight concessions, to divert your attention to an activity of lesser value or not compatible with the basic principles of your life. I am- not. discouraging your participation in matters of general interest; quite the contrary. But, “sobrii estote et vigilate, quia inimicus vester...”⁴⁴⁰. Dearest Adam, guard against the craving to consume the fruit before it is ripe. Sickness is the inevitable consequence.

Proclamations and manifestos approved by a majority vote of people who are far from the truth, steeped in so many errors, enmities and insignificant trifles - these, precisely, belong to the old politics and forms employed by the Seym,

⁴⁴⁰ A citation from the Letter of St. Peter the Apostle: 1 Pt 5:8-9.

which you condemn in your letter. You must use all of your influence, so that, as far as possible, the least evil and the greatest good might be accomplished by these means. But, remember: this is not our main work. Among the emigrants, it is necessary to prepare the ground for religion, propagating the faith and spreading Christian love. It is necessary to arouse, diffuse, strengthen and realize in practical life some of the truly moral, religious and Christian thoughts and emotions, before any more universal good can be accomplished. This road is longer and narrower; but, it is the only straight and true way. Particularly with your holy purpose of making a pilgrimage to the grave of the Savior in mind, I think that you understand your Christian and patriotic obligations as I do.

Since God has given you a new brother and companion⁴⁴¹, perhaps it would be good for you to enter into closest community with him. Live together and together grow in the practice of the Christian life, for it is to the perfection and the diffusion of this life that we should direct our attention.

Dearest brothers, what I write to you directed by faith, conscience, and the particular love that I have for you.

Heart and soul, and with my whole mind, dear brothers, I recommend myself to your brotherly love.

May God assist you, comfort you, and keep you in His holy care.

Bogdan

⁴⁴¹ Joseph Kłosowicz (1812-1836), from Poznań; a second-lieutenant during the uprising; an emigrant. He died prematurely, as a consequence of poverty and nostalgia for his homeland. He had then joined A. Celiński and L. Przeclawski.

Letter Nr. 99

Paris, May 12, 1836

Feast of the Ascension of Our Lord.

My dearest Friends!

Is it possible that you can still possess enough Christian mercy not to close your ears to my voice or turn your eyes away from what I write once you see that this letter is from me? For that is what I really deserve. Once again, through my neglect, I have put your friendship to a critical test, (by my neglect I have lost the right to your friendship)^x, and once again I have gravely scandalized you...

(There were many times when I sat down to write)^x. It is my long-standing habitual sin - tardiness in correspondence (in fulfilling what I recognize as a truly sacred responsibility. This is clear proof that to now, of myself, I am worthless)^x. God sees that with all my soul I desire to correct this fault (as well as all the bad habits of the old man)^x; but I no longer have any confidence in my own efforts. Indeed, I have been thinking about you every day for the past three months. Almost every day I am at the point of writing to you. Yet, in spite of very important reasons and urgent need, even after beginning a letter to you on several occasions, until this time I have not sent you a single word.

(Therefore today)^x, my brothers in Christ, I place all of my confidence in God and in your merciful prayer for me. And so, if you want me to improve, pray for me. I plead with you especially for this favor.

The guilt for such a lengthy silence on the part of all of us here, rests solely with me. (Peter did not write to you only because I was to write to you first..^x I was responsible... I was to write to you. I kept telling Peter and the others that in my first free moment I would write... yet, to this time, I have written nothing.

None of the words, thoughts or problems, no matter, how numerous and difficult they may be, can possibly justify me.

Not in my name, but in the name of the Crucified Lord, I beg you for forgiveness, not as an act of justice, but as an act of mercy... Can you still find within yourselves such mercy for me?

I feel very deeply a sense of total unworthiness. I strongly assure you that I sincerely desire to show myself more worthy in the future.

In order to make certain that this letter will reach you as soon as possible, I am asking the other brothers to write to you information about ourselves, our life, our plans for the future. It was really my duty to provide this information long ago. It was I who should have written.(After the others have finished, I will add a few words: My God!)^x how 'seriously I have sinned by not writing!

Mercy! I, a sinner, ask you once more for mercy, and for prayer⁴⁴².

x/ The words and sentences in brackets are crossed out in the rough-draft of the letter.

⁴⁴² The authograph of this letter is preserved in CRR: Mss 8553, pp. 1082-1083.

Letter Nr. 100

Paris, June 2, 1836

O Adam, what misfortune I have earned by my neglect! You no longer love me! I have lost... I feel it... I have lost all right to your brotherly love.

Rumors have just now reached me of Leo Przeclawski's misfortune⁴⁴³. You have finally given up on me and no longer send me any news about him or about yourself. I repeat: I have lost all right to your friendship. But, in the name of the regard in which you once held me, even not too long ago, and for the love of God, I plead with you for your friendship. I vow to you that, in spite of my silence, there has been absolutely no change within me in relation to you. I love you most sincerely, with a personal love, filled with trust in your goodness. I love you with the love of a brother... till death... forever!

Write! Write without delay about conditions past and present. Hide nothing! If it were possible to cheer you, to assure you of the unchanging and ardent friendship for you as it exists in the depths of my soul, even if this meant sacrificing my life, I would do so. Forgive my neglect this once more, and do not issue a final summons against me. For, in spite of past aberrations, I continued to believe in you and trust your heart. Believe, trust in my heart, in spite of all of my aberrations and offences. Write soon. Write as you did before.

Two weeks ago we began this letter to you. First I wrote a few words; then the others added something in turn. Ah me! I felt there was a need to add much more information about our present situation and our plans for the future. It is one week now since I was to have completed this series of letters and mailed them out to you. But once again, weighed down by worries, I kept delaying from day to day, until now!

Without reading what we have written, ignorant as yet of the misfortunes that have befallen you, I cannot think of adding any further information about

⁴⁴³ L. Przeclawski's disagreement with Lieutenant Callistus Suzin, which led to the move from Agen to Lunel.

ourselves as I had planned. I cannot! My whole soul is in turmoil, overwhelmed with concern for you! I will finish telling you about us at a later time.

Now I beseech you: Send news as quickly as possible about yourself and about Leo!

N.B. I must read your letter to the brothers. Therefore, first write a separate letter to me, at length and in detail, the kind of letter my unfaltering love for you leads me to expect, opening your heart to me, without sparing me even the severest rebukes. Include this letter with another which I can read to all of those with whom I live. This includes Kajsiewicz, Karski, Ziomecki, Anthony... You should know that, from the time when the letters being mailed with this one were written, a change has occurred here among us. Maliński has gone to London, Górecki⁴⁴⁴ has come to take his place. Sznajde⁴⁴⁵, from Cracow, who we had informed you was to come to Agen, is no longer coming to you. He also has left for London. I have one further request to make of you with regard to writing these two letters. In this common letter, meant not only for me but for the brothers, state explicitly that you are responding to the letters we had written as a group, and which you had received previously, letters written before we learned of your misfortune, as well as to my letter, which I am writing after receiving the sad news, in which I am asking for further clarification.

Forgive my weakness, and this trifling, miserable bit of politics. Please keep this secret yourself. I simply do not wish to sadden my dear brothers here, letting them know that their words reached you so late as a result of my neglect... I will explain everything to you later, telling you whatever you want to know.

Now, do what I ask. Please write, we beg you, as soon as possible! Write as you did previously, as my dearest and most beloved brother.

Adam, my peace of soul depends on your word, which I await impatiently.

Our address: rue Notre Dame des Champs 11

⁴⁴⁴ Anthony Górecki (1787-1861), an officer in the Army of Napoleon; poet and composer of political fables; and insurgent; emigrant; member of the political mission to the West; member of the Parisian house of B. Jański's.

⁴⁴⁵ Francis Sznajde (1790-1850), an officer of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and the Kingdom of Poland; Brigadier General in 1831; a moderate political activist among the emigrants.

P.S. There is just one addition to what has been written above. How were we able to rent a house and set up common housekeeping? Do not reveal it to him⁴⁴⁶, God forbid! It would lead to the beginning of a quarrel (you would then be a part of it; on principle, for the cause, this would be for you a primary and most sacred obligation). What funds did we use? Simply, a good Catholic⁴⁴⁷ rented the house and provided for the purchase of household wares and furniture. However, the actual purchase, even of most necessary items, resulted in an increase of our debts. But, we do not lose confidence in God. We love one another. We put our trust in one another now, and for the future. We live in poverty, and we work. We have dedicated ourselves in God, mankind, fatherland, our people, forever.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁶ That is, to Leo Przeclawski.

⁴⁴⁷ Charles Montalembert contributed the sum for the yearly rental of a home.

⁴⁴⁸ A rough-draft of this letter has been preserved in Jagellonian Library, (Cracow), Mss 9235/III, p.10.

Letter Nr. 101

Paris, March 21, 1836

[To L. Królikowski]

What are you thinking, my dear Louis? How do you interpret my silence? Does it not spell the end of your long friendship for me? (If anyone had told me five years ago, at our parting, that five years would pass, as God is my witness, I would not have believed him)^x. I am deeply concerned about this, for before God and conscience I can testify that my former friendship, my most sincere regard for you, my complete confidence in you have not changed in the least, and remain always the same. But the constant turmoil of ideas and theories by which I have been absorbed in the years that have passed since our parting⁴⁴⁹, a lengthy infirmity, as well as .great moral and physical sufferings had, as it were, snatched me out of the real world, causing me to withdraw within myself, and, for a long time, rendered me incapable of any correspondence.

This moment, in which I am able to write at least a few words to you, is for me truly festive and most happy... I have so very much to say to you. This is not to abandon the hope that we might have a personal conversation sometime, perhaps in the not too distant future. You know that I am not an emigrant. There are not insurmountable difficulties; and there are tremendous needs.

I wrote to you at the end of 1834, through Doctor Walter⁴⁵⁰, who was going your way. I wondered why you gave me no response. Ultimately, "let the dead bury the dead," the past buries the past. I promise to do better in the future, and to write as often as you wish to correspond. But, for your part, do not forget me. Write to me soon, with an indication of how I should address my letter to you. For a while yet you could entrust your letters to the person who delivers this

⁴⁴⁹ Spring, 1831.

⁴⁵⁰ Phillip Walter (1810-1847). A talented Polish chemist, working in Paris after the failure of the revolt, a friend of B. Jański; or his brother, Leo, who lived with his father in Cracow where, at the time, L. Królikowski was teaching in a boarding school.

one⁴⁵¹, and he would send them here along with his own. From the beginning I could send my letters to you in the same way if you thought it would be better⁴⁵² than straight addressing.

He who delivers this letter will give you my address, which is permanent (at least for a year). He will also tell you something about my present circumstances. In this letter I will give you only a brief report of what has happened to me since we parted. You know that I was, fully, a saintsimonist. I was such, as a member of the hierarchy, until November 1831, i.e. until the schism between the two leaders⁴⁵³. In that period, viewing the matter at close range, I was repelled in heart and mind from the two of them and from their work. And, since I had placed the kind of confidence that belongs only to Christ in this former doctrine and its apostles, the break plunged me into a very uncertain and sad state...

However, even in the course of further catastrophies, I never doubted, and I never lost hope in the future kingdom of God. And this, no doubt, saved me from going under. First, temporarily, I joined a group of others working on the Revue Encyclopedique whose editors at that time were Carnot and Leroux.

In 1832 I recognized the need to polonize any further undertakings. Moreover, my mind immediately turned to Christ, and I entered into a relationship with several people who were friends of Lamennais⁴⁵⁴. When Mickiewicz arrived, I stayed with him. For a long time, the notions I had shared recently, as well as the questions and projects that were a cause of agitation among my older French friends, continued to tear me apart and to disturb my soul.

In 1833, as you know, I began to edit a small Polish publication⁴⁵⁵, but only as a trial, without any definite decision for the future. It turned out that the people here whom I wished to address were still so full of bitterness from the past

⁴⁵¹ That is, to Walter.

⁴⁵² Considering the authority of the invaders.

⁴⁵³ A. Bazard and B. Enfantin.

⁴⁵⁴ The friends and assistants of Fr. Lamennais were: Rev. J.H.D. Lacordaire, Rev. F.O. Gerbet, K. Montalembert, etc.

⁴⁵⁵ The Pielgrzym Polski.

that they could not hear what I wanted to say to them; and for me it was still too early to become involved in the public arena. By the end of 1833, my little publication was discontinued.

Through the year 1834, I worked quietly, selling a variety of Polish^x books for a well-known^x entrepreneur in order to make a living. Meanwhile, I. was also involved in the interior and personal work that concerned my soul... I was encountering continuous disturbances and constant need... daylong turmoil of my mind, lasting often throughout the night, longing for the kingdom of God, searching for a way to reach it. The accumulation of all of these things finally resulted in physical illness: my lungs became affected... I was diagnosed as a tubercular, and many destined me for death! However, after a severe illness, during which I lay two months in bed, I arose healthy, healthier than I had ever been before. This was in August. At the end of that year, 1834, I made up my mind to return completely to the unity of the universal Church of Christ, and did, in fact, follow through on this resolution.

There is much that I would have to write about this action of mine. Upon reflection, however, I leave the explanation to some eventual conversation, and today, to your heart and to your favorable and trusting understanding.

In 1835, that is last year, I accepted and fulfilled the task of tutor successively in two Polish homes⁴⁵⁶. Finally, I worked whole-heartedly in human relations in this newly-chosen area. So far, God has blessed my work; and I am full of hope for the future. Last month I resigned my tutorships, and with five brothers (Maliński is one of them) began to live a common life, bound together in the unity of faith and hope. This number will soon increase, for there are others who are ready to join us, and are held back only by material difficulties. Beside the internal brothers, there are also externs. I write openly, because what we are doing here is public knowledge.

⁴⁵⁶ First for the family of Prince Ogiński, then for the family of Prince Giedroyć.

In due time I will send further information about my other scholarly projects⁴⁵⁷, as well as about the work of our Brotherhood and its interior discipline. Wish us well!

I provide for my upkeep by giving lessons to day students, and by writing short articles in periodicals published by some of my old friends here⁴⁵⁸. However, I am very much bothered by debts, especially those contracted in 1832 and 1833 of necessity, by reason of the circumstances in which I found myself⁴⁵⁹. Although they are great, I hope to extricate myself from them with time.

Briefly, a little news about some of the former saintsimonists, many of whom you knew. The teaching, as incarnate in the hierarchy, is completely dead. Enfantin is living in Egypt with some of the definitely less important people. He is doing nothing. (Undoubtedly, you have heard that Bazard died. His wife and his whole family are Catholic)^x. Michael Chevalier is the editor of Journal des Debats and a doctrinarian, along with “arriere pensee” industrialists and female saintsimonists. Jules Lechevalier is editor-in-chief of Moniteur du Commerce, ministerial and invaluable. Barault has returned from Constantinople, and has immersed himself in notions of the Orient and of the Antichrist. Leroux and Reynaud remain together, editing Encyclopedie pittoresque philosophie-litteraire.

Charton and Cezaux are editing Magasin Pittoresque (without any decision about most vital matters)^x. Carnot is composed as always. He has become a complete positivist (his only ambition is to become a deputy. Without a doubt it is especially the ones who remain with Enfantin who have no future)^x. Laurent married a fifteen year old girl, and is working as a lawyer...

Finally, many have become Catholics: Transon, Dugied, Saint-Cherron⁴⁶⁰, Decourdemanche⁴⁶¹, Margerain⁴⁶² etc. The last mentioned is editor of

⁴⁵⁷ His writing of articles for Encyclopedie Catholique and L'Universite Catholique.

⁴⁵⁸ P. Leroux, L. Carnot, E. Charton and J. Raynaud.

⁴⁵⁹ B. Jański has in mind financial assistance from the editorial office where he worked.

⁴⁶⁰ Alexander Saint-Cherron, a former saintsimonist and member of the editorial staff of l'Universite Catholique.

⁴⁶¹ Collaborator at l'Universite Catholique.

⁴⁶² Co-editor of l'Universite Catholique.

L'Universite Catholique (I strongly recommend that you read this periodical) Mrs. Bazard and her whole family are Catholic.

Goodbye for now, my dear Louis. I began writing this letter too late, and it is already time to take it to the post office. I recommend myself with complete confidence to your memory of me and our former friendship which is so dear to me. Maliński is in good health, and is ready to leave for Rome⁴⁶³. He sends his greetings.

Give our kindest regards and friendly greetings to your wife. I visited your in-laws⁴⁶⁴ not too long ago. They are very upset, because they have not had a letter from you so long.

I wish you health and happiness. Write. Send me news about Anthony (Barciński), and our good Joseph Prezendi, as well as any other news you may have.

Your friend Bogdan
Jański⁴⁶⁵

^x This sentence is crossed out in the rough-draft of the letter.

⁴⁶³ Ultimately he went to London.

⁴⁶⁴ L. Królikowski married a Parisian girl, and moved with her to Poland. Her parents continued to live in Paris at rue Saint Jacques 83.

⁴⁶⁵ The rough draft of this letter is preserved in CRR: Mss 8568/9, pp.1069-1073.

Letter Nr. 102

Paris, April 23, 1837

Feast of St. Adalbert

My dearest Louis!

Later I may be able to offer you an adequate explanation why I have not written to you for such a long time; adequate, because I trust that, to the extent that it was my fault, I will discover a treasure of merciful, brotherly love. The reason is to be found in my general moral condition. I take pen in hand today to let you know that I am alive, and that my feelings for you have not changed. They are alive... they will not change... they cannot change.

From the time of our parting I experienced many, and great misfortunes. In 1834, I fell victim to a serious lung ailment; doctors and friends had already given up hope that I would live. By God's grace, I passed through all of these trials successfully. The biggest and the happiest bit of news about myself is this: Three years ago, after so many errors and catastrophies raised up by Christ, the Incarnate Truth, I returned completely to the catholic unity of the Church. Many of the French people who were known to you did the same (Transon, Margerin, Dugied, Saint-Cherron, etc.).

I am in my second year of living in a spiritual community consisting of our young people who are also recently converted. In a section of the city that is half rural, we have our own home, garden, a small farm, and we maintain strict spiritual discipline in our common life. God gave me the idea to found this community, and to me he committed the rule and the toil of supporting this association. Inexhaustible in mercy toward those who sincerely dedicate themselves to him, he has blessed us: He has already called four⁴⁶⁶ of us to this service. They entered the Seminary after the last vacation time. I expect two

⁴⁶⁶ P. Semenenko, J. Kajsiewicz, L. Rettel and E. Duński.

others to enter after the next vacation. At present, there are only six⁴⁶⁷ of us living together. Maliński is also a member of our community, but he has been living in England for the past year; however, he will be returning shortly. Presently we are also expecting some novices from out of town, each one penetrated with living faith in the future life promised by the Savior. We keep ourselves from trivialities, and do not become involved with any of the parties. Confronted with the holiness of our faith, the attacks of a number of evil, envious and lying people have collapsed without even touching us. (It is our faith which brought us together and makes us one).^x

There you have it, my dear Louis: the best and most important bit of news from about me, for it concerns matters of eternity, salvation. On the other hand, I have nothing good to tell you about my material circumstances in reference to either of the two principal categories: family and possessions. First, concerning my family: My brother Anthony (I'm not sure that you remember him), died of consumption in America in 1834; I have had no communication⁴⁶⁸ from Stephen for the past three years. In his last letter he indicated that he expected to be appointed as doctor for the Łowicz Estates. You are aware of my unfortunate marriage, which leaves me now in a very unhappy situation. A few years ago I had news about my wife, (not directly from her)^x that she was conducting herself poorly; later news reached me that she was leading an absolutely bad life, and from that time, not a word. And so, I am neither a husband nor a bachelor. This is disturbing to all my plans for the future. Last year, and the year before, I wrote letters to my brother Stephen, to Michael Jaroszewski, asking for more detailed information. No response! Finally, a little while ago, I wrote to Kropiwnicki, as a friend and member of the family, to take care of this matter for me. I put myself entirely in his hands, asking him to serve as a court of conciliation, together with Joseph, Michael and Anthony⁴⁶⁹: whether they decide on a divorce, or, at least, put her on the right track and settle her somewhere. Above all, let them have mercy

⁴⁶⁷ Joseph Hube, Joseph Ziomecki, Ignatius Stawiarski, Napoeon Egersdorf, Edmund Korobiewicz and B. Jański.

⁴⁶⁸ De also died, from cholera, in November, 1835.

⁴⁶⁹ M. Jaroszewski, Joseph Jędrzejewicz and Anthony Barciński.

on me, and free me from this horrible uncertainty, (which does not allow me to make any permanent decision about my person)^x.

Dear Louis, I am sure you are aware that I am not an emigrant; and so you are free to correspond with me. That is also why I asked Kropiwnicki to send me some news about how things stand as soon as possible. He is a sensible and level-headed person, who is well situated. Even, if permission to correspond were necessary, he would surely have no trouble obtaining such.

I ask and entreat you, Louis, to remind him by letter, and recommend that he be willing and earnest in pursuing this matter for me; for a decision in this regard is very important to me, even urgently necessary⁴⁷⁰. If, in response to your letter, he mentions anything about my wife, I ask you to share your opinion with him and offer him your advice, in order that you might “regler ma position”⁴⁷¹ in this matter as soon, and as well, as possible.

Moreover, between the two of you, try to find the address to my brother, Stephen. Tell him that you had a letter from me, and that I am begging him to write at least a few words to me.

In reference to my material interests: things are better today, thanks be to God. Either I, or a member of our group, serves as tutor for practically every one of the families in the area. Two of the children with me for instruction come from fairly wealthy parents⁴⁷². I also write a column for some of the French papers, short items concerned, with history, geography etc. In a word, my situation is good. And, if my spiritual responsibilities did not occupy a lot of my time, I could be earning more, over and above what I need for upkeep. But, for the first three years after my subsidy from Warsaw was cut off, that is after the end of 1831, my circumstances were so miserable that I could earn either very little or nothing at all. Nevertheless, because of my connections, it was easy for me to obtain credit; as a result, I amassed debts of several thousand francs. These debts continue to worry, oppress and disturb me. True, some of these debts are owed to people who

⁴⁷⁰ He intended to become a priest.

⁴⁷¹ “Put my affairs in order.”

⁴⁷² Victor Ogiński and Napoleon Thaddeus Giedroyć.

are not pressing for payment; but others are a real cross for me, God's punishment for all the debauchery in my past life, manifesting itself constantly, in most terrible ways. And it is difficult to see an end to these difficulties.

In 1829, Michael Jaroszewski appropriated 1,000 zlotys that belonged to me, and which he was supposed to send to me. At the time, I was not even, angry with him, for I was not in dire need of the money. He needed it more than I did. Recently I have experienced extreme poverty, and I am still in need; on the other hand, undoubtedly, he is accumulating more and more. It seems to me that he could, and should, return what belongs to me. But I do not have his address, in order to mail a letter to him. Therefore, dear Louis, I ask you for a third favor. Write to him, perhaps in care of Kropiwnicki. Describe my situation to him, and urge him to draw from available sources in order to send me this small sum of money. It would probably be best for him to do so through you. You could easily send the money through Walter, who is in contact with his son here.

The receipt of this money would give me a little time, a few months of peace from my creditors. Without it, I am even afraid to think of the grave difficulties that face me. There is danger in delay... As you see, at present my family and material circumstances are in great disorder. I can at least thank God for the strong, sincere will that I possess today (though I am an old sinner, as you, for your part, know well, I can assure you most solemnly that this is so), the will to rise up out of the mire, and in the future to keep to the straight and true way.

However, in order to escape, I need your help. I am sure that you will not refuse me. But, once again, there, is danger in delay⁴⁷³. I am dragging along on the last of my strength... if it were not for the spiritual hope of a future life and the joys of religion.. it is faith in Christ that has sustained me through the last years amid all the miseries of this life...

Assure your wife of my truly sincere and friendly regard for her. (N.B. Mrs. Bazard has returned to the Church, together with her daughters). Hug and kiss your children for me - Miłosław and... I don't remember the name of the other. May God give them health, and shower them abundantly with all the gifts

⁴⁷³ Unfortunately, it took several years before he could pay these debts off.

necessary for. salvation. You will soon send me. information about the name of the other child, how the both of your are doing, and what progress you are making. My address is: Paris, rue Notre Dame des Champs nr 11.

Always your friend,

Bogdan

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April 26, 1837

x/. The words are crossed out in the autograph.

⁴⁷⁴ The rough-draft of this letter is preserved in CRR: Mss 8568/9, pp. 1098-1101.

Letter Nr. 103

Paris, June 7, 1837

My dear Louis!⁴⁷⁵

Mr. de Saint-Marie, who will deliver this letter to you, will be traveling to our country for pleasure and for studies. He is a friend of the Priest-Director of College Stanislaus, who has shown me much kindness and who has accepted a few of our seminarians without payment. Be good enough to advise him about what he should see and how to arrange his journey and his stay in Cracow, in order to derive the greatest pleasure and intellectual benefit from it.

I wrote to you not long ago. I am awaiting your response. I will probably write again, before this letter reaches you, and so I will stop here.

Convey my friendly greetings to your wife. I warmly embrace you and your children.

Bogdan Jański

Address: To Louis Królikowski in Cracow.

⁴⁷⁵ This letter was published by E. Callier Bogdan Jański, p. 129.
The autograph is in CRR: Mss 8568/?, p. 1132

Letter Nr. 104

Paris, July 15, 1837

My dear Louis!

First of all, please accept my sincere thanks for your letter, from which I see that your kindness and your friendship for me have not changed. I held it to my heart with great delight and true gratitude. As I read it, I comfort myself with good thoughts, and feel myself fortified for the constant struggle with the world and the misery of our temporal life; for my strength - multiplied by your kindness and your prayers for me. God may bless you abundantly for this.

Unfortunately, even with such sentiments in my heart, and treasuring your correspondence so highly, I have treated you shabbily once again. You wanted to have my response by the end of June. It is already July, and only now am I sending it to you. I am humbled by my weakness. I will not resort to idle excuses to hide it from you. Believe me, I did not do so through ill-will. My will is good, but still weak. In this, as in other things, how weak it is.⁴⁷⁶

Daily problems and anxieties touch me to the quick. Occupations of lesser importance, but still urgent, occupied me, and, in spite of my good will, I fell. Moreover, wishing to write the kind of letter you requested (“on a large half-sheet, in small letters, omitting no detail in my reply”), the kind I am beginning now, I needed a mind that was at ease, and free time.

Unfortunately, I found this impossible to achieve until just now.

(Without omitting any details, I reply)⁴⁷⁷. However, I resolve strongly to avoid any similar neglect in the future, and to attain finally to the radical amendment on my habitual fault: laziness when it comes to writing letters.

Sacred and secular writings present examples of profound teaching by way of dreams. I am reflecting on your dreams (about which you wrote)⁴⁷⁸, (prompted

⁴⁷⁶ The words in parentheses are deleted in the autograph.

⁴⁷⁷ The words in parentheses are deleted in the autograph.

⁴⁷⁸ The words in parentheses are deleted in the autograph.

by the impressions you received from my letter:) (a large bridge over a small stream, a cellar in which to hide the sun, the attack of a wild beast etc.)⁴⁷⁹. I could not understand their significance completely. Is it perhaps that I am involved in these dreams, and I do not understand what role I play in them? Perhaps the stream is not so small, and the bridge is not so great or unnecessary as it seems to you?... The cellar to hide the sun may be a hut for protection from the downpour of fire that enkindles life... perhaps it is just a house of refuge for people who are down and out, or simply the enclosed field of farmers and sowers...? But, “a dream is a dream, God is faith”⁴⁸⁰.

⁴⁷⁹ The words in parentheses are deleted in the autograph.

⁴⁸⁰ The rough-draft has been preserved in CRR: Mss 8568/9, pp. 53-54.

Letter Nr. 105

Paris, September, 1837

My dear Królikowski!

I am guilty, very guilty, of having offended you by not responding to your letter for almost four months. But, I must cry out: It was not proper for you to retaliate so unmercifully, writing that my lack of response demonstrated to you that our correspondence, was unnecessary, even asking my pardon for saddening me by your letter.

No, my dear Louis, the relationship established between us long ago was cemented by our common efforts in matters of such great importance, dominating all other considerations in our lives, that it would be a crime if we were to break this sacred bond so lightly, for just any offence, a bond by which God, truth, Christ has bound us together forever.

You could have scolded and reprimanded me. You could, and you can (by right of brotherhood, and by our sharing the one truth, once for always Christ, whom you accepted as the perfect, eternal Truth, and of whom I am an unworthy servant, gave you the right and the duty to do so)^x. Once and for always I declare to you: Scold, revile, beat on me; but do not lose faith and fraternal confidence. In spite of your reluctance and your reservations, try these methods. Your word is for me the word of a brother, and it goes right to my heart. Even if you wanted to, even if it is what I wanted, you could not now simply cast me off by way of a letter; neither can your correspondence become unnecessary for me or for any of us. It is a need of the heart, a duty. Yes, it is a sacred duty, and I have so shamefully neglected it.

My good Louis, I do not wish, I could not excuse this fault to you or my conscience... I appeal directly to your heart, to whatever remains of your kindness and friendship for me, and ask your forgiveness, I assure you most solemnly that the reason for my silence was not coldness on my part, or contempt for what you had written, or any desire to offend you. On the contrary, God is my witness, in

my heart I rejoiced greatly and was grateful to you for your fraternal thoughtfulness, I desired very much, I now desire, and I will always desire to be worthy of it; and to preserve, establish, and bring to perfect unity the bond of our friendship.

However, my habitual neglect of correspondence and a temporary illness served as obstacles... I fell, and remained in my sin against brotherly love until now. I humbled myself before God, and I humble myself before you. Do not be unrelenting in your anger and bitterness, even though it be justified. Forgive me, and believe my sincere desire to do better. God grant that it will be effective. For, I do not count on myself or on my own strength, but rather on the grace and boundless mercy of the Lord and dispenser of all strength, who himself said; "Ask, and it will be given to you". And every word of his is truth⁴⁸¹...

^x The sentence in parentheses is deleted in the autograph.

⁴⁸¹ The autograph has been preserved in CRR: Mss 8568/9, p. 1132.

Letter Nr. 106

Paris, October 20, 1837

[To Królikowski.]

How shall this slothful person, so unworthy of your friendship, begin this letter to you, my dear Louis? There is no other way! As of old! I throw, myself into your arms, and with tears of sorrow in my eyes I cry out: Forgive me, forgive me! Do not think that the tardiness of my response is due to any forgetfulness or coldness toward you. No! God forbid! On the contrary, in conscience I assure you that as often as my mind turns in your direction (and it does so daily, with increasing frequency, practically every minute), I first visit with you and open myself to you. Communicating with you in this way, I am cheered, strengthened and united with you; only then can my mind go on. My mind is, true, ready and eager.

Such also would be the living words. But letters on a page, the written word, the pen seem to be in constant revolt against the mind, unwilling, slothful. How poorly they serve me in business and in all my relationships with people. To the extent that here, among the emigrants, I must carry on my correspondence through others, the younger brothers⁴⁸² who live with me. Yet, although it has become rooted in and habitual with me, I continue to renew my struggle with this bad habit, to the bitter end. I combine all of my forces, all the motives and reasons for regularity, and make a new resolution to be most regular in my correspondence. Unfortunately, no longer will anyone believe these words by themselves. However, I still expect to convince you, Louis, with results.

As a matter of fact, I could excuse myself by reason of illness, since for a time I was suffering from a fever (N.B. when your father delivered the note you

⁴⁸² First P.Semenenko, then E. Duński, and finally W. Wielogłowski served as correspondence secretaries for the Elder Brother.

had written in July, he found me in bed); or, by my journeys outside the city⁴⁸³, for example, I spent several weeks in famous Saint-Acheul⁴⁸⁴; but especially by reason of hardships - problems, problems without end. But these would be empty pretexts: whereas the one reason is my habitual indolence - delaying from day to day, preparing myself as if for a most difficult task. How despotically this unfortunate habit oppresses me, will be evident to you immediately.

Beside the important and very important reasons for a speedy reply to your letters suggested by their tenor, I had one new and particularly urgent reason. Shortly after I received your first letter, I had to make arrangements to move our home from St. Michael. It was necessary to gather the money to pay the remainder of the rent which was overdue (and the rent, unfortunately was quite expensive), as well as for other expenses which are unavoidable when moving. After we counted up all available funds, we were still lacking very, very much. There was a fear of bankruptcy, and nowhere was there any hope of deliverance! Since I was not receiving anything from my debtor in Warsaw, I came up with the idea, which seemed to me to be the perfect solution - to pay...⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸³ This journey was undertaken for religious purposes, to encourage his compatriots to religious fervor and peace.

⁴⁸⁴ Today, Amiens: an 18th century monastery, with a miraculous image of our Sorrowful Mother, to which Jański made a pilgrimage together with A. Mickiewicz and S. Grotkowski. At the time, the Jesuits, exiled from Płock, lived there.

⁴⁸⁵ The autograph is in CRR: Mss 8636, p. 988.

Letter Nr. 107

Paris, November 8, 1837

[To L. Królikowski]

My dearest Louis!

Before I proceed to even a general response to your letters, and even before I apologize to you for such a lengthy and shameful delay, I must report some very sad news: my affairs are in such bad shape that I am threatened right now with shameful bankruptcy .

After St. Michael, I was able to find new lodgings. N.B. I am now living, at half the rent, at Boulevard Montparnasse nr 25. I had to move, because the owner, having found an occupant willing to sign a contract for several years, cancels our lease. This resulted in considerable but inevitable expenses. In addition, we were struck with an accumulation of older debts, which hit us so unexpectedly that we could not put them off for any considerable length of time. The combined amount was so great as to exceed all available funds and means of payment. Meanwhile, other hoped for funds, e.g. the money from Michael, were not received. I was at the point where I didn't know what to do. I wanted to write to you for help, but I was ashamed to do so.

The deadline was drawing near. What could I do? Whatever was possible. I postponed some payments for two or three more months... and for bills that had to be paid immediately I took out loans⁴⁸⁶, so delicate in nature, so binding my honor, good name and integrity, requiring the earliest possible repayment, that from one abyss I feel into an even greater abyss. And now, only later, I must cry to you: Help!

This is my proposal: You are closer to Warsaw. Could you not squeeze out of him⁴⁸⁷ the 1,000 zlotys, which, n.b., he took in cash either in 1829 or 1830 to send to me as an inheritance after the death of my mother, and which he kept for

⁴⁸⁶ For the trip to Rome.

⁴⁸⁷ From Michael Jaroszewski.

himself. We corresponded after that. I was not angry, since at the time his needs were greater than mine⁴⁸⁸; but today the opposite is true. Perhaps he could pay it to you surely and more easily in installments. Could you, then advance me the full sum? This would not be the first time, my dear Louis, that you saved me from drowning. Though it is not the first time, and though this comes after such a lengthy break of all⁴⁸⁹ relations between us, I do not doubt that, if you can, you will not refuse me this assistance.

I struggled for six years to the extent of my capacity, but “pour le moment le fait est a l’extremite” (I am a l’extremite)⁴⁹⁰. To weather this crisis and to meet the deficit requires nearly 1,500 francs. Hence, the 1,000 złotych (about 600 francs) would do much to rescue me. If you could add a few hundred francs of your own, which I do not promise to return within any definite time, but which would surely be returned to you as soon as it will be possible for me to do so, you would rescue me even more effectively.

I do not know your financial condition. Therefore, I am not putting any pressure on you. However, in the name of our long-time friendship which united us in such a close and sacred union, and which, for my part I can say conscientiously, bound us together, I beg you, to the extent that you are able, do not refuse to help me! And that immediately, as quickly as you can. I most solemnly assure you that, for some time now, I have been striving to order my life and my affairs. I am beginning to conduct my affairs more prudently, and with credit.

I have taken your friendly advice to heart, and in the future, as soon as I extricate myself from the present unfortunate crisis, I will so regulate myself as to assure definite means, not only to pay current expenses, but also to pay off former debts. An I will never ever incur new debts. I give you my most sacred promise, on the love of truth and mankind. But, have mercy! Do not desert me! Help me in this present misfortune, according to your means!

⁴⁸⁸ Which means, “needing help”.

⁴⁸⁹ The original has “complete break”, “w przerwie wszelkiej”.

⁴⁹⁰ “At the moment I am in extreme need”.

The problems and exertions nonnected with my present situation have not allowed me - still do not allow me - to respond to your letter point for point with a mind that is at ease and with peace in my heart. To sum up, I see that you are the same individual you were in 1828! As you know, there has been a change in my thinking, and I have some new ideas.

I must still limit myself to the general declaration I made to you in my last letter. I add only that I have the strongest conviction and confidence in Christ's power, and in the power of truth, that when we meet and talk at length, we will reach complete accord. An we will achieve this by means of our one, common principle, the core of Christ's teaching; the love of God and our neighbor.

Of news that affects me personally, I pass on this item: Two of my companions who intered the seminary a year ago, left for Rome⁴⁹¹ a few months ago⁴⁹². They have been accepted into a seminary there, and will continue their spiritual studies. They are young people with outstanding talent, who offer great hope. Only one person⁴⁹³ has taken their place in the seminary here, a former professor at the University of Warsaw, Joseph Hube.

Here, in my House, I have cut down considerably on expenses and people⁴⁹⁴.

However, I do have one new confrere⁴⁹⁵, with fine and promising qualities.

Generally, among the emigrants, things are beginning to move more smoothly.

I am carefully considering all of your projects. I will offer my comments on them to you at some later time. As for your personal situation: While I am practically certain that present conditions will remain the same for some time to come, you would encounter greater, immeasurably greater, difficulties earning a living here than where you are. Moreover, it is impossible for me to decide this

⁴⁹¹ J. H. Kajsiewicz i P.A. Semenenko left Paris on September 6, 1837, on their way to Rome.

⁴⁹² The original of the Polish reads: "kilka miesięcami".

⁴⁹³ E. Duński had already entered in Spring, 1837.

⁴⁹⁴ I. Stawiarski, Korobiewicz and N. Egersdorf left permanently; L.Rettel left for a time.

⁴⁹⁵ Joseph George Kozłowski (born 1814) - Entered the new community in September, 1837, but did not stay long; he left in Spring, 1838, but was very sorry later that he had done so.

question without knowing your local conditions. I would be best for you, alone or with your wife, to come here for a vacation next year. You could visit her parents, look around, and ultimately reach a decision. Even if this would involve considerable expense, I am convinced that you would not be sorry. What a joy, what a benefit this would be for me! I have a feeling that you will accept this project, and will follow through on it⁴⁹⁶.

I will end this letter here, my dear Louis, with the solemn promise that little by little I will compose a second letter according to your directions, on a big piece of paper, in small writing, following your letter point for point. And I will send it to you immediately after I have received your response, which, God grant, and as my deepest faith in the unlimited kindness of your friendship leads me to believe, will, at least in part, settle many of the present troubles that tear the pen from my hand.

N.B. I will easily be able to provide lodging for Mr. Valery Brzozowski, according to your request. It seems to me that, for the sake of the language, it would be better for him to stay with a Frenchman. Therefore, you can confidently send him to me.

I wish you health. In the name of Christ the Lord, do not stop loving me, in spite of my failures and my sins! Let it be a merciful love! For I too “multum et multa dilexi”...? Yet, through Christ, I shall continue to improve.

Bogdan Jański

⁴⁹⁶ L. Królikowski and his family came to Rome toward the end of 1839 to remain there permanently.

Letter Nr. 108

Mortange, November 25, 1837

You cannot say or think anything about me that would be harsher than the pain and disgust I feel as a result of the disorder in my financial affairs, and the plea which I made to you, my dearest Louis, in my last letter. Where on the one hand I am faced with *extreme necessity*, on the other I find complete confidence in your boundless kindness for me, a confidence that will not allow itself to be shaken by any *considerations whatsoever*; and it is this that has prompted and encouraged me to take this step.

I am not writing this letter from Paris, but from Mortagne (departament de l'Orne). I came here for spiritual purposes (to La Grande Trappe); but also forced to escape the pressure of obligations and dead-lines in Paris...! Forced to the point where I have decided not to return to Paris before I receive a favorable response from you. And now it is only to you that I can look. At present, I have no other means of salvation. Your response, addressed (to Paris) to Boulevard Montparnasse 25, will be sent on to me here, or wherever I may be (I will return only after I have received it).

It would be useless to go into the particulars and the minor details of my present *dire distress*. I have indicated to you in a lump sum just how dire it is: up to 1,500! ... I am writing to you about it once more in order to put "le couteau a la gorge"⁴⁹⁷. *I plead with you by all the regard we once had for one another (at Holy Cross)*⁴⁹⁸; *To the extent that you can, save me, as soon as possible!* I am writing again on the chance that you may have responded to my previous letter, but without sending assistance, to move you to rescue me immediately. You, all of you, have spent most of your time working for a living; the smallest part of my

⁴⁹⁷ "A knife to the throat.

⁴⁹⁸ The church and monastery of the Vincentians in Warsaw, where L. Królikowski lived as a student, and where he often hosted B. Jański, in his room above the door.

work is wage-earning. God is my witness that I have not been wasting time (I trust that in time you will see this too).

I add only two things: First, the solemn promise to bring prudence and order to my financial affairs. Until now, they could not be there. I wasn't even thinking about them; I could not think about them, because I was thinking about something else. With these other matters settled, I can finally think about them, and I intend to do so. Remember "old man" the follies of your life when you were thirty (true, they never led you to financial servitude, for you have a special gift in this regard, all gifts are not given to everyone). I have just finished my thirtieth year. Therefore, forgive the consequences of my follies! I have promised amendment, prudence and order. Secondly, although I find myself in dire need at the present time. If I can see it through with your help, I will dedicate my entire energy to projects and undertakings which, if successful, should completely rescue me from financial difficulties. I am confident that I will be able to repay the debt I incur with you. I regard this as an obligation in conscience, for you have a wife and children. Immersed in my financial difficulties, in my last letter I forgot to write to you about a second important matter: my wife. You ask me why I am thinking about a divorce? You ask for a clear explanation. I am not, and I cannot be fully decided on a divorce. I wrote this on the simple presumption that she needs this. I have had no news of her for the past three years. According to my last information, not all clear and very general, her life had taken a bad turn, and she was living as a prostitute. Why I need, first of all, is specific, not unqualified information.

Not having the gift of celibacy, and unable to subjugate the flesh completely; yet possessing definite and holy obligations toward her, and wishing to put an end to all the disorder in my life, (because, when I married her I wanted to do well by her: I choose her, I am solemnly bound to her, she bears my name, I continue to regard her with kind affection)^x. I am prepared to forgive her every weakness, and every impropriety, no matter how glaring. (How many similar acts

have I committed!)⁴⁹⁹. And, if I could be sure that in the future she would be a respectable woman and wife, I would be willing to unite with her... and will arrange for her transportation, so that she can come to me. Even considering the costs of house-keeping, I think that bringing her to live with me would help to regularize my life, and so would help rather than hurt me. Moreover, it is necessary if I am to begin to live a proper life and to fulfill my real responsibilities towards her. If only her heart and her morals have not been completely corrupted, and her present situation does not stand in the way (can she still be respectable?). Speak to Alphonse about this. He has been her friend from childhood. He was very close to her at one time. Let him serve as a mediator between us.

But, what if she is living with someone else, and has children with someone else... What if... what if the obstacles are such that my good will and my desire to repair the bond between us, torn apart in part by circumstances and in part through my fault, are in vain! Then it would be better for her and for me if, de jure, we were to be freed of our relationship to one another. Our marriage was contracted only in cossack fashion⁵⁰⁰, and should be easy to annul. And since this can be accomplished legally without any great difficulty, the sooner, the better. Considering her, rather than myself, (on this supposition) it would be my responsibility to advance such a proposition in order to free her from her obligations to me, which for her (as a poor woman) could be a hindrance to any kind of future...

In brief, (it seems to me) in this whole matter I am a man of very good will. Seeking to settle all the disorder and confusion in my life, I yet feel that I have assumed obligations towards her, and she has towards me, but neither of us is fulfilling them. I cannot stand this. If the situation can be repaired, fine. If not, then we should seek a mutual freedom from our obligations.

You may have expected from me a revelation of completely different motives and plans. Meanwhile, I present only common sense and everyday reasons. In fact, in this matter, they are for me the principal reasons.

⁴⁹⁹ Before his conversion.

⁵⁰⁰ That is, suddenly, without betrothal or banns.

And so, I ask you once more: Write... and write to Alphonse Kropiwnicki, to Michael Jaroszewski, and to dear Joseph Górecki in order that you might inform and advise me. I depend on you entirely. Write what you think about all this, and what you counsel me to do.

But first, Louis, my dearest Louis: Help! Help! Have mercy!

May you live in the spirit and grace of our Lord, Jesus Christ.

Bogdan Jański

P.S. Give your wife my kindest regards, and kiss your children warmly.

To Królikowski, in Cracow.⁵⁰¹

^x The words in parentheses are deleted in the autograph.

⁵⁰¹ The autograph has been preserved in CRR: Mss 8636, pp. 988-989.

Letter Nr. 109

Paris, May 20, 1837

[Rough-draft of letters to S. Witwicki]

May God reward you, my dear brother Stephen⁵⁰², for your assistance as it relates to Peter⁵⁰³. Thank God, things are going well for us, and continue to get better; however, at the present time, a new and great danger is emerging, and we will have to be on our guard against it. The Benedictine Prior, Fr. Gueranger, has come here again from Solesmes. I met him by accident only recently. Although he plans to spend only a few days here, and although now I will be a little more careful, yet, to be even more careful and to spare Peter any new spiritual disturbance which could be harmful to him⁵⁰⁴ and which would inevitably be aroused by meeting with Fr. Gueranger, I would ask you, if you are free, to invite Peter to visit with you at Montmorency for a few days beginning either Monday or Tuesday of next week in order to continue your conversation with him, and to share with him your ideas about where you think his obligations lie.

It is the proper season in the Church now for such reflection. The Feast of Pentecost is drawing near, and Peter has a special obligation to be very diligent in preparing his mind and sentiments for a worthy celebration of this great Feast⁵⁰⁵. Dear Stephen, assist him in these preparations.

I know that you realize how important this matter is. I have nothing to add to encourage you to respond to my plea other than a warning that, while Peter needs to be discouraged from becoming a monk in France, even more he needs to be encouraged in his vocation as a priest for Poland. He must be impressed with

⁵⁰² Stephen Witwicki (1802-1847) - from Volhynia; he studied in Winnica and Krzemieniec; he worked in the government Commission on Internal Affairs. After the uprising, he became an emigrant by choice. He was a poet, religious writer, publicist, friend and helper of Bogdan Jański. He died in Rome as a postulant of the Congregation of the Resurrection.

⁵⁰³ In discouraging Semenenko from entering the Benedictines at Solesmes.

⁵⁰⁴ Harmful, rather, to the situation of the Church among the emigrants, for it needed such talented people.

⁵⁰⁵ Semenenko already had the intention of becoming a priest.

the sacredness of the responsibilities and the importance of the work which this vocation demands of him. His mind needs to be accustomed to such a future. As a result of his recent, but deeply rooted, intention to become a Benedictine, that future is still something new for him and does not yet engage his love fully and completely.

Therefore, write to him immediately, as soon as you receive my letter. Use whatever motives you like, as long as they urge and move him to come as soon as possible, if only for a day. If, perchance, Adam [Mickiewicz] is close by when you receive this letter, encourage him to add a few words of invitation, so that Peter might be even more eager to pay such a visit soon.

Naturally, you will have to assume the costs of the visit. Prudence, it seems to me, counsels that you do not mention my letter, and that you present the invitation as entirely your own idea.

Please remind Adam about the article on “St. Adalbert”⁵⁰⁶ for the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. It is due next week. And ask him whether he wishes to work on “Alexandre empereur de Russie”⁵⁰⁷.

Friday evening. I wanted to visit with you this week, but it was impossible: there was no time. We had some new tangles with the police⁵⁰⁸. Peter will tell you about them. I recommend myself to your brotherly love and prayer. I close with the hope that I will see you next week.

Bogdan

Jański

P.S. Give Adam and his wife my sincere regards. And, please kiss little Mary for me⁵⁰⁹.

⁵⁰⁶ Adam Mickiewicz was able to earn money writing articles for the French Catholic Encyclopedia, e.g. on “St. Adalbert”, which actually appeared under the name of E. Duński.

⁵⁰⁷ The Poet did not write this article.

⁵⁰⁸ E. Duński and Peter Semenenko had been leftist activists. As such, the police were searching for them, to expel them from Paris.

⁵⁰⁹ Adam Mickiewicz was then living with Witwicki in Montmorency. This explains the mention of Celine Mickiewicz and their daughter Mary.

The rough draft of this letter has been preserved in CRR: Mss 8568/14; pp. 1030-1032.

Letter Nr. 110

Paris, May 24, 1836

My dearest brother, Stephen!

I am writing this letter to you too late. It ought to have reached you before Pater got there. I am writing to thank you for your gracious goodness, and for responding to my plea, which I addressed to you in my last letter. I did not send Peter you before now, because I was not sure when Fr. Gueranger was going to leave Paris, and I was afraid that Peter might return from his visit you, meet him here, and become disturbed all over again. Meanwhile, it happened that Fr. Gueranger was so busy with other matters that he could visit with us only for a short while, and did not see Peter at all. He left yesterday.

Hence, the danger that I feared so much as already disappeared. For Peter, it will still be a spiritual comfort to see you, to be enlightened and strengthened by your counsel⁵¹⁰.

This week, again, I will not be able to visit with you; God willing, I will come next week. Please remind Adam about my reply concerning the articles for the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

All in all, by God's grace, everything is going well.

Caesar Plater will be visiting you soon. He wants me to travel with him.

Mr. Anthony Górecki is well. Last week he made a retreat with the Jesuits⁵¹¹, which was a great comfort to him in his afflictions. Domejko is worried about the arrest of a cousin⁵¹², who has been accused of taking part in some French conspiracies.

Hube and Rettel have not yet received permission to come to Paris, (but we are hoping that it will arrive shortly)^x.

⁵¹⁰ The counsel of S. Witwicki and A. Mickiewicz.

⁵¹¹ A. Górecki was making this retreat before entering B. Jański's community.

⁵¹² Lucian Domejko (born 1808) - a less known emigrant in France.

Finally, I recommend myself and all of us to your love and prayer⁵¹³.

Bogdan

x/. The statement in parentheses is deleted in the autograph.

⁵¹³ The rough draft is preserved .in CRR: Mss 8568/14; p. 1033.

Letter Nr. 111

Paris, July 14, 1836

[Rough-draft of letters to K. Mikorski]

You are gravely mistaken, my unhappy brother Xavier⁵¹⁴, thinking that I am angry with you, and that this is the reason you have not received a letter from me until now. (If I had out from someone else, rather than from you, about your most recent failures and afflictions... if my feelings for you stemmed only from kind of human sympathy, or from special kindness on my part then, because of your bad behavior, I could freely cast them out of my heart, and leave you to yourself... but since I am not guided by personal attitudes)^x, it isn't so. If I approached you in order to help you to enter upon the right way, I did not do so with any human consideration in mind, or as a result of personal feelings, which I might change or cast out of my heart at will; but simply because Christ, who died for all of us sinners in order to unite us all with God, commands special love for the suffering, for those who have gone astray, and for those who wish to be converted. As a result, in spite of your failures and errors, I cannot desert you as long as I feel, in conscience, that your desire to improve is sincere. I can weep over you, but I cannot be angry with you. I owe my love for you, not to myself, but to Christ. In the future, try, through greater zeal and stability in your life, to show that you sincerely desire to improve, and not to reject the grace of God's mercy (thus to become worthy of the grace of God, who has enlightened you.

I did not write to you until now, first because I confess that, when I received your first letter, I was so confused by you wrote, and your situation seemed so difficult to disentangle, I did not know what to write to you)^x.

⁵¹⁴ Xavier Mikroski - a young insurgent, and, after 1834, an emigrant. He lived first in England, then in Paris (1835/6), where he originally belonged to the TPD, and then became an aspirant for the new community of B. Jański. However, he became involved in a love-affair with a young French girl and he had to be sent to Orleans to the school for emigrants under the direction of Rev. John Dąbrowski, a classmate of B. Jański at Pułusk. But this plan also failed because the girl went with him. This is the reason why the letter was written.

I will not remark on your behavior; you yourself are feeling the consequences. You are aware of how unhappy and how guilty you feel for allowing her⁵¹⁵ to travel with you to Orleans, for taking her with you, and for having improper relations with her. Obviously, a definite sin has been committed. Let us talk about penance and amendment. This is my advice (for you, dictated by my love for you in Christ)^x, which I beg and entreat you to obey strictly.

First, you and your girl-friend must definitely separate. (You cannot live with her in fornication. You cannot marry her, for how would you support yourself, and her, and children etc. It is only a question of how to effect the separation? It seems to me that)^x you ought to convince her to return to her mother. Let her cast herself at her mother's feet, ask pardon, and be reconciled to eating the bitter fruit of her thoughtlessness... There is no other way. It stands to reason that, having spent most of your money during your stay with her in Orleans, you will be able to give her almost nothing to pay the cost of her return to Poissy.

I would gladly help you with money, and not just with advice; but, as God is my witness, I cannot. Only with the greatest difficulty do I send you ten francs by way of assistance. You can receive them at the post-office by presenting the receipt which is included. Ultimately, if you can give her only ten francs, let her go on foot, eating as frugally as possible, in order to get home. Shame and fear will, undoubtedly, keep her from accepting this advice. Show her the need and the importance of humility as the one means of penance for sins committed.

The best and most beautiful way to put an end to her troubles and the escapades with you that were prompted by love would be - but it is so holy, that I scarcely dare write it and propose it to you - for you to arouse in her nobler religious sentiments and the thought of consecrating herself entirely to God. If you could speak to her heart and convince her (that, since God is placing irremovable obstacles in your way, he clearly does not wish your union for your earthly pleasure, and since she loves you so much that she cannot even think of loving anyone else ever again, it is her responsibility to replace earthly love with

⁵¹⁵ He is referring to the French coquette.

divine love)^x that in your present circumstances, the one proof of her love for you would be for her to renounce all earthly pleasures, and to give herself to God (as you desire to do), becoming, e.g. a Sister of Mercy, or some other Sister. This would be the finest and most appropriate way to repair the evil that has existed to now, and the best way for her to find peace in the future.

But, for this, you need the permission of her mother. You would have to go to her and ask her forgiveness. May God help you by supporting this thought, if its fulfillment is to be for his glory. If it is impossible, do not make this proposition to her in vain. And, for your part, do what is your duty: Send her back to her mother, and turn your own thoughts to conversion. My first advice to you, then, is definitely to separate from her. You can no longer attend the school at Orleans, for it is not possible that no one else besides Fr. Dąbrowski would learn of your present life.

The administration will ultimately find out; consequently, your future position in Orleans would be bad. As you cannot petition the government to stay in Orleans for any other reason except to go to school. Therefore, I have not presented the petition⁵¹⁶ you asked me to present; especially since it would have to be signed by you. What, then, can I do? A little later I will obtain permission for you to go to Lunel, where my good friend Adam Celiński is located. You will find in him a brother and a teacher. Your past errors and mishaps, which might cause others to avoid you, will, I am sure, bind him all the more closely to you. I will write to him about you, and you can be sure that he will receive you most kindly. He will teach you the basic lessons you need to know; and then we will see what we can do. But, you cannot write a petition from Orleans to change your place of stay, that is, for permission to go to Lunel; neither can you wait in Orleans for the reply. You must leave Orleans as soon as possible! In accord with your passport, you must go to Cahors. When you get there, we will submit the petition (which I will write and send to you, so that you can re-write it) for permission to move to Lunel. It is no longer possible to do anything else.

⁵¹⁶ A petition to the authorities at Orleans for permission to stay in this town as a student in Fr. Dąbrowski's school for emigrants.

I ask you, then, my dear and unfortunate Xavier, to muster up the last shreds of strength in your soul, whisper a prayer to God for courage and perseverance, and do as I tell you.

As soon as you receive this letter, explain to this poor girl that it is absolutely necessary for you to separate (for a time, or forever). She must return to her mother. Give her as much money as you can, *even if it be only a few francs...* Despite all her cries of despair, trust God and set out on foot, in conformity with your passport. God will reward you for conquering weaknesses so dear to your heart, and will not forget you in the way. Only, do not delay. If she insists firmly, and does not wish to leave you, to fulfill what, at this time, is her most sacred responsibility (return to her mother), do not let her insistence cause you to waver. In spite of her, in the name of God, fulfill your responsibility. The situation, as it exists among you today, cannot continue any longer. You must put an end to it.

If she does not accept your advice, after you have given her as much money as you can, you must, even if it be against her will (even without her knowledge, without telling her the time of your departure)^x, leave Orleans without her as soon as possible, on the same day that you receive this letter or the following day, in a word, as soon as possible.

I am also writing a letter to Father Dąbrowski⁵¹⁷, and I am sending it together with the one to you. I am informing him that you will no longer attend his school, and asking him to explain tactfully in the prefecture why you are abandoning your plan to remain in Orleans, and are moving on to study with one of your compatriots, i.e. with Celiński.

Put pride out of your heart, and before leaving go to Father Dąbrowski. Ask his pardon for the trouble and disappointment you created for him, and assure him of your sincere desire for amendment. Try to part with him on friendly terms.

N.B. Beside leaving Orleans very quickly, you have a second obligation that is equally urgent and even more important: to be reconciled to God by confession and the firm resolution of never returning to evil. I am also asking

⁵¹⁷ Confer the explanation in the letter to him.

Father Dąbrowski to discuss openly with you how to send this unhappy girl back to her mother and, if you agree, to help you to convince her to return. Likewise, I have asked him not to refuse you his assistance if he can help you in any way. However, do not let empty shame and selflove lead you astray.

I have known Fr. Dąbrowski from childhood. We went to school together. I am sure that if you go to him after he has received my letter, he will receive you kindly, and will not refuse to help you. But, go to him immediately, without delay, even before discussing the whole matter with your girl-friend. I urgently beg you to listen to whatever advice he gives you.

As for confession, you could very well make your confession to him. However, if this should prove to be a problem, and if you are passing through Tours, call on Father Trepka (who is chaplain of some hospital there)^x. Only ask God, as fervently and as humbly as you can, for the strength, courage and perseverance necessary to gain the victory over these weaknesses of the heart and to follow the advice given above.

I wish you good health, dear Xavier! May God, in his bountiful mercy, watch over you always, and never release you from his holy care! Do not be angry because I have somewhat delayed my answer to your letters. For, when they arrived, I was so sick - my head, my chest, my whole body - that I could not have written a single word. And since I considered your matter a secret that was entrusted to me, I could not ask any of the brothers to help out. Once again I ask you to heed my advice about separating from her, leaving Orleans as soon as possible, and reconciliation with God through confession at your first opportunity.

I repeat, collect all the strength of your soul... beg God for support and strength... and do what religion and morality require of you, and what my friendship for you suggests. I expect to receive a letter from you shortly, from out of Orleans in your journey. I wish you good health!

May be grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ be with you!

Bogdan
Jański

P.S. Definitely go to see Fr. Dąbrowski, as soon as you can...⁵¹⁸.

^x This fragment is deleted in the autograph.

⁵¹⁸ The rough draft is preserved in CRR: Mss 8568/12; ss. 1046-1053.

Letter Nr. 112

Paris, October 14, 1836

My dear Xavier!

What you write is true, my Xavier: “You must lie on the bed you have made for yourself.” In the future, may you make that bed for yourself better than you have to now.

You have conducted yourself so badly (n.b. I am aware of what you did in Cahors⁵¹⁹ before your departure), that there can be no thought of getting you out of jail⁵²⁰; neither will any sensible and self-respecting person give you letters of recommendation.

Forgetting your conduct toward me - insincere, false, offending me in what is dearest to me, compromising me by the very fact that I ever had anything to do with you - I would like to offer you some financial support. When I could, I shared my last cent with you; but today, God is my witness, I have nothing at all to give you.

My advice is that when you get to England, apply immediately for apprenticeship to some craft. This is the only way of life for you. Good, hard-working and regular conduct is the only way to erase the disgrace that hangs over you. Briefly, there is nothing else that you can do.

Therefore, if you would wish to attach yourself to a watch-maker, locksmith, carpenter or tailor, to work and to learn, I can send letters to you in London⁵²¹ that will be helpful.

May God pay you with good for the evil you have done.

Bogdan
Jański⁵²²

⁵¹⁹ He incurred a considerable debt to pay for the trip to Orleans for himself and the French girl.

⁵²⁰ The arrest for unpaid debts.

⁵²¹ To which he was deported for his escapades in France,

⁵²² The rough draft of this letter is preserved in CRR: Mss 8568/12; p. 1054/5.

Letter Nr. 113

Paris, July 14, 1836

[To John Dąbrowski]

Very dear Father John!⁵²³

May God reward you for your kindness, and for the gracious consideration you have shown to your old colleague and childhood friend. I hope someday to have opportunity to show you dear that friendship is to me, and what a special attraction it has me as a kind of special relationship, half of home and half of family, emanating from the same land and alive by reason of strong attachment to it.

I apologize sincerely that your considerate acceptance of my recommendation⁵²⁴ resulted only in useless troubles. I received your letter three days ago, but I've had a headache these last days, and felt so weak all over, that I could not possibly put a single word on paper and hasten my response to you.

Mikorski wrote me exactly what he told you. I am also writing to him today. Obviously, his conduct is very reprehensible. I admit this and no consideration can erase his guilt. However, I should let you know that I was aware of his relationship with the young lady even before he left Paris. Yet, because he was so notorious and held in such contempt, when he began to show signs of a desire to improve, I tried to collect information from those who were closer to him about this and other aspects of his life. Believe me, my dear John, after a careful and unbiased investigation of the matter, I was convinced that in this case the young man was more unfortunate than guilty. Moreover, all the while that I was dealing with him, he was not seeing the girl, and had resolved not to see her again. As it happened, just before his departure, she came to Paris and discovered

⁵²³ Rev. John Paul Dąbrowski (1804-1851) - a grammar school classmate of B. Jański; chaplain of the 5th infantry division, who had been awarded the cross *Virtuti Militari*; director of a Polish school among the emigrants.

⁵²⁴ B. Jański had sent to his school the insincere Mikorski, who could have discredited the institution.

where he was living. Mikorski reported this to me immediately. (I was a witness to his difficulties)^x. But, without going into any more of his past life and his present situation, I can assure you most conscientiously that, after a thorough investigation of all the circumstances of his conduct, I am firmly convinced that he is more unfortunate than deliberately and willfully guilty. At present, I even have good reason not to despair about him. In fact, I have reason to hope that his desire to improve is sincere. (N.B. I can assure you that he did not seduce or deceive this girl; she is more, if not completely, at fault. He did not induce her to travel with him. Quite the contrary, he resisted this with all his strength; she insisted on following him, tears and cries of despair).^x And so, once more *I appeal to your sentiments of forgiveness for youth*.

Because you may already have made some mention of his present situation to your colleagues, and because some of the Poles in Orleans may know of it, to avoid any scandal, I am not insisting that he enter your school, though I can assure you that, if he did enter, he would study diligently (naturally, it would be necessary to send the girl back to her mother). I would truly like to see him enrolled there if this still possible. However, if this is not possible, or too difficult, or if it could compromise the school or your own person, I would ask you, with the genuine confidence that I have in your friendship, to help him to leave Orleans for his destination, which, according to his passport, is Cahors. I will try to obtain permission for him to go from there to Lunel, where Celiński is located; he will help him in his initial studies.

The help I'm asking of you for his departure consists of a tactful explanation of his situation in the prefecture: why, when he was to have submitted a petition to the government to stay in Orleans he did not do so. Perhaps you could say that he did not do so because together you became convinced that your school was not offering the kind of instruction he needed, and that, therefore, he then decided to seek permission, to stay in Lunel, where one of his colleagues would help him in his studies. Thus excused, he will set out for his destination on foot; and I will recommend this to him very strongly (if it is impossible for him to enroll in the school).

Further, and pardon me if I venture to bother you so much; Christ will reward you. If you cannot do what I ask, do not count the insistence prompted by friendship against me. Would it be possible for you to influence this girl somehow to return to her mother? And to separate from him?

Their address is: rue Tabourd, or Tabaurd, nr 25, vis-a-vis le rue de la Poterie. You would be performing a good deed, decisive for the entire future of this poor young man who cannot help himself in his misfortune.

I wrote Mikorski to go to you for counsel in his difficult situation. In the name of your gracious friendship for me, do not refuse to offer him such advice, which will help him to solve his problems. Do this in my place! In my judgment, he should give the girl a dozen or so francs for her return to Paris, and then, ever against her will, leave Orleans as soon as possible. (If you see no other way, send the girl away, and keep him in school).

I thank you sincerely for the copy of the New Testament that once belonged to Egersdorf⁵²⁵ and I ask for the two that you promised.

Kajsiewicz and Semenenko send sincerest greetings. Give my regards to Gronostajski and Chrzęszczewski⁵²⁶. (N.B. Tell Gronostajski that Joseph Hube arrived in Paris today, and has joined our group⁵²⁷. Ask him to forgive me for not responding to his letter from a while back; but nothing came of the matter at issue).

Once more, I recommend Mikorski to your mercy. I need not ask you to observe discretion in this whole matter.

I recommend myself and those who are with me to your friendship. Loving you with all my heart,

Bogdan
Jański⁵²⁸

^x This fragment is deleted in the autograph.

⁵²⁵ Napoleon Egersdorf was, at the time, a novice of the new community at the House in Paris, but he did not persevere. He left in the Fall.

⁵²⁶ The first was a grammar school teacher in Wilno; the second, an editor in Warsaw.

⁵²⁷ That is, he joined B. Jański's new community.

⁵²⁸ The rough draft of this letter has been preserved in CRR: Mss 8568/13; pp. 1042-1045.

Letter Nr. 114

Paris, August 29, 1836

[To Honore Komar]

The French friend of Father Lacordaire, whom I was happy to present to Madame Countess⁵²⁹ as a tutor for Wlodimir, has already committed himself a similar assignment for the entire vacation (tutoring the children Of a French family)^x.

He will return to Paris only at the end of next month (September). (As soon as he returns, I will try to contact him)^x. Until that time, all negotiations with him are unnecessary.

I am also leaving today for a (short)^x vacation, to Mickiewicz at Montmorency for about a week.

When I return, I will hasten to pay my respects to Madame Countess personally. I offer them now, at least in writing.

Madame Countess' most bubble servant,

Bogdan Jański⁵³⁰

^xThis fragment is deleted in the autograph.

⁵²⁹ Honore, nee Orłowski, Komar - the wife of Stanislaus Komar, major and marshall of the district of Uszycki; mother of 3 daughters: Delphine /Fotocka/, Ludmila and Natalie, as well as of Wlodimir. B. Jański had tutored the last three.

⁵³⁰ The autograph has been preserved in CRR: Mss 8520/1; p. 1016.

Letter Nr. 115

Paris, August 29, 1836

[To the State Official Radomiński in Warsaw]Merciful Sir Director and benefactor!⁵³¹

With great reluctance I dare, once again, to take advantage of your goodness. I have not received any news from my brother for a very long time. I don't even know with certainty where he is to be found or even how to address a letter to him. In you, sir, is my only hope that you will not refuse my request to give him this small note or forward it to him.

As for myself, after great weakness (1834)⁵³² and after a great deal of suffering and misfortunes, I feel quite well today. Thanks be to God!

If you, sir, should have any request for books or any other requests, I am prepared expend every effort and search out every possibility to eagerly fulfill them.

I would like to extend this letter and include some literary news, especially concerning new religious books which I know have interested you in the past. But I also know how valuable your time is and I dare not take up any more of it with this letter without your express permission to do so. I conclude, therefore, recommending myself to your remembrance. I assure you my sentiments of highest esteem, profoundest thanks and sincerest attachment.

Bogdan
Jański

My permanent address:

rue Notre Dame des Champs, 11.

⁵³¹ John Aloysius Radomiński.

⁵³² In July and August of 1834 Jański suffered with a lung ailment.

P.S. Please extend my most respectful greetings to Councillor Skarbek, my former professor, if the occasion presents itself. Sincere greetings to Rybicki , Barański and my other colleagues.⁵³³

The original is preserved in CRR: Mss 8520/1; pp. 1016-1017.

⁵³³ This letter was published in Edmund Callier's Bogdan Jański (Poznań: 1876) p. 115.

Letter Nr. 116

Paris, March 4, 1837

Forgive me once more, honorable minister, for my persistent inquiries. However, I have had no information from my brother⁵³⁴ for three years. I cannot write directly to him, since I do not know his present address.

Therefore, I presume to request, dear sir, that you send him my address, which I am enclosing (Paris, rue Notre Dame des Champs, nr 11), and that you urge him finally to send me some news about himself and the family.

If it should happen that he lives some distance from Warsaw, I would ask you, honorable sir, to send me some information about him and his present address.

Trusting in Your Honor's gracious kindness towards us, I commend myself to his kind remembrance, with deepest respect, heartfelt gratitude, and readiness to serve him always and in everything⁵³⁵.

Bogdan Jański

March 4, 1837

Address: Mr. Radomiński, Minister of Welfare, Visitor General for Schools in the Kingdom of Poland, Knight of the Order of St. Stanislaus, etc... Warsaw, Oboźna Street, the home of Kozłowski.

⁵³⁴ Stephen Jański.

⁵³⁵ This letter was published by E. Callier. The rough draft has been preserved in CRR: Mss 8647, pp. 1027-1028.

Letter Nr. 117

Paris, February 22, 1837

[To L. Orpiszewski]

Dear Louis,

If you have the second volume to *Voyage au Cancase* by Klaproth⁵³⁶, please give it to Francis⁵³⁷, who will visit you on this occasion.

Bogdan Jański

Sunday, February 22, 1837

Address: Mr. Orpiszewski, at rue St. Dominique d'Enfer,
 entrance from the rue d'Enfer,
 first house on the left side⁵³⁸.

⁵³⁶ Henry Julius Klaproth (1783-1835) - German orientalist, and son of the chemist, Martin Klaproth. B. Jański had a French translation of his book, although he understood German well.

⁵³⁷ Francis Grzymała (1790-1871) – Publisher of Literary works in the Kingdom of Poland; poet and literary critic opposed to romanticism; insurgent, and activist among the emigrants.

⁵³⁸ The original is in Biblioteka Czartoryskich w Krakowie (Library of Czartoryski in Cracow): Mss Ew. 1444, b.p.

Letter Nr. 118

Paris, March 4, 1837

[To Stanislaus Plater]Honorable Sir!⁵³⁹

Not knowing precisely what day Your Honor was leaving Paris, I was late in delivering this letter to Fr. Jabczyński⁵⁴⁰. I presume to send it to you now with the request that you give it to him. At the same time, I would ask you, kind sir, to mail the note to Mr. Radomiński which is enclosed from the post-office in Poznań. Perhaps it will reach him sooner than if I sent it from here.

May God grant the opportunity to repay the debt of gratitude to Your Honor, which I incur, trusting Your Honor's good-will and gracious kindness.

As soon as Domeyko's⁵⁴¹ maps are published, we will send Your Honor a copy in care of the Honorable Castellan⁵⁴².

Sergei⁵⁴³ is in good health, and sends greetings. He should be received by Mr. Witkenstein any day now. At last notice, Mr. Witkenstein was only waiting for news from Prussia, from Prince Wilhelm⁵⁴⁴, as to whether he had found for him the tutor and the lodgings he had asked for.

Accept, dear sir, sincere assurances of my deepest respect, and of my readiness to serve you at any time.

Bogdan Jański

⁵³⁹ Stanislaus Plater - Brother of Louis Plater, author of the *Polish Historical Atlas*. Poznań, 1827; and of the pamphlet, *Poles in European Tribunals*. Both works were in French.

⁵⁴⁰ Rev. John Nepomucene Jabczyński (1799-1869) - a Canon in Poznań; he was from the neighborhood of Śrem; he studied in Poznań and Wrocław, and was the author of works of the history of preaching, and of the history of the Diocese of Poznań.

⁵⁴¹ Maps of Poland, prepared by Ignatius Domeyko, were to be published in Paris.

⁵⁴² Louis Plater.

⁵⁴³ Sergei was living with the Prince Giedroyć family in Paris.

⁵⁴⁴ Charles Friderick Wilhelm (1763-1851) - Prussian Prince, who gained fame at Waterloo; diplomat; commander of the armies on the Rhine. He lived in Cologne (after 1830), and later in Berlin.

Paris, rue Notre Dame des Champs, 11 March 4, 1837

Address: Count Stanislaus Plater⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴⁵ The autograph has been preserved in *CBR*: Mss 8646; p. 1825/6.

Letter Nr. 119

Paris, July 15, 1837

[To Arthur Raulin]My Dear Arthur!⁵⁴⁶

You are going mad! How could you write such malicious things about me? What I said was said between ourselves and in relation to the future. God and my conscience are witnesses to whether or not I lied. This is enough for me. (Other testimony is less important). Yet I have never and do not at the present feel myself obligated to empty sentiment and idle gossip.

I read every letter of yours with lively interest and I took them to heart. The misfortune you find yourself in, namely, that you have been given no designation of a salary, I never foresaw. Did you want advice? I asked Edward to calm you, lift your spirits and suggest that you transfer to Montpellier to study medicine. You wrote that on the last of July you did not pick up your salary. I reminded them of this fact at the prefecture of police and they promised to present the case to the minister. But it is also necessary that you write to the minister concerning this matter via your own prefect. Include the fact that you have moved to Montpellier to complete your Baccalaureate and the study of medicine.

For your most pressing needs I am sending you 20 francs. I would have sent them earlier, but I was unable.

Embrace Adam and Leon⁵⁴⁷ for me. Thank Adam as well for his letters. If I were able to handle the matter he wrote about, I would have done so long ago and written him. I cannot get copy of the May 3rd Constitution for him (even my

⁵⁴⁶ Arthur Raulin (Born c. 1813) finished his secondary education in Łomża. He took in both sides of the uprising and, after its collapse, he was appointed Vice Mayor in Tykocin by the Russian government. Unexpectedly, he escaped to France. Expelled, he then stayed in Brussels and England. When he returned to Paris he became closely associated with the disciples of Bogdan Jański. After getting involved in a romance, he was wounded in a duel and, after recovering, he was sent into the province outside Paris. Jański suggested that he study medicine in Montpellier.

⁵⁴⁷ Raulin stayed in Lunel at the home of Adam Celiński and Leon Przeclawski.

own copy has disappeared on loan). It is to arrive shortly. I will send it to him immediately with the Bible and a few words from myself.

Embrace them sincerely. My dear Arthur, do not be angry with me for God knows you are mistaken (and even doing evil). If I do not write to you, be sure that I am not writing to anybody. It was pleased God to touch me in my present speechlessness. If you knew what troubles and difficulties I find myself in, you would have mercy on me.

I wish you good health. Stop acting like, a madman! You have done enough mischief already. It is time to reform.

God will give you the strength, for his mercy and his goodness are without end, and without limit. Only trust them, and surrender to them sincerely, bravely, as a Christian.

Your Bogdan Jański⁵⁴⁸

July 15, 1837

⁵⁴⁸ Original copy is contained in CRR: Mss 8555; pp.1085-1086.

[To Charles Królikowski]

Letter Nr. 120

Paris, July 16, 1837

Dearest Charles!

To what horrible trials I am putting you! ... Do not say that I am forcing you to submit to the truth; for when you held out your hand, I seemed to withdraw mine.

No, no! I did not withdraw mine. You have it. You have all of me, with my weakness and my problems!

God grant that these would decrease gradually, and that I would be ever more worthy of your kind friendship for me.

I am writing these few words to you only by way of forwarding a letter from the priest director of College Stanislas to Fr.Dessuch⁵⁴⁹, from whom you will be able to obtain books. For, the melanges⁵⁵⁰ are sold out; it is practically impossible to buy one. I sent my copy to Zach⁵⁵¹ at Fontainebleau. The *Essai sur l'indifference*⁵⁵² is very expensive. You will undoubtedly find it at the priest mentioned. I will shortly send you a Polish Bible. Later I will send whatever I can collect.

May God assist, enlighten and support you! I beg you, Charles, do not be scandalized by the manner in which I delay. Persevere in your holy resolution to do penance, and fulfill it as soon as possible.

I will soon write you a lengthy letter.

Yours in Christ forever,

⁵⁴⁹ A friend of B. Jański - a priest from Bordeaux.

⁵⁵⁰ He is probably speaking here of a French work, *Melan-ges de l'Avenir*.

⁵⁵¹ Francis Zach, Polish political emigrant in France.

⁵⁵² A famous book by Father F.R.H. de Lamennais (1781-1854) - the great French philosopher, and theologian, founder of Christian liberalism, and of a radical social movement.

Bogdan Jański

P.S. Please write to me. The fact that you have not received a response from me does not in any way prove that I do not eagerly desire to receive very frequent and very long letters from you⁵⁵³.

Address: M. Królikowski, a Polish emigrant in Bordeaux, rue Grand Cancera 29.

Postmark: Main Post-office on Paris, July 16, 1837: Bordeaux, July 18, 1837.

Charles Królikowski (1806-1871) - born in Łaskarzewo, near Łuków; studied in Węgrów; worked in the Accounting Room in Warsaw; fought in the infantry on the line during the uprising as a Lieutenant; he emigrated to France by way of Galicia. Aroused to religious fervor by Bogdan Jański, he became his helper from January 18, 1836 until the latter's death, and took his place in Paris from December 18, 1839. Until his death he remained an extern brother on the Congregation of the Resurrection, working among the emigrants. He is the author of the booklet *Extraordinary Meeting of Poles in the department des Landes*. He conducted the Polish publishing house of the Resurrectionists in Paris after Jełowicki and Januskiewicz. He also conducted charitable works in Paris, organizing the "Stowarzyszenie Spadkowe" ("The Inheritance Society") and "Instytut Czci i Chleba" ("The Institute of Bread and Honor"). His activity was a continuation of the work of Jański among the emigrants.

⁵⁵³ The original letter has been preserved in CRR- Mss 8639; pp. 1001-1014.

Letter Nr. 121

La Grande Trappe

November 9, 1937

My dearest Charles!

I will not even try to excuse my tardiness in correspondence, although I do reproach myself severely on that account. I beg your pardon with all my heart, and hope to obtain forgiveness. I am leaving all explanations for later, perhaps when we meet in the near future.

I am writing this letter from La Grande Trappe, near Mortagne (departament de l'Orne) where I have spent the last two weeks, making a retreat and a general confession⁵⁵⁴. While here, I am not allowed to handle any business matters, and it is only by special permission that I can write to you, to discuss a single item of business.

Perhaps Kranas wrote to you that I have initiated efforts (even before receiving your explicit approval) to have you come to Paris. Before I left, I was notified that you yourself would have to submit such a petition. Therefore, in this letter I am asking you to decide to apply for permission to come to us, and to live in our House (n.b., it has now been moved to Boulevard Mont Parnasse 25).

I desire this with all my heart; and everyone, especially I, need you very, very much⁵⁵⁵. I am sure that we can reach a complete understanding when we meet, if there is any small matter that you hold against us or me.

Therefore, write your petition to the minister, explaining that you were asked to leave Paris last year in July, “par suite d’une mesure generale de diminuer le nombre des refugies residants a Paris”⁵⁵⁶. Although there was no accusation at all to be made against your conduct, and even though you were earning a living in the Polish printery, you went South, to the waters, for reasons

⁵⁵⁴ That is, a general confession of his whole life.

⁵⁵⁵ B. Jański intended to resurrect the *Pielgrzym Polski* (The Polish Pilgrim), and to publish other Catholic periodicals.

⁵⁵⁶ “According to the general principle of reducing the number of emigrants in Paris”.

of health, especially because of an eye ailment. Now, feeling that your health has improved, and able to work, you would like to return to Paris where you could find work more easily with the help of your friends; you would also find it easier to pursue further intellectual studies there. Therefore, you presume to ask the minister to give you authorization “d’aller resider a Paris”⁵⁵⁷, where you propose (ou je vais) “enter dans la Maison de M. Jański”⁵⁵⁸ (we are known by his title): “etablis d’abord rue Notre Dame des Champs 11; et actuellement: Boulevard Mont Parnasse 25”.

And, you offer assurances that, devoting your full time to work and to the practice of religious obligations, in no way will you earn “le reproche ou meme le mecontentement des autorites”⁵⁵⁹. That s all.

Ultimately, if you wish to change anything, or express it differently, you can do so. Only there is one necessary condition: that you express your intention to enter our House.

Once you have written this petition, send it to Karski, a Mr. Edouard Duński, au College Stanislas, rue Notre Dame des Champs 34, who has been instructed as to what is to do with it.

How happy I would be, if you agree to this proposition!

My dear Charles, you would be very much mistaken if you ascribed my past silence to forgetfulness or coldness in your regard. God is my witness that it was not so. I solemnly assure you of my unchanging friendship for you, which, in fact, is the basis for many of my spiritual hopes.

I was especially concerned lest you be scandalized by my silence, and that this scandal should occasion a fall on your part. However, I trust in the mercy of God and in the maturity of your judgment, that you have survived, and that now you enjoy the sweet peace of Christ in its fullness.

Give my greetings to dear brother Charzewski⁵⁶⁰, and ask him also to pardon for my silence, for which you can also find an explanation in the fact that I

⁵⁵⁷ Agreement to live in Paris.

⁵⁵⁸ “To enter the House of Mr. Jański”.

⁵⁵⁹ “the reproach or the dissatisfaction of the authorities”.

have been here⁵⁶¹ for some time. If he does not have a vocation to the clerical state, he will do well, according to what you wrote me of his intentions, to devote himself to medicine.

Likewise, give my sincere regards to Marylski and Kamocki⁵⁶², my former university colleagues.

I recommend to your prayers.

Bogdan Jański⁵⁶³

November 9, 1837

Address: Mr. Charles Królikowski,

Bordeaux, rue du Cancera 29

Post-mark: Mortagne, November 9, 1837,

Bordeaux, November 14, 1837

⁵⁶⁰ Adalbert Charzewski (born 1811, in Międzychód) - a second-lieutenant in the National Guard, and the 19th regiment of infantry on the line; a member of T.P.D. (Polish Democratic Society) in exile.

⁵⁶¹ That is, "La Grande Trappe".

⁵⁶² Julian Marylski and Marian Kamocki, friends of C. Królikowski in Bordeaux.

⁵⁶³ The original letter has been preserved in CRR: Mss 8639; pp. 1001-1004.

Letter Nr. 122

Paris, May 29, 1838

I give thanks to the most loving God for everything that I read in your letter. Before I respond, and write to you about a number of things at greater length, I am in a hurry to write this little slip with a single request.

You should know that, on the day before yesterday, we lost Julian Szotarski⁵⁶⁴ (whom you may have met at my house in 1836). He was a doctor of medicine and a writer. He died of consumption.

The last days of his illness occupied me completely; and I also had to take care of his burial. I am just now returning from the cemetery.

God is so merciful. In spite of the lack of almost any good disposition on the part of the deceased while he was in good health, God comforted him with his grace in his last days. He died very happily and very peacefully on Sunday, having confessed his sins, and after receiving the Sacraments.

Wherefore, writing in the midst of these troubles, my dearest Charles, I ask only that you tell Turowski, who should already have arrived in Bordeaux⁵⁶⁵ on his way to us, that he should try to get here as soon as possible. Therefore, he is not to stop along the way. If he needs any money for his trip, tell him that he can definitely borrow about 20 or 30 francs, with the promise that I will send them back once he arrives in Paris.

His baggage, that is his valise, has arrived already. Therefore, he can take the stage-coach directly from Bordeaux to Paris making only a deposit, and declaring that he will pay the rest when he arrives.

Let him make whatever arrangement he can; but, when all is said and done, let him come to us without any further stops along the way.

⁵⁶⁴ Julian Szotarski (1812-1838) - a relative of K. Brodziński and a distant cousin of B. Jański; a talented literary critic, and the author of several medical works in German. He was from the region of Siewierz.

⁵⁶⁵ Leopold Turowski began his journey in the Pyrenees.

Embrace the brothers Kamocki and Późniak⁵⁶⁶. Give Kozarzewski my greeting. May God be with all of you. Pray for us.

Bogdan Jański

Tuesdays, May 29, 1838

P. S. With God's help, I will write to you at greater length within the next few days.

Address: Monsieur Charles Królikowski

Bordeaux, rue du Cancera 29⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁶ Captain Napoleon Późniak, later became a teacher at College de Juilly.

⁵⁶⁷ The rough draft of this letter is found in CRR: Mss 68/16; pp. 1038-1040.

Letter Nr. 123[Paris, June 4, 1837]⁵⁶⁸

My dearest Charles!

Praise and thanks to God for all good things I read in your letter. Before I respond to it, I have a request to make of you today: Tell Turowski, who should already have arrived in Bordeaux on his way to us, that he should try to get here as soon as possible.

This is necessary for many reasons. Therefore, he is not to stop along the way. If he needs any money for his trip, tell him that he can definitely borrow about 20 or 30 francs, with the promise that I will send them back immediately after his arrival in Paris.

His baggage, that is his valise, has already arrived. Therefore, he can take the stage-coach directly from Bordeaux to Paris, making only a deposit, and declaring that he will pay the rest when he arrives, (and this would be best).

Let him make whatever arrangements he can; but, when all is said and done, let him come to us as soon as he can, without making any further stops along the way.

I agree to your plan to visit the depots⁵⁶⁹; but with God's help, I will soon write to you at greater length about all these matters. We have already submitted the petition for Kranas to come to Paris, and we await Kamocki⁵⁷⁰ with heartfelt desire.

May God and his all-powerful mercy be with all of you.

Bogdan Jański⁵⁷¹

⁵⁶⁸ The date is determined by the content of the letter and the calendar.

⁵⁶⁹ As a lay apostle among the emigrants.

⁵⁷⁰ Marian Kamocki (1804-1884) - a colleague of Jański at the University of Warsaw; a relative of Bishop Skórkowski; a widower, insurgent and emigrant; a member of the House of Jański; later a Vincentian priest and Provincial.

⁵⁷¹ The rough draft of this letter is found in CRR: Mss 8627; pp. 787-788.

Monday of the Feast of Pentecost - June 4, 1838

Letter Nr. 124[Paris, June 8, 1838]⁵⁷²

Praise and thanks to the all-merciful God for all of the good things I have read about you and others in your Letters! I begin my letter (after a delay; please pardon me), with what is most urgent.

Let brother Leopold come to us as soon as possible!⁵⁷³ There are many important reasons for this, especially in view of his future vocation, and the necessary preparations for it. Therefore, he should not make any further stops along the way; at least, as few as possible. Kamocki's note, and the sincere and Christian manner in which he opened his heart to us, filled me with joy beyond words. For all of his greetings, plans and intentions⁵⁷⁴ I thank him most sincerely, and I offer most humble thanks to God.

To everything I say: good. Our home and our hearts, are open to him. Therefore, let him come here with Turowski. But, if his departure should hold up Turowski, let Torowski leave first; and he can follow as soon as possible. I only fear (I am sure), that is hopes will be very greatly disappointed. He will not find among us what he was expecting. He will find very frail children who are just beginning to take their first steps on the road of a more perfect Christian life.

It is apparent that, especially from me, he is expecting something good. May God grant him enough patient and forgiving love, lest he be scandalized; and lest, instead of growing in spirit in our community, he falter. I ask him, therefore, I forewarn and I plead with him to arm himself beforehand with mercy and forgiveness⁵⁷⁵. With good will, and by the grace of God, we will help and support one another toward over greater perfection in Christ, the Lord.

⁵⁷² The date has been established according to the Postmark .

⁵⁷³ Leopold Turowski left shortly after for Paris, to become a priest in the new community.

⁵⁷⁴ Marian Kamocki decided to enter the new community of B. Jański.

⁵⁷⁵ B. Jański's presentiment was accurate: Kamocki, later, was shocked by this "holy venture" of the apostle of the refugees, and did not persevere in it.

Another thing about which I must forewarn him is that, following his arrival, he may not be living with us, but only near us. Therefore, when he applies for permission to take up residence, they should not know in the Bureau of Refugees that he plans to live with us. The reason for this is that I am presently trying to obtain a similar permission for two people: Marszewski (from Bayeux), and Kranas, solely on the basis of the fact that they will enter our community. And I fear that I might receive the reply: But there are already so many of you.

In any case, let him come to us, and we will make arrangements for lodgings as well as we can. I think that we can obtain permission for permanent residence for him.

Now, as for you, my dearest Charles: I agree to your plans. However, it seems to me that the sooner you leave⁵⁷⁶, the more depots you visit, the better. Agreed, because, first of all, your health demands it; agreed, because, with God, there is hope that some spiritual benefits will result from this. Before your departure, I will try to supply you with a few books that will prove useful to yourself and to others.

As for your plan that I should visit these depots, I would like to do this, but I cannot even think about it now. In the opinion of Kranas and Koźmian⁵⁷⁷, we should choose Toulouse and Montpellier as centers for a union of our compatriots in the provinces. What do you think about that?

My dearest friend, I thank you wholeheartedly for your recent and clearer than ever expression of your complete desire for union with us⁵⁷⁸. I ask God incessantly, and with all my soul, to bless the union of all of our efforts, and to bless you in everything. And you, my friend, also pray for all of us, and for God's grace in all of our intentions and decisions. Pray unceasingly; pray in the spirit constantly.

The more you conquer spiritual inertia, together with the frailty and impetuosity of the flesh... the more often, constantly and intently you turn your

⁵⁷⁶ C. Królikowski planned a pilgrimage on foot to the House of the new community in Paris, in order that, along the way, he could preach religious truth to his fellow refugees.

⁵⁷⁷ John Koźmian was then studying Law in Toulouse.

⁵⁷⁸ That is, of living at the House in Paris.

mind and your whole spirit to God and divine truth, the more certainly will you advance along the best road in all of your works and undertakings. Therefore, pray without ceasing, and receive the Sacraments as often as possible.

Please, write to Charzewski, to cheer him up, to support him and to encourage him to good.

Fr. Gerbet is now the Vicar General in Meaux. Through him I hope to obtain some influence with the Prefect there, and thus obtain permission for Charzewski to reside there. Write to Charzewski. Tell him that we will pursue the matter, and that we will write to him soon. But, if he has already applied for Montpellier, there is nothing wrong with that. Once he obtains permission, he can go there. He will be closer to us, and from that distance we can keep check on him.

As for Biergiell⁵⁷⁹, I would still like to have your opinion. If he really has a priestly vocation and a definite desire to dedicate himself to the service of God, you can send him to College Stanislas immediately by way of a vocation. However, in order for him to enter there, we would have to present him as one of ours, as a member of our community. There are many who enter the seminary prompted by a combination of temporal and personal reasons, for some strange purposes, or for bread. By no means am I casting suspicion on him in this regard, for I do not know him.

But, precisely because I do not know him, I am asking you: Do you know him? Is he a man of dedication, ready to give his life for truth and for the welfare of his neighbor, with a desire for a more perfect Christian life in himself and in others? Therefore, does he qualify for entrance into community with our brothers: Kajsiewicz, Semenenko and Duński? If not, I could still obtain entrance to College Stanislas for him, but I would have to present him in some other way. I would present him as (in general) a person of sound character.

⁵⁷⁹ Alexander Biergiell - a Lithuanian insurgent and emigrant; in late 1838 and early 1839 he was a cleric of the new community in Paris. He did not persevere. Later, he became a follower of Towiański, and a member of A. Mickiewicz's Polish Legion in Italy.

Your expression of opinion will not place any responsibility upon you. I want to know, and I am asking you to tell me, what you think about him as you view him. I make the ultimate decision; and so the responsibility is mine.

I ask your pardon for this somewhat inordinate excusing of myself. But, I do not even go back to read what I have written. At the moment I am very tired, and I would like to finish this letter before the mail leaves. I am hurrying, and writing as well as I can. Only you are to read what I have written about Biergiell.

Turowski's luggage reached us long ago. Kamocki can send his too.

From your letters, I see that they are setting out on foot. What else can they do if there is no other way? However, if they could borrow money somewhere for the stage-coach, I can assure them that they will be able to return it after their arrival. It is especially important that Turowski come as quickly as possible. Hence, it would be better for him to ride; particularly since he must already be very tired from his journey.

I commend all of you to God and to his all-powerful mercy and I commend myself and all of us to your love in Christ the Lord and to your daily prayer.

Bogdan Jański⁵⁸⁰

Friday, June 8, 1838

P.S. Valerian embraces you. I received your letter, Charles. More about that later.

Address: Mr. Charles Królikowski, a Polish refugee in Bordeaux,
rue de Grande Cancera 29

Post-mark: Chambre des Paris, June 8, 1838;

Bordeaux, June 10, 1838.

⁵⁸⁰ The Original of this letter is preserved in CRR; Mss 8649; p. 1033/6.

[To Caesar Plater]

Letter Nr. 125

Paris, August 25, 1836

How much I must have worried you, dear M. Caesar, by my delay. I have been ill for more than a week: a kind of fatigue; a general weakness in the chest, head, and throughout the body; loss of appetite and strength.

I am leaving today to visit with Mickiewicz at Domont⁵⁸¹. After I have rested there for a while, I will write M. Caser a longer letter. (I must limit myself now to a few words)^x.

M. Caesar left here last month, on Thursday, the 11th. From then until Sunday, absolutely nothing new happened. During the next week a few letters arrived, which I should have forwarded on the following Sunday, i.e. July 28th. This is what I intended to do. However, since I myself intended to write a longer letter to M. Caesar, but unable to pull myself together enough to do so, and by reason of my unfortunate weakness, unfortunately I kept putting it off until today.⁵⁸²

No other letter arrived besides the four that I have enclosed, except one from Witwicki, thanking you for the reminder you gave him.

So far, there is no response from M. Gasparin⁵⁸³. By God's grace, everything goes well with us, that is, there is constants peace, perseverance and hope. (Karski was a little sick a few days ago)^x. Sidorowicz⁵⁸⁴ has moved here, to live with us, and we are all very happy with him.

⁵⁸¹ Adam Mickiewicz was spending the Summer months his family at Dimont, a dozen or so kilometers of Paris.

⁵⁸² Caesar Plater wished to have the mail coming to his address in Paris forwarded to the place where he was vocationing.

⁵⁸³ Director of a department in the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

⁵⁸⁴ Victor Sidorowicz, a grammar school classmate of P. Semenenko, from Kroże, entered the new community.

M. Anthony left for Sevres⁵⁸⁵.

I hope to send M. Caesar a longer soon Today, my hand is giving out, and I am earning to do end.

I will only add a bit about two business matters: Januszkiewicz and Jełowicki are insisting very strongly on printing a second edition of the translation of *Livres des pelerins*⁵⁸⁶. Since M. Caesar is undoubtedly in constant communication with Montalembert, please ask him once again whether he agrees to this second printing either with some changes in his foreword or without any foreword at all. They want to print the copy on ten sheets.

Secondly, I remind M. Caesar of one small matter that did not get settled before his departure: to raise Ziomecki's monthly wages from 15 to 20 francs, as previously decided by M. Ladislaus⁵⁸⁷ and accepted by Ziomecki. Otherwise I would have pay the difference.

Once more, I ask you to pardon my delay, and the shortness of this letter. "Misericordia omni peccato", as it is written. (I hope in God to repay the first and the second)^x.

I commend myself, with all my soul (and with all my brothers)^x to M. Caesar's kind brotherly love⁵⁸⁸.

Bogdan
Jański

^x These words are crossed out.

⁵⁸⁵ Anthony Górecki - left the community after several months residence in Paris House.

⁵⁸⁶ A French translation of *Księgi Narodu i Pielgrzymstwa Polskiego* written by Adam Mickiewicz and translated by B. Jański. In print, the translator was listed as Montalembert, in order to obtain great circulation.

⁵⁸⁷ Ladislaus Plater.

⁵⁸⁸ The rough draft of this letter is preserved in CRR Mss 8568/11; pp. 56-55.

Letter Nr. 126

Paris, October 15, 1836

This morning, when a boy came to pick up M. Caesar's key⁵⁸⁹, I was just on my way out, and I could not stop to write a few words. *Misericordia omni peccato!*

Indeed, there are no words by which I can justify my offence against M. Caesar. I would like to see M. Caesar, if not to justify myself, at least to ask his pardon. However, I dare not come without explicit permission to do so, for it may be that M. Caesar is so angry with me that he does wish to see me!

When I started out in the morning, I had urgent business, but nothing got done! In town someone detained me until now. Upon returning home, before I do anything else, I am writing this petition to you. M. Caesar's letter of the 19th of last month came at a time when I was expecting a decision⁵⁹⁰ from the Ministry about the Affairs of our House. I was especially anxious to include news of this in my response. But the decision was put off from day to day. This was a new occasion for my negligence. And, just when I received the decision, I heard as absolutely certain that M. Radziszewski had written someone that he was coming here with M. Caesar on the 5th of this month, another reason for neglect. I waited until the 5th, and then I learned from Prince Ogiński that it is not at all certain what M. Caesar will come here. I am in despair! And now, finally, M. Caesar is already in Paris. And I did not respond to his letter.

Yet, I am always the same, always a sinner and always, forever, sincere in my love for M. Caesar. I am the same, but convicted and most severely punished for my neglect of correspondence. Therefore, as I love you, I formally request permission to see you. Impatient, I wish to see you as soon as possible, perhaps even this evening.

⁵⁸⁹ Caesar Plater, in leaving for a long vacation, left key to his house with Jański.

⁵⁹⁰ B. Jański had submitted a petition to open a Polish school in Paris, and another to obtain permission for candidates to the new community applying from the provinces to reside in Paris.

Bogdan
Jański⁵⁹¹

⁵⁹¹ The rough draft has been preserved in CRR: Mss 8568; 1154-1155.

Letter Nr. 127

La Grande Trappe, November 9, 1837

Praised be Jesus Christ!

O my dearest and most beloved M. Caesar! Should you punish my former neglect in responding to you severely that now you send me no word at all about yourself? Mercy! Have mercy! Please, correct yourself as soon as possible, and write a lengthy and readable letter relating whatever pertains your history, statistics and diplomacy from the time when we parted, particularly the last, the diplomacy, or the state of the negotiations that concern the continuation of your dynasty⁵⁹².

How is my dear friend Caesar doing? Let me first embrace you for a while. Let me first rejoice in the hope that you will read these few words, so incapable of expressing all my sentiments of friendship, gratitude, and my eternal love for him in Christ Jesus. What do you hear in your heart and in your soul? I trust in God that it is peace; that despite many incidents, peace is there.

Above all, it is important to guard this peace from God. In my prayers this is what I ask for my benefactor and brother in Christ. I also ask for success in all your undertakings: first of all, in matters of the heart, in all that pertains to mother, and in what pertains to your relationship with that one lady friend, looking forward in hope to a sacred bond with her who would be your one companion in life.

Thanks be to God, I am writing this letter, begun in such a spritely manner, from La Trappe. Not knowing where to address it, I am sending it in care of John⁵⁹³. It will be short. I have not yet finished my retreat. I have not finished and settled my accounts with God. It is no wonder, then, that I am incapable of

⁵⁹² This refers to the agitation of the monarchists in favor of the "Czartoryski dynasty."

⁵⁹³ John Grotowski, a newly converted Polish Protestant.

amendment, and that I persist in my habitual sin⁵⁹⁴. Praise God that I have begun to write even a short note.

After your departure, M. Caesar, matters took such a turn that we had to move. This once again plunged me into great problems, and delayed the spiritual pilgrimage⁵⁹⁵ that I had planned for so long. I had to borrow 200 francs for unavoidable expense and for the down-payment on the rent for one quarter. I picked myself clean of what remained of the sum that you left me for my needs and for the trip. However, if you could rescue me with some little fund, you would ease my worries tremendously. For, although one of the main fruits of my retreat should be to put my business affairs in order, and, limiting my missionary occupations, to earn enough to pay for all current expenses and to pay off some more of our debts without incurring any new ones, yet, in the beginning, after my return, before I find something, it will be difficult for me to get along without outside help.

Thank God that we were able to settle everything. We are now living at Boulevard Montparnasse 25. Since I do not know for sure how long I will remain here, and then how long I will stay at Solesmes, and not sure that your letter will catch me here. Please address it to our new address in Paris. And, if I have not yet returned, they will forward it to me immediately. Our new House is also detached and has a garden. It is much smaller, but, by that reason, it is also much cheaper: 540 francs for one year. I am very pleased' with it and, when all is said and done, I am happy about the move. There are five individual rooms, plus one common room that can be used for prayers and as a refectory; with difficulty, we might fit six.

Only one new person, Kozłowski⁵⁹⁶, has joined our group. He is a very respectable and plus man. He has enrolled in the school of architecture.

⁵⁹⁴ He makes mention of his tardiness in correspondence.

⁵⁹⁵ To La Trappe, near Mortagne.

⁵⁹⁶ Joseph George Kozłowski, the novice mentioned previously.

My last letter from Peter and Jerome was mailed from Florence on the 6th of October. Undoubtedly, another has arrived Rome after my departure. The trip was very successful.

Hube has not yet returned the 150 francs he owes John, because he has not yet received a response from the Ministry to his petition for a settlement of a few hundred francs upon renouncing his salary.

I have visited Prince Czartoryski several times and have been received very well each time. He gave his firm promise to use his influence to bring Mikulski, Marszewski and Królikowski to us⁵⁹⁷.

I finally tore myself away from Paris 12 days ago, the 29th of last month. (The next day I arrived here, where I am at present)^x. Upon arrival, I was in no condition to catch up on overdue letters as I had planned beforehand and, first of all, to you, M. Caesar. I put myself entirely in God's hands and, after a long and serious preparation, I have already begun my general confession⁵⁹⁸. I finally found a confessor and spiritual director whom I love more than life, about whom I am very effusive. He is for me all that Father Lacroix was for you, M. Caesar, if not more. He is the Prior of this monastery⁵⁹⁹.

I begin my retreat this evening, and I have only a few free moments before then to take care of the most urgent correspondence. I am taking advantage of these moments to be remembered to my dear M. Caesar, and to plead with him, by all that is holy, to write as soon as possible, and for money to settle my debts (a letter relating all the important and interesting things that concern you, M. Caesar. I repeat, address that letter to: Paris, Boulevard Montparnasse 25)^x.

How unbearably sad, how aggravating to be without any news of my dear Caesar!

⁵⁹⁷ Francis Mikulski, Joseph Marszewski and Charles Królikowski came to Paris a few months later.

⁵⁹⁸ That is, a general confession of his whole life for the intention mentioned above.

⁵⁹⁹ Rev. Marnard Dugue (1799-1859) - Formerly a pastor in the neighborhood of Aigle, Prior of the Trappists at Mortagne, later founder of their new monastery.

How is, and where is, our Beatrix: Hortense Thayer?⁶⁰⁰ I was going to write to her asking for prayer, but when I got here and I didn't know where to address the letter. If you write to her, M. Caesar, send her my greetings, from the bottom of my Christian heart.

How is our dearest brother Stephen?⁶⁰¹ „Salutem ei dico in Domino Nostro Jesu Christo, in unitate Ecclesiae Sanctae Catholicae, Apostolicae Romanae.”

If you, M. Caesar, marry, even it be at the end of the earth, and do not invite me, I will come uninvited “per pedes apostolorum.” If you should, by chance, be traveling to Rome, and do not invite me to go with you, I will come uninvited “per pedes Apostolorum.”

I will finish with my scratching, once more asking for a letter, and before a letter, that you a sincere and fervent prayer for me that the merciful God would give me the necessary graces to make a very good confession and that, having confessed, I may amend my life in our Lord Jesus Christ. In his grace, may he always watch over our kindest brother and benefactor, M. Caesar.

Bogdan
Jański⁶⁰²

* This sentence is crossed. out in the letter.

⁶⁰⁰ Hortense Thayer, nee Bertrand - the wife of Amadeus Thayer, a regular benefactress of B. Jański and his work.

⁶⁰¹ Stephen Grotkowski - brother of John, the newly converted Polish Protestant. Hence the Latin sentence about his unity with the Roman Catholic Church.

⁶⁰² The rough draft of this letter is preserved in CKR; Mss 8544-8546; pp. 285-288.

Letter Nr. 128[Nevers, March 10-15, 1838]⁶⁰³**[To Caesar Plater]**

O, how ashamed I am of myself! I cover my eyes, and fall at the feet of my most gracious and kindest brother Caesar⁶⁰⁴, to ask his forgiveness once again for such shameful silence. It becomes evident that my cure at La Trappe⁶⁰⁵ was not radical enough. I must energetically set about repeating it, and even better (please God! For the approaching Feast of the Resurrection).

To have such sacred obligations, that require me to write as soon as possible, and to continue to delay for so long... to have delayed as I have! Prostrated by my unworthiness... (Dust, dung, meanest wretch, I cry out: O God, have mercy! For, behold, I perish! I appeal to your omnipotence and your grace! Then with strength and eagerness I will do your will. I will cease to torment myself unceasingly in vain and my friends so severely, by my constant weakness and failures. Yet, if it this were only my first failure in relations with M. Caesar!)^x. After God, I trust that this, my unworthiness, is already well known to you, M. Caesar, especially the exceptional difficulty I find in writing letters. And that, in spite of this, by God's grace, and his own sentiments of love for me in Christ Jesus, not only have you not refused me your brotherly love, but you have bestowed it upon me, and poured it out upon me, far beyond any merit of mine. I trust that the grace of God and your love in Christ Jesus, will gain forgiveness for me this one more time⁶⁰⁶.

(Just as in every confession, although we are aware of our constant weakness, we are obliged to make a very firm purpose of perfect amendment, and this purpose is the condition and measure of our forgiveness; so do I, with all my

⁶⁰³ The date was established on the basis of Jański's Diary and the content of the letter.

⁶⁰⁴ Fragments of this letter to C. Plater were published by Fr. Paul Smolikowski: "History of the Congregation" ... and Francis German: "Adam Celiński".

⁶⁰⁵ The retreat at La Trappe lasted from September 30, 1837, to November 25, 1937.

⁶⁰⁶ The rough draft has „my forgiveness once again”.

soul, promise to make the effort to correct myself from this negligence, in order that you may forgive me with all your soul. And I ask your support in prayer that I might indeed correct myself).

I trust, because once again, from the bottom of my soul, I acknowledge my sin, am sorry for it, and propose amendment..... Therefore, I will be forgiven once more, from the bottom of your soul. But, I beg and entreat you, M. Caesar, to pray for me, so that I would never again commit similar sins; I desire this with all my heart. With this hope of forgiveness and prayer, and without any offence to the truth, I begin with a holy Gospel greeting: "May the grace and peace of our Lord, Jesus Christ, be with us!" And now I will get down to business, First, I am not writing this letter from Paris, but from Nevers, where I have been for almost a month. I am here for the following reasons: Do you remember the Mikulski (Karski's cousin), whom we have been trying so long and so unsuccessfully to bring to Paris? After your departure, he was asking to go to Meaux. What finally emerged was that the failure of all his efforts to move was due to the veto of the prefect of the department, which was the result of his debts.

Recently, Karski contacted Mikulski's father, a man of considerable means, who promised, now and for the future, to send financial support to his son. Therefore, with time, this difficulty would be removed. In the meantime, however, a situation arose that required us to stage a coup d'etat with regard to our young man. Once before I mentioned to you, M. Caesar, the spiritual dangers to which he was subject because of women.

After all of these dangers, when he was already completely calm and grounded in good, when he was going to confession and was persevering in his determination to enter the seminary, but before we could take advantage of his good dispositions and bring him to live with us, the devil was not asleep. He launched a new and more successful attack and our Mikulski fell terribly... amid doubts, sufferings, despair, and a very sad spiritual condition! Fortunately, he admitted his guilt to us; and while to this time he was not able to extricate himself, he could, nevertheless, deplore his guilt.

There was not a moment to lose especially since, beside general Christian obligations, we had other particular obligations toward him. He is a relative of one of our best confreres, and long ago⁶⁰⁷ we entered into close communication with him, accepting a kind of familial care for him as well as responsibility before God. Consequently, I collected whatever funds I could beg or borrow, and determined to snatch him by force from the place where he was residing (Clamency, departament de la Nievre).

Having arranged with his creditors for part-payment of his debts, I planned to obtain for him from the Prefect a temporary passport to Paris; once he was there, I hoped to be able to obtain permission for him to remain. Karski could not leave Paris for this purpose because of his duties at College Stanislaus. I could not delegate this mission to any of the other brothers. Therefore, setting aside all other interests and needs in Paris, I had to take this task upon myself. Thus, I came to Clemency a month ago. The young man surrendered himself to me completely; but, with tears in his eyes, he has been pleadind that I do not abandon him, and that I definitely take him with myself to Paris.

Within a few days I managed to pay a portion of his debts; I had to oblige myself to pay another portion within a designated time. I obtained a passport from the sub-prefect which allowed him to go to the seat of the department and thus we came to Nevers. Through the director of the seminary, to whom I had been recommended, I got to see the Prefect. The latter, despite a most favorable acceptance of my presentation, states that in no way, even for a few days, can he issue a passport to Paris without recourse to the Minister.

Should I write such a petition and then wait? I think it would be better to write a petition immediately for a “permisto sejour”⁶⁰⁸! This is what I did. I sent it in care of Prince Adam Czartoryski⁶⁰⁹. As for myself, I wanted to return to Paris. But my poor Mikulski is all tears, petitions, desperation... He doesn’t want to let me go! Thinking that a resolution would come within 10 days, especially since the Prefect had added his own strong recommendation. Fearing that my pupil who

⁶⁰⁷ That is, from the half of 1836.

⁶⁰⁸ Permission for residence.

⁶⁰⁹ February 10, 1838

had only recently been in the devil's power, would return to his former place and to sin after my departure and then everything would be lost, I remained.

Meanwhile, waiting from day to day, three weeks have passed and I still do not have the resolution. However, I have decided not to abandon Mikulski under any circumstances and to take him to Paris with me. He is a young man, 23 years old, capable, with good intentions; he could amount to something. Moreover, it is not just a case of his earthly future, but of the whole of eternity.

That is why I came, and that is why I am still in Nevers. (In parentheses: I am not completely wasting my time here. I till the soil, as far as I can. I sow the seed, whether on good earth, or on sand... It may take hold somewhere! I have discovered a few outstanding young men, for example, Constantine Machwić, Xavier Potocki and John Genit, all three from Lithuania).

And now I come to the general report. The first bit of news, since my last letter from La Trappe, is sad: Adam Celiński died of consumption, finishing his holy life in Montpellier on December 8th, 1837, on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Most Holy Virgin. He was our brother, and one of the oldest of my companions in our Community of Christian life. From among our young people, he was most closely united with me in heart, sympathy and in boundless trust, so attached to me, that often I was ashamed to show anyone the letters, with the outpouring of feeling, that I received from him.

Previously I mentioned to you, M. Caesar, the intensely poetic nature of his love for his beloved, consummated in Holy Communion. That love became a flame which, with time, enveloped Celiński's whole soul; yet, worthy of that sacred moment of its inception, it enveloped it in such a way as to become the element of an ever more fervent piety. Far from hindering, it gave rise to an increasingly loftier and more perfect love for God and the things of eternity. Then, exerted to the highest degree, it became for the infatuated lover the ideal of all happiness on earth... What does he do then? He chooses the better portion! He offers all of this happiness to God; and, by the special and extraordinary grace of God, he offers himself for the service of God. He resolves to become a priest.

Several months before his death, he wrote to me about this, seeking advice about how to realize his resolution. I counselled perseverance, patience, complete surrender to God, and, above all, as a first obligation, to take care of his health by complete obedience to the advice of his doctor. He did all this. But the infection spread quickly, until it reached its final stages.

From Lunel, Celiński was taken to the hospital of Saint-Eloi at Montpellier, where our brother, Doctor Terlecki, cared for him conscientiously. However, all of his efforts were in vain. The all-wise God in his mercy had determined to reward the holiness of our brother, and, in the midst of the purest exultations and sacrifices, took him to his glory.

This news reached me at Solesmes. I had the good fortune to approach the Table of the Lord that very day. After Holy Communion, I read the letter with its sad news. Kneeling down, and raising my mind and heart to God, without thinking, and as it were prodded by some unseen force, I prayed, but first, that Adam would intercede for me and for all of us... and only then, upon reflection and through obligation, for his soul.

An extraordinary thing: Celiński's confessor from Lunel, an intelligent, pious and most worthy priest, was traveling to Rome shortly after. There he visited our brothers, and recounted many details of the last years and the death of Celiński: his fervent piety, his strong and humble faith. With what desire and how often he received the Sacraments. He was a source of edification for the whole town, and for him, his confessor, especially right before his death. His extreme fasting and sleeping on the bare ground must have contributed to his death. The citizens of Lunel who knew Adam better, propose to transfer his body from Montpellier. After all this, when our clerics knelt to pray, they also, unwittingly, first prayed to Adam, and then only prayed for him.

God grant that these premonitions may be true, since everything we have heard speaks for them.

Our brother Adam, be our mediator and envoy to the Almighty! Eternal peace grant to his soul, O Lord! And may eternal light shine upon him⁶¹⁰.

Celiński left behind much poetry, a great part of which is in my hands⁶¹¹. At home, among the young people of Volhynia, it was acknowledged that he possessed outstanding talent. I propose to print a selection of his poems, and some of his former friends and colleagues wish to contribute to this collection.

I move on to the activities of those of us who remain on trial and, please God, to complete all of our penance in this vale of tears. From heaven to dirt, from Celiński to this knave who is the cause of so much distress, and who so abuses the kindness of our dearest M. Caesar, to M. Jański.

After I wrote to you, M. Caesar, I remained at La Grande Trappe until the end of November. Then I went to Solesmes where, having received a very friendly welcome from Fr. Gueranger, I remained until Christmas... to await the conclusion of the matter, which I will mention later, and to allow the feelings and thoughts with which God had inspired me, unworthy though I am, in the course of my retreat, to seep down into the fabric of my soul and begin to develop in my life, if only ideally at first, before returning to dryness when engulfed in problems and business.

Praise, praise and endless thanks! Thanks to the Lord! I left renewed in Christian strength, light and hope. I was prepared for every need, for the difficult and dangerous navigation in this world. The whole time spent beneath the roofs of the two monasteries, together with some of the moments in our House, left me with a sensation of the greatest happiness and the purest delights I have ever known, going back all the way to the era of childhood piety. It was fortunate that I made this effort to strengthen myself spiritually, for, on my return to Paris, I encountered bitter setbacks, worse than ever before, which I could not have borne and endured without some serious loss.

First, all the vexation of my financial concerns converged at the beginning of the year, and almost crushed me: lawsuits were threatened, the auction of our

⁶¹⁰ Adam Celiński was the first candidate for the Priesthood from among the followers of B. Jański.

⁶¹¹ He had received them from A. Jelowicki, who promised to print them.

goods, complete loss of credit, and worse perhaps. I counted on the patience of my creditors; but it had been used up with time and with the long empty waiting for payment^x.

To begin, after my departure, only Sidorowicz, Ziomecki, Kozłowski and Fr. Dłuski remained in the House. In my absence, the spirit of unity, perseverance, patience and hope had fallen so low, that everything became unsettled. Fr. Dłuski is basically a very kind-hearted and plus man, but he can be an eccentric person to live with, an impatient grouch. After my departure (he wanted to dictate to the others)^x he became unbearable to everyone (except the quiet and easy-going Kozłowski). (Ziomecki was living among us only on a conditional basis. He was thinking of settling down by himself in the future, and felt no need for maintaining unity among the brothers, or for the existence of the House)^x. Ziomecki is the best to live with persons he trusts and with whom he has a personal friendship; but with others, and in particular with those who remained with him, he is the most distant. Sidorowicz is good boy; but, like a child, he must still be watched for a time and needs moral support. Otherwise, he lacks restraint. Kozłowski is new and neutral.

In such a group, they soon forgot about my advice, requests and arrangements. All common life disappeared among them; everyone went his own way. And, having no strong attraction for the others, or sense of responsibility to the whole, each of them would have gone his own way, following his own views, which he was already devising and shaping within himself. Karski did not have a strong enough influence on any of them to remedy the evil. Moreover, they were not completely open in confiding their thoughts to him. Hube, locked in the depths of his own pious soul, deplored the situation, without losing peace or hope. Rettel returned from his visits to the various Polish depots after I left. But he was distracted in spirit after his withdrawal from College Stanislaus⁶¹², and further distracted by living among the depots, and so he was not disposed to enter into, or even to tolerate the companionship of others. He had given up living any kind of

⁶¹² Leonard Rettel withdrew from the seminary, and wanted to become a lay person working with the new community.

regular life. For some time now, he had even given up confession! Moreover, since he was not drawing a salary, he found in the house no assistance other than a place to live. This provided him with the occasion and pretext to reject every obligation to us. One of his colleagues⁶¹³ was delighted to offer him room and board in return for a little work, and so he moved out. The rumor soon spread about that all of our relationships were being dissolved.

I arrived. Things were bad! One person after another came to tell me that since the inner arrangement among us was failing instead of developing as I promised... new people were supposed to enter, but they were not entering... and the older ones, like Rettel, were leaving etc. etc... that we will not survive. We have neither the personnel nor the means to carry on our work. And everyone was telling me about his personal plans. Moreover, there was still another reason for all of this despondency, about which I will speak immediately: My long-time creditors⁶¹⁴ began to bother me even before I left. In my absence, before a new year began, they became insolent in their demands; and, in the end, they became so unmerciful in their threats that, for the weak in spirit, living any longer with me must, indeed, have become unbearable.

Dearest M. Caesar, without any cover-up I am revealing all of the spiritual misery through which we passed; for in reference to you I feel this as an obligation and as something my heart needs. Thank God, in these difficult circumstances I did not lose confidence in God even for a moment; neither did I lose faith in the necessity and the possibility of remedying the evil which could create grave scandal for others and injure our own people. Even though, in any case, only a temporary suspension of our projects would have ensued. However, even this danger is no longer present. To sum up the conclusion of this matter in a word: after this severe test of our spirit and our fragile spiritual union, we have emerged from the trial stronger spiritually than we ever were before. God's mercy has repaired everything, has infused new life into everyone, and has blessed my efforts exceedingly. One after the other, they were persuaded to accept our

⁶¹³ Luis Nabelak a member of Polish Democratic Society.

⁶¹⁴ The owners of the home on Notre Dame des Champs were demanding expensive compensation for what they claimed as damage to the rooms.

original goals and be imbued with their original feelings. They have returned to a most regular observance of their common spiritual obligations, and to their former trust, unity and hope. Sidorowicz selected my confessor chosen for me by my director in La Trappe, a certain Pr. Badiche from Notre-Dame, and has dedicated himself completely to helping me in our efforts at restoration. He is now my most fervent companion.

For many reasons, with people in mind, I had to make a special effort to rescue Rettel from his great spiritual collapse and his split with us. Slowly we regained the level of our former trust in one another. He listened to my advice, and accepted the idea of going to make a retreat at La Trappe under my director⁶¹⁵. I managed to beg enough money for him to make the trip, M. Caesar contributed by way of the 20 francs which I took from M. Ladislaus. He went. He stayed there for almost a month and returned edified, renewed in the best of dispositions. He came to live with us one again, gave up all of his former companions, and has accepted the strictest and absolute conditions for a life in common with us. He is doing very well at present. Recently, after my departure for Nevers, he was offered a position to teach German outside Paris: his living, with all conveniences, and 1,000 francs a year. He replied that he cannot decide without my permission. He then wrote to me, that in view of our present situation, and the need for persons who are “devoues”, he would like to remain with us. I decided that he should remain.

Other changes among us: I accepted Lewicki⁶¹⁶ as a brother-cook; he is the older, pious man who was receiving an alms from you, M. Caesar. Right now he is ill, in the hospice de malades. Fr. Dłuski left for Aix, to become a Capuchin; but he was not accepted, because he is too old for the novitiate. A few days ago he wrote to me, sorry that he left us, and asking for advice as to where he should settle. If we are able to establish anything for our people outside Paris⁶¹⁷ soon, as I hope, I will take him into the first group, Ziomecki obtained a position at College Stanislaus as master of studies, even though he has no intention of becoming a

⁶¹⁵ That is, Fr. B. Dugue, spiritual director and confessor.

⁶¹⁶ Stanislaus Lewicki.

⁶¹⁷ B. Jański planned to establish other Houses outside Paris.

priest. He is taking the examination to become a professor of mathematics in one of the colleges outside Paris. Siennicki⁶¹⁸ who, even before M. Caesar's departure, left us (due to eccentricity and spiritual decline) in order to be close to his studio, now wants to return and is waiting for me to call him. He has settled down after escapades and has made notable progress spiritually. Turowski will enter the seminary at College Stanislaus. He has been accepted, but will live with us until vocation time. On the basis of the affidavit from College Stanislaus, he obtained permission to come to Paris. Terlecki took his third doctorate in medicine at Montpellier; he previously passed the examinations in Wilno and Cracow, and came to Paris with a temporary passport. He is living with us and there is hope that will remain in Paris. He is a very worthy and very pious man who offers the greatest hopes. And, finally, I am bringing Mikulski with me. Thank God. Therefore, everything is well with us again and we hope in God that things will continue to be increasingly better.

But, before I write about what remains to be done, I return to the second kind of troubles, from which, in particular, I have not escaped, but apparently more, because of my fault and not through any lack of God's mercy. However, once again I throw myself into God's merciful embrace seeking a very special grace, so that my confession might arouse M. Caesar's heart to pity rather than to just indignation for my repeated disastrous incompetence in financial matters which is due primarily to a thus far unconquered sluggishness in correspondence. O God! how difficult it is to dig oneself out of the mud in which one has lived for so many years, for so much of which I am responsible within and outside myself!

I already mentioned the new attacks on me by creditors. I was counting more on their patience. Seeing me "etabli" for the past few years, and paying such considerable "loger" without entering into where or how, impatient as a result of long and empty waiting, they began an intense attack on me. In the end, they declared that they refuse to wait any longer, carrying my debt over from year to year. From whatever source I choose, I must pay them at the beginning of the new

⁶¹⁸ Francis Siennicki an artist, who for a short time was a novice at the House in Paris; the second attempt did not work out either.

year. It is understood that, if I do not pay them, they will take me to court and, by virtue of the promissory note, perhaps even worse.

I calculated that, to settle their demands and to provide some reassurance for ourselves for a while, I needed all of 1,500 francs! It occurred to me to try to obtain this sum from one of my closest former friends and colleagues. He had returned to Poland and is now living in very prosperous circumstances⁶¹⁹. Our relationship had been such that, if he had the money, and I was sure of this from his own letters, in no way could he refuse me. And so, I wrote a letter which I was sure would reach him, for all of my other letters had, he is in Cracow, and I felt very sure that it would have good results. I also commissioned him to collect a number of small sums that were owed to me by former friends and colleagues from many years back. I did not want to bother you, M. Caesar, with these problems. I planned to inform you after the matter was completed. The new year was the deadline for his response, and I waited for his letter. I came, but... a very strange encumbrance in financial affairs! ...which, none-the-less, the character and the feelings of the man for me force me to believe. He had formerly lived in Paris and had married a Frenchwoman who had subdued him to the point where the entire “gouvernement temporel” of the family belongs absolutely to her. Hence, he himself cannot authorize any expense over and beyond his budget for tobacco or for bumming, without a stubborn battle and exposure to endless nagging! In a word, my friend is walking around in skirts and is the most enslaved of slaves, which I didn't know.

At any rate, “la voici brise ma derniere planche du salut”. I thanked God for this sad reminder and for his just punishment of my thoughtless confidence and dangerous trust in the flimsiest of plans, while surrounded by dangers threatening to ruin my reputation completely and yet, living among people, and wishing to influence them, one cannot discount human respect. What could I do? Beg God for mercy, and pray for help, though I did not know from where I could expect it for I was ashamed to write to you, M. Caesar, having experienced so

⁶¹⁹ He is speaking here of Louis Królikowski.

much kindness from him already, and aware of the deficit in the treasury that was the result of charitable gifts.

What could I do? I had to be resigned and humble, at the least avoiding the loss of interior spiritual peace, and ready for cross merited by minor past offences. Moreover, I had to find some ways of making money immediately. I was to repay my creditors in instalments. I confided in Witwicki, telling him of my position, with all the details. His advice confirmed me in my feelings and resolution. That is, he confirmed me in humility, in the need for petitions, and new agreements with easier creditors; with the more difficult creditors I will postpone a final settlement for as long as I can. Meanwhile, I have taken on the task of writing articles for one of the Catholic periodicals⁶²⁰ and I accepted and began giving lessons to one pupil at 20 sous an hour. N.B. With all of this, I am constantly involved in the work of repairing the spiritual condition of the brothers.

Then, this week (I say this in confidence. No one is to read this, as well as the entire letter, except you, M. Caesar) in which at the very explicit and insistent command of my confessor, trembling and with the sense of my own unworthiness, for the first time in my life I experienced the inexpressible happiness of receiving Holy Communion daily. On the last day, Saturday, I received M. Caesar's letter with help, 100 percent plus 100 percent (I was seeking 1,500, and God gives 3,000!).

From whom? From a person who loves God. Through whom? Through you, M. Caesar, my dearest brother and benefactor in Christ the Lord. God is almighty, and his mercy is without end!⁶²¹

^x This fragment is deleted in the autograph.

⁶²⁰ "*L'Universite Catholique*"

⁶²¹ The letter is without conclusion. The rough draft is preserved in CRR: Mss 8637a; pp. 229-238.

Letter Nr. 129

Nevers, April 16, 1838

[To Caesar Plater]

O Lord, have mercy on me a sinner!

Dear M. Caesar, my dearest brother and benefactor in Christ the Lord! It is *more than a month* since I finally began this letter and wrote what precedes it. That was about the 10th or the 15th of March. But, once again I was beset by a kind of weakness; a kind of physical and moral languor fell upon me. And thinking each day, and wishing each day to continue writing to you, M. Caesar, I did not have strength enough to set down one single word! I cannot express or describe this unfortunate state, in which I was apparently still am, a state which I experienced, at least in part on previous occasions, since I myself cannot understand it.

It comes upon me as a feeling of great fatigue, discontent with myself, considering myself incapable of any activity, and considering all activity as useless. I feel a desire, a passion that engulfs my whole soul: a desire for penance, for tearing myself away from the world completely, breaking all relationships, going off alone to live a more severe life in prayer and mortification. It involves a delight in contemplation of spiritual things and a constant examination of conscience concerning my past life. This is accompanied by a sense of weakness throughout the body, incapacity for any movement, a lack of desire even to speak (and, at the same time, a lack of resistance to the demands of others as to the manner of passing the time)^x.

O Great God! Mercy! Mercy! M. Caesar, mercy! The first part of my letter should convince M. Caesar that I had the intention to write a detailed report. And there is till very, very much for me to write: about Rome, about the emigration, and about a variety of individual matters. But, unfortunately, I cannot accomplish on this occasion what I proposed to do. I must limit myself to a simple dictation of the most important matters. But necessarily, having sat down and begun so

effectively that I have already written a dozen or more lines, I do not plan to rise or stop, until, with God's help, I finish this letter and take it immediately to post-office.

First, and most important, from my present condition and the examination of my life over a period of time as well as my future obligations, it is evident that I am faced with an invincible need to embark upon a stricter spiritual life. Why should I fool myself? In spite of our thoughts, intentions and religious practices, in our habits and manners we remain slaves of the paganized world. Therefore, our greatest responsibility is to throw off this yoke of bondage.

If I look at the way I have lived and am living, I see that I am constantly open to failure in sentiments of humility, pure love for God and neighbor, and the detachment of my heart from all temporal goods. Therefore, I should not live this way any longer. I want to begin to live my life on a higher Christian note, clearly at war with the world, the flesh and the devil. In the ages of piety, when all social education and numerous institutions strove to form and perfect Christian morals, it was easier.

Having spent my whole youth on worldly illusions and errors, today, as a Christian, I feel a constant need and duty, to pass through the school of Christian life, to strengthen myself in truth and train myself in its practice, without any regard for human respect. After my conversion, undoubtedly with the best of intentions, but perhaps less prudently, I threw myself into the work of teaching, converting others. Yet, now I see that I myself need schooling in the Christian life. What we have been doing until now has been too worldly. There is a need to remove ourselves far from this world, and go straight to God.

My dearest brother in Christ the Lord! Perhaps what I write will seem unintelligible, strange and unexpected to you, M. Caesar. I have practically lost the gift of speech at this time, and cannot clearly and properly set dawn and express this one great the feeling that comes over me. In my mind, this resolution is supported by very weighty, somewhat philosophical reasons. But, it would take too long to discuss these and that leaves only the heart. In the long run, these are things you do and not write about before-hand. (Writing about them before-hand,

even if so obscurely, I already expose myself and the plans, on which at present my whole love is focused, to danger).

In all these matters I have set myself an ultimatum: Return to Paris. Then, leave it as soon as possible and proceed, not to another town, but to some primitive village close to a monastery and remain there for a length of time in prayer, fasting, mortification, hard work and the study of spiritual matters, until God calls me somewhere else. I am convinced that I would not in the least be abandoning what we have tried to do until now. In fact, I would be contributing most effectively to that work.

Otherwise, remaining in my present state, I would be exposing myself to ruin and others to futility. My dear M. Caesar! You are the first one to whom I am revealing my plans. I reveal them under the seal of confessional secrecy, placing upon your conscience the obligation of absolute secrecy. I beg and entreat you not to show this letter to anyone or, God forbid, mention it to anyone in Paris.

Although this life plan calls for removing oneself from the world completely and for total dedication to spiritual exercises, I would like to do this, at least I myself. Undoubtedly, some of the brothers would like to accompany me. In that case, we would reach a suitable agreement among ourselves and accept a very rigorous rule. Nevertheless, I would like to see some form of community continue in Paris and I would not leave without making sure provision for this. I think that Terlecki will be very helpful to me in this regard. Before establishing this new foundation. I would also realize (if our means permit) some kind of center for our people outside Paris. I am counting primarily on Charles Królikowski to accomplish this.

There's no way out of it! When the Lord calls and prepares the way, it is difficult to resist his graces! I am hoping that the disturbances that have plagued me most in the recent past will come to an end this year and that this very miserable and dangerous sort of life, half spiritual and half worldly, will also cease.

O God, in your mercy, do not abandon me, either in my determination to serve you, or in that surer, straighter and more perfect way to which you call me.

I insert here a piece of news which, I expect, will also cheer dear brother Caesar. When I received it, I was confirmed in the hopes that my situation would soon become disentangled, brighter and more stable. I finally received some information from my wife, or rather about her. She is doing very well spiritually. What was most important to me, and what gave me the greatest joy in this news was that she was even preparing to make a pilgrimage to Częstochowa. She is ready to accept whatever I propose to her, ready for any sacrifice. From my side, then, in what is important to me and in which all my plans for the future were tied up, there is hope of peace and of a happy ending...!

My financial affairs were creating such a hindrance to my spiritual plans, that, not being able to settle them before-hand, I might have decided today to move in the direction my conscience bids me go, had it not been for the unexpected help from God delivered to me through the hands of M. Caesar.

Would it be possible for you, M. Caesar, to reveal who this person is who manifest such great love for God and such mercy for unworthy me? I pray daily for this person, who, M. Caesar tells me, has offered 3,000 francs to rescue me from my financial difficulties. You know well the extent to which love binds me to all of my confreres and to all of our undertakings. I am, as it were, incarnate in them: What I do for them, I do for myself and whatever I have is theirs. (Therefore, if the greater part of this fund will have to be spent in paying my debts...) ^x. It is my wish and I make the plea that M. Caesar permit this fund to be used according to the intention of the donor: that is primarily to pay my debts. I trust that you will not consider this as a separation of my own personal interests from the interests that we have in common. The most pressing necessities must be taken care of first! I told you about the problems I face at the beginning of the new year, for which I need 1,500 francs. Since that time, by the necessary expenses incurred during my journey and the dead-lines which I accepted for Mikulski which he will repay to our community later, the total of most necessary payments has increased even further, considerably.

Have mercy, M. Caesar! Send help as soon as you can to meet these expenses! Before leaving Paris, and as far as possible, it would be good to put my

affairs in order. There will also be some small expenses wherever it is that I will go. I will give you a very strict account, as in confession, of money used if I should ask for and need advice.

Therefore, M. Caesar, after you have deducted enough to cover the advances paid out to me in the past, if you should need the money, please send me as much as you can today, to satisfy my most urgent needs. In a word, I am asking you in reference to the sum of money given for the payment of my debts, to permit me to use it according to that intention. For, having achieved peace and union by the payment of my debts, I will thank God mightily for my unknown benefactor and for one who is known to me, my dearest M. Caesar! I cannot, and I ought not, ask anything else today. My obligations to my creditors and the seriousness of my situation bid me to make this most solemn and sincere request.

As for the rest of the funds, I present these needs to you even before the fact: If God blesses my plans, I expect that you will come to love our House in the desert even more than the House in Paris. Because one of the main goals of the members will be mortification the amount needed for our livelihood and upkeep will be small. But the initial establishment will cost something and then we will need books for religious instruction; in the beginning we will discontinue all other instructions there. M. Caesar, you will love this foundation, for it is possible that, with time, it will become for many of our young people who are most seriously troubled morally, asking of stern novitiate preparing for further work. By means of prayer and penance it will be a sign, summoning all the erring and suffering in our fatherland etc. etc. But these are still only plans. However, if you do not reject my main idea. I do not expect that you will; after all, it fits into the category of our former projects for those outside Paris, and for the depots; You may allow certum quantum to be set aside for its realization. Otherwise, after paying my debts, the only thing to do would be to use some portion of the 3,000 francs for this project. And since I would like to begin to implement it without delay, today I am really unable to do anything else, I would ask you to send the entire 3,000 francs, after deducting the money advanced to me, if your financial condition demands this.

The second matter, which will require putting some funds aside, is the ultimate establishment, in one of the towns outside Paris, of something like our House in Paris. This will require several hundred francs. As to the hospital, the school for children etc., realistically, if these projects are to succeed, I would have to train and form myself, as well as companions and co-workers. And I am convinced that I cannot do this now except in my projected House of Penance and School for the Practice of a Strict Christian Life. With this in mind, today I am laying particular stress on my project of removing myself from Paris.

A third: Rome. The news has already reached M. Caesar. I am sure it has. Thanks, thanks God, things are going very well for our confreres. They continue to make new contacts and enjoy the best of reputations. They have even been approached to think about establishing a House there, a kind of Polish College, in which, naturally, no one else would reside except those preparing for the Priesthood. Hence the most important news, there is question of establishing a House in Rome. Funds must be gathered for this purpose, as well as to pay for the journey of those who would come there. Thus, during the next vacation, Karski and Turowski should be sent there. To pay for their trip, we would need about 1,000 francs. And maybe we can find a third person to go them? This would require another few hundred. Apparently, because his father is in Paris, Hube will not be able to go at this time.

N.B. There is hope that they will obtain a place in Rome, an abandoned convent, free. But funds must be set aside for their upkeep. Kajsiewicz and Semenenko ought to leave the positions they occupy as masters of study as soon as possible; for it is a harm that cannot be undone that such capable people cannot dedicate their time to studies, and practically waste it on their work with children. But, funds must be set aside for their upkeep, at least, it would seem, 50 francs a month. It would be well to do this immediately, as soon as possible. And so we are confronted with a new mass of needs and expenses, which our brotherly love and the pious zeal of M. Caesar must consider. This third category of needs is of greater importance.

O why, O why did I keep silent so long when there were such important matters to communicate to you, M. Caesar? Unfortunately, I myself do not understand this incapacity of mine. May our dear Caesar have mercy! Let him not oppose the one means of curing it, as I see it, by my retreat from Paris and from the world to begin a penitential life. Only in this way will I ever become more worthy to fulfill the hopes which your kind goodness and friendship for me have placed in me.

M. Caesar, do not spare fervent sighs for me and prayers for perseverance in this plan, for the conception of which unworthy one pours out tears of gratitude on the Fatherly bosom of the Lord of Mercy.

One more essential matter. My departure from Paris will not, in the least, break up the unity that is necessary among all of us. From Rome, and from the brothers in the depots, I continue to receive assurances of trust and obedience, so emphatic as to leave no doubt that all unanimously would accept whatever arrangement among us I would communicate to them at that time. I have the conviction and the hope that the realization of my project will not disturb, but will rather confirm and strengthen the bonds of our community in Christ the Lord.

Next, I have not yet mentioned to M. Caesar that it is already Easter Monday, and I am still in Nevers! This letter will explain why I have stayed with Mikulski. I waited and waited for permission because it was promised most solemnly.

M. Ladislaus⁶²² even reported that it had already been issued and that it would come any day. Meanwhile, just ten days ago the Minister's reply came: request rejected! I wanted to leave immediately, but lacked the means⁶²³. And so, once again I waited for funds. Against my desire, but because it was absolutely necessary, counting on the promises of M. Ladislaus, taking Mikulski with me without permission. Dear God! Again there will be trouble... I leave tomorrow.

⁶²² That is, Ladislaus Plater, Caesar's brother.

⁶²³ That is, he had no money.

A few days ago your letter of March 17th was sent to me from Paris. O God! Grant an eternal reward to you, M. Caesar, for remembering me, and for your tender brotherly love.

I hope to respond later concerning smaller matters and details that refer to individual persons.

As to Chodkiewicz,⁶²⁴ Fr. Auge is no longer the director of College Stanislaus; he resigned because of age. He may even discontinue his residence there. Our dear. Fr. Buguet has replaced him.

In the future, it would be better to send money for Chodkiewicz in his name and in his care.

I commend myself to the most gracious heart and prayer of my dearest brother Caesar. I will await a very quick response and transfer of funds. I urgently need to receive them by Mai 1. Mercy, M. Caesar! Do not imitate my bad example; do not delay. Because of the accumulation of so many important needs which I included, a smaller sum would not suffice.

If possible, I would ask that funds be sent not through M. Ladislaus or through some other friend, but directly, by a bank voucher.

My fondest greetings to brother Grotkowski. If you will be writing to Mrs. Hortense Thayer, give her my regards. Also, give my respect „les plus respectueux” to mademoiselle Stephanie Małachowska.

A reminder of my address in Paris: Boulevard Montparnasse 25.

Once again, I commend myself to your fraternal love and prayers M. Caesar, asking kind consideration for my unworthy person and for my sufferings and the plans which I revealed to you.

O Almighty God, pour out your most abundant graces on my most gracious brother and benefactor!

Bogdan Jański⁶²⁵

x/. The words in parentheses are crossed out.

⁶²⁴ Włodimir Chodkiewicz expected to receive a considerable amount of money from Poland, and promised to loan B. Jański.

⁶²⁵ This letter is preserved in CRR: Mss 8637a; pp.994-997.

Letter Nr. 130

Paris, November 27, 1838
rue Notre Dame des Champs 31 bis⁶²⁶

[To Caesar Plater]

Most gracious and beloved brother and benefactor!

Seven months have passed since my last letter (sent from Nevers), and I am still in Paris, still following my old life style, still involved in constant troubles, disorder and suffering.

O God, Now, at last, have mercy on my misery!

For seven months I have write nothing to you, M. Caesar. I presume that I do not have to assure you that this was not the result of coldness or forgetfulness; it follows, rather, from my former life style and my longstanding weakness. Indeed, before I change that life style for another and for so long much desired, I must correct myself, at least in this particular area which is truly very important and stop being so sluggish in correspondence, at least wit you. For my dearest brother and benefactor will not believe how much I suffered, or how extremely painful was the anxiety I experienced over the period of those several days in which we received no news from you. Then I understood why, so frequently and for such long periods of time, it was possible for me not to write to you before, because, either by visiting M. Ladislaus, or by going to the home of Prince Ogiński, I could always gather the desired information. But now, when I could no longer obtain information from these sources, and I so desired to hear what's new, I had the most urgent need to maintain constant and direct correspondence with my dearest brother Caesar.

And so, although they do not constitute a proper letter or full report, I determined to send these little notes, if only to receive in return frequent news from you. First, then, I beg and entreat you, in the Name of Christ the Lord, to

⁶²⁶ The address to the new House in Paris.

forgive my fault of sluggishness and to write to me at last most graciously. For God has given you a greater facility in writing than he gave to me.

I do not trust myself at all, especially when it comes to letter writing. However, I expect everything from the mercy of God. Perturbed by and convinced of my unworthiness, I plead with M. Caesar at allow me in case of necessity and if I feel that I am unable to write, to use one of the brothers as my secretary, e.g. Kranas or Sidorowicz, in order to maintain a constant and very frequent correspondence.

Naturally, in a case like that, I will not write through them what is just between the two of us, and I will try very hard not require their assistance.

I am implementing this resolution now, as I write this miserable prattle. May M. Caesar's fraternal kindness forgive the lack of coherence and order.⁶²⁷

⁶²⁷ The letter lacks a conclusion. The rough draft has been preserved in CRR: Mss 8568/11; pp. 59-60.

Letter Nr. 131

Paris, September 9, 1837

[To W. Zamoyski]

After receiving the funds⁶²⁸ bestowed on us by Your Honor, our young priests set out immediately on Wednesday morning⁶²⁹, leaving me with the responsibility of communicating to our most generous Prince and to Your Honor, the Count, their most solemn and sincere thanks for such generous and helpful assistance⁶³⁰. I will satisfy their wishes in person, immediately after my return from Amiens⁶³¹, where I am going tomorrow, and where I will stay for a few days. Besides offering thanks, I personally feel an urgent need and obligation to ask pardon and to make a solemn apology for slight misunderstandings, as well as for troubling Your Honor and the Prince himself with money matters. Any misunderstanding in this matter is my fault.

First: M. Plater had left the promised sum of money for me before my last trip; but, due to inadequate instructions of which I had the duty to seek clarification and specification, the one to whom he left the money said nothing to me about it and I did not know that it was left in his care.

Second: As to the amount of money presented by myself and Mickiewicz, we both forgot to explain this by providing the real reason, worked out with M. Plater, for raising the sum beyond the bare cost of the journey, that is, the need to pay some of the more pressing debts which they were leaving behind previous years. As a result, it was natural for Your Honor, the Count, to consider that the sum had been exaggerated by reason of a too friendly attitude on our part.

Third: As soon as M. Plater returned, he gave me, and urged me to deliver, the 300 francs which had been advanced by Your Honor. Hindered by various occupations, I was unable to do this until today. But, since I did not find Your

⁶²⁸ Ladislaus Zamoyski had loaned 600 francs for the trip of the two clerics to Rome.

⁶²⁹ P. Semenenko and J. Kajsiewicz left Paris on September 6, 1837.

⁶³⁰ Help in obtaining passports and visas, and the loan.

⁶³¹ B. Jański and A. Mickiewicz were soon to make a pilgrimage to Saint-Acheul, near Amiens.

Honor at home, I left the money with Mr. Błotnicki. Therefore, if there is any guilt to be assessed in this matter, I am to blame. And withal, it is my responsibility to ask, and I am asking, humbly for your gracious forgiveness. “Misericordia omni peccato!”.

Bogdan Jański

Saturday, September 9

P.S. For accuracy’s sake, and as the steward says in “Pan Tadeusz”: “pro publico bono”, I might add “peccato reparato”. Otherwise I doubt whether Your Honor, the Count, would always want to be so gracious and grant his pardon⁶³².

⁶³² A copy of the letter has been preserved in Adam Mickiewicz Museum in Paris: Mss 779/11.

Letter Nr. 132

Paris, August 31, 1838

[To W. Zamoyski]

I am finally availing myself of Your, the Count's gracious promise to obtain passport for Hube and Duński. All the other arrangements for their trip to Rome are already completed as of today. (They will be ready to leave within a few days)^x. Their departure now hinges solely on their passports and it seemed to me that it would be better not to apply for these before time.

In our entire project now, we depend entirely on the generosity of Your Honor, the Count, and we turn to him with most trusting confidence.

Information concerning our two legates to be inserted in their passports: "Elevei en theologie" (you can add "de Seminaire", or: du College Stanislaus de Paris). Hube's name is Joseph; Duński' is Edward. Hube's surname remains the same. With regard to Duński, there is always a slight difficulty: What other name should he take? If Your Honor, the Count, still wishes him to take the name on his coat of arms, he cannot remember it⁶³³, and from descriptions of it, nothing is definite. It would seem to be something like Pomian; but it might be well to accept the name Lucas, which I had the honor to suggest to the Count once before because, in fact, this Duński's second Christian name and therefore, one can truthfully testify that it belongs to him, and also because it has the appearance of a non-Polish family name, foreign. Your Honor, the Count, then, can chose which name it would be better to select for him.

Before his departure, Your Honor assured me that within a week, a peu pres, from the time I mail my letter, we can hope to receive the passports. And everything is so arranged that in that time our travelers will be completely ready to leave on their journey. Therefore, I presume spoiled by Your Honor's gracious

⁶³³ In school documents, E. Duński is mentioned as a citizen of Ciechanowo, the son of the owner of a home and plot of land.

kindness, to specify my request, and to ask that all necessary steps to speed this matter be taken.

(It worked out that, when Your Honor, the Count was last in Paris, I could not visit Your Honor)^x. Apologizing most solemnly for my excessive presumption, I take the occasion to beg Your Honor to accept renewed assurances of our keenest gratitude and most profound respect.

Just yesterday I heard from Semenenko and Kajsiewicz⁶³⁴. Nothing new or important. They are not discouraged; instead, their hope increases, although the situation continues to remain the same. For the time-being, they are not receiving the slightest protection, either officially or semi-officially⁶³⁵. But, they continue to do well, and their reputation continues to get better.

Your Honor the Count's devoted and most humble servant,

Bogdan Jański

Paris, August 1838

Boulevard Montparnasse 25

P. S. Just in case, a letter of recommendation from Your Honor to the local nuncio⁶³⁶ might prove very helpful. If sending such a letter would create no difficulties for you most humbly we ask you to do so.

Address: Monsieur le Comte

Ladislaus Zamoyski⁶³⁷.

^xThese words are crossed out.

⁶³⁴ The first Brothers in Rome wrote to their Elder Brother very frequently.

⁶³⁵ The Secretariat of State was always fearful of supporting Polish emigrants in Rome. However, the Pope about them, and agreed to their stay.

⁶³⁶ Geribaldi, the Papal Nuncio in Paris was not well-disposed to Polish emigrants.

⁶³⁷ The original letter is preserved in Czartoryski in Cracow: Mss 1525. The rough draft is preserved in CRR: Mss 8594, pp.1244-1243.

Letter Nr. 133**[To Leo Walter]**

Paris, September 19, 1837

Dear Mr. Leo!⁶³⁸

You receive this letter from an unexpected correspondent. However, I trust in your kind and friendly heart that, once you have glanced at the signature, you will remember me.

The sad solution to this puzzle, and the reason for my correspondence in this: on Saturday, the 9th of this month, Philip⁶³⁹ was injured badly by an unfortunate accident, an explosion in his chemical laboratory. His hands and his whole face are wrapped in bandages, and he has little vision in his eyes. Thank God that, though his injuries are horrible to behold, they do not threaten to cripple him permanently; there is hope that he will be completely healed. I have hope that, under the doctor's watchful care, he will soon completely healed. At the time of this unfortunate accident, I was about 30 lieues⁶⁴⁰ from Paris. Your letter, and that of your dear father, came shortly after. Phillip could not read it himself; and, since he did not want anyone else to read it, he waited for my return. I returned only yesterday, Monday, September 19th. This explains why you and your father had to wait until today, the 20th, to receive this late response. Phillip is here at my side in an arm-chair, his whole head wrapped in bandages, and his arms covered with cloths, and he is beginning to dictate to me.

Do does not want to dictate word for word; instead, he was simply told me what he wants me to write. First then, with regard to the reports from the Central School of Arts and Crafts⁶⁴¹ which your dear father requested: You should know that Phillip is director of the laboratory and of chemical procedures, but he has bot

⁶³⁸ Leo Walter - a doctor, and the son of merchant in Cracow.

⁶³⁹ Phillip Walter - mentioned previously as a Polish chemist, the brother of Leo.

⁶⁴⁰ About 30 miles from Paris, at Saint-Acheul, near Amiens.

⁶⁴¹ A college in Paris.

been nominated for a professorship. Therefore, he cannot send you a certificate testifying that he is a professor. And therefore, your father has nothing to depend on, that is, he cannot count on a professor's certificate. However, Phillip, after he gets well, will try to send you a certificate that testifies to his actual, position, and expects that you will find this testimony very good.

As to the memoirs⁶⁴²: thus far Phillip has written two. One in conjunction with Mr. Pelletier⁶⁴³, and the second by himself. But neither the one nor the other has appeared in print as yet. It will take about another month before they are printed. Hence, if it will be a few months, and maybe even longer, before you might have them in Cracow, And, with things as they are as present, you cannot even count on that.

Third, as for recommendations from the ambassadors: Mr. Werther, the Prussian Ambassador, has been appointed Minister for External Affairs in Berlin. (O how crooked my writing is! I am ashamed... Pardon). Mr. Appony also is not in Paris. He is on the sea-shore somewhere or elsewhere and the is true for Mr. Pahleh. At present, then, he does not know whom to approach. It is a waste of time to go around visiting secretaries. Moreover, the recommendation your dear father seeks, surpasses the competence of the embassy staff.

The Ambassador could only testify that, as to his conduct, no charge can be brought against Phillip and perhaps further, that he has not been involved in any emigrant disturbances. But, in reference to his work and the fulfillment of functions committed to him, no embassy has either the obligation or the right to check on or control these. Therefore, neither can it pass any judgment on this. And so, unfortunately, your dear father's wishes his regard cannot be satisfied in the manner in which his concern for Phillip's good dictates. Fourth, and last: Recently Phillip received a second letter from Mr. Rose⁶⁴⁴, a professor at the University of Berlin, which is very favorable and very friendly. In it Mr. Rose promises to be whatever service he can, by interceding with the Russian

⁶⁴² He is speaking of professional treatises in Chemistry.

⁶⁴³ Joseph Pelletier (1788-1842) - French Pharmacist and Chemist, who discovered many important compounds and medicines, e.g. quinine. Walter was his collaborator.

⁶⁴⁴ P. Walter's father was trying to arrange for him to obtain a chair of Chemistry.

Ambassador etc., etc. Therefore, it would seem best for your father to communicate with him, and, with complete confidence, present the matter and whatever is needed to him.

N.B. Mr. Rose can send a suitable recommendation to either a Russian or a Prussian resident in Berlin.

But, my dearest Leo, do not be too worried about Phillip's unfortunate accident. You, your good father, or especially your mother. I write especially, because it is maternal to rejoice, or to worry too much about her children. I repeat. While, externally, the wounds are horrible, the face and hands are all scabs, the condition is not at all dangerous. Apparently, within a week or ten days Phillip will be able to return to work, and he himself will write you about it, that is, he will be well. Therefore, do not worry.

Yet, it would be no harm to say a prayer, maybe even to hear a Mass for his speedy recovery and that God would protect him from similar accidents in the future.

This doesn't pertain so much to you, scoundrel and philosopher that you are. But, surely without needing to, I write this to remind your mother and the women in the family.

A second N.B.: You are probably not aware that, according to my present convictions, the entire hope and future of our Fatherland and of mankind, rest on a non-philosophy, that is, on women's piety.

Third N.B.: When you respond, do not address your letter to rue du Pont Luis Philippe, for Phillip is moving on the first of October. He will live at: quai d'Orleans 32 (Isle Saint Louis). Therefore, send your letter to that address.

Finally, Leo, do not worry about me reading your letter, for I feel sure that you know me and that you can trust both my sincere friendship and my most scrupulous discretion. All of your private bachelor's interests have fallen into me like a stone into water. Only you and Phillip know about them. They will not surface for anyone else.

For one last time, even if it be in such sad circumstances, I consider it a real privilege and personal pleasure to write for Phillip, since I see this as a way to

commend myself to your dear parents. With all my heart I seek to earn their esteem and respect. I feel that I already enjoy your friendship by reason of your kindness. Be sure of mine, my dear Lo. Keep well!

My God bless you, in all of your good purposes. Give your parents my deepest and most heart-felt respects. From Phillip, of course, but also from me, a fraternal and most sincere embrace. Once again, at the end, do not worry too much about his sad accident. I repeat again and again, that he himself will soon write.

Bogdan
Jański

Paris, September 19, 1837,

P.S. If you meet Louis Królikowski, give him my greetings.

Address: Monsieur Leo Walter, in Cracow⁶⁴⁵.

Henry Rose - German chemist.

⁶⁴⁵ This letter is preserved in CBR: Mss 8517; pp. 216-220.

Letter Nr. 134

Solesmes, December 15, 1837

[To Joseph Ziomecki]

My dearest Joseph!

I beg and entreat you, on the wounds of the Lord, on the wounds of the Lord to the end, have mercy on me!

I know how much worry and unrest you are experiencing there. But, within a few days, they will come to an end. I have very important reasons for staying here a few more days, and then I will return.

By this you are doing much good for me! Continue to encourage yourself to ready patience!

Finally, to calm you down somewhat, I include letters to two of my principal creditors which, if you consider it necessary, you can seal and take or give to whichever one calls.

I will return soon, at the latest (you have this on my word of honor) within a few days, before the end of this month and year.

I am looking forward to seeing you again!

Greet and embrace dear Kozłowski for me, as well as our worthy Fr. Dłuski.

Looking forward to seeing you,

Bogdan

If a letter should come to me from abroad please give it to Edward. I will write to him what he is to do with it.⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴⁶ This letter is preserved in CRR: Mss 8515/1, pp. 1080-1081.

Letter Nr. 135

La Grande Trappe,
pres Mortagne (Orne)
November 25, 1837

[To F. Giedroyć]

My most gracious Lady!⁶⁴⁷

Victory! Total victory! An end to all of my troubles and unrest! But first, my lady, do you see how dependable I am? Not because I am writing this letter, for that is a promise which I took upon myself with my usual impertinence. But, does my lady remember when, once, somewhere she listened so kindly to my semi-confidences, my troubles? When, shortly after I entered the fourth little alcove almost a year ago, I told my Lady about my one resolution: “de la retraite a la Trappe - Eh, bien m’y voici”⁶⁴⁸ for the past four weeks. And everything is in good order again - those white clear, bright and beautiful thoughts are triumphant.

And what a triumph it is! What harmony, peace, courage, hope, poetry and life! There is no sight or trace of the dark thoughts; they are gone, disappeared. Only occasionally do “grey ones” stick out their heads and sharpen their teeth, issuing threats about Paris, until at times a chill comes over me. However, when I remember that, exactly in these days, it is nine years since I first left for that Paris and that I am in such a formidable position with these “grey thoughts” that they threaten me only from a distance and are afraid to come close. I simply snuggle up to the Heart of Jesus, and I am at peace; I fear nothing.

En voila des blagnes... Madame Princess might stop here, no longer accustomed to the tone of our learned conversations, which no one dared enter except le “Petit Joseph”⁶⁴⁹ riding to Sain-Cloud on the couch “dans au bateau a vapeur”⁶⁵⁰, and on his knees preferred to accompany us in silence, with Napoleon

⁶⁴⁷ Frances, nee Giedroyć, Goedroyć.

⁶⁴⁸ „To make a retreat at La Trappe. O how good it is for me to be here.

⁶⁴⁹ The younger son.

⁶⁵⁰ As if on a steamboat.

somewhere in a corner, absorbed in one of Walter Scott's⁶⁵¹ books. Le fait est, that in addressing my Lady, I involuntarily fell into this tone... and I had already forgotten it, especially here. For, what a world this is! A holy world! I did not even suspect that, such a world existed anywhere in France. Putting aside all personal considerations, I can speak to my Lady about this world without fear of boring her, since my Lady comes from a high-priestly family⁶⁵², which in our country is, as it were, to be of the root of Aaron or David.

Madame probably knows nothing of the Trappists except the name. They are regular monks of St. Benedict, reformed by St. Bernard, and hence Cistercians. However, in the time of Louis XIV⁶⁵³, through the efforts of Blessed de Rance⁶⁵⁴, they returned to their primitive, and maybe even a more austere way of life. Like the ancient hermits, they eat only vegetables; they never eat meat, or eggs, or fish, or butter. For two thirds of the year, they eat only once a day and during Lent, only at four in the afternoon. They rise daily after midnight. They sing the whole office daily according to the breviary in most solemn fashion; and they sing a High Mass each day with all their heart, and with all the power in their lungs. Daily they put in at least six hours of hard work in the fields, from which they live and offer hospitality. Everyone works, without exception: The Abbot and the Prior, like the others, dig, lay bricks, and carry out the manure. There is not a moment for recreation or rest; but a constant alternation of devotions, manual labor, study and spiritual meditation. There is total silence in the monastery and at work; they all speak in sign language. Only the superiors, in designated places, can give directives orally and receive explanations. They use speech daily in chapter to accuse themselves or one of the brothers of sin publicly. One who accuses his brother, scandalized by some irregularity, prostrates himself before him, and speaks his accusations and admonitions. Since the superior shares the authority of God, the monks all speak to him and receive his instructions on their

⁶⁵¹ The English novelist who was very much in vogue at the time, and about whom there was mention before.

⁶⁵² The Giedroyé family boasted of Bishops and of candidates for sainthood.

⁶⁵³ Louis XIV was King of France, 1643-1715.

⁶⁵⁴ Armand Rance (1626-1700) – a Parisian priest, reformer of the Cistercians, and founder of the Trappists in France.

knees. Whatever is left over from the fruits of their labor, beyond the maintenance and the needs of the monastery, goes to the poor. This is their whole life!

What joy, peace and spiritual health shines in all their faces! I am firmly convinced that these are some of the happiest people on earth today. They themselves admit this. Pte Pope wanted to ease the severity of their life a few years ago; they begged him to allow them to maintain that severity. This may not be the Garden of Eden; but it is surely “un salle du bain, un cabinet de toilette, un foison des noces⁶⁵⁵”, for entrance into heaven. With what delight and love each one of them speaks of eternity and heaven, and looks forward to death!

N.B. They do not have individual rooms. They sleep together in a dormitory. If one of them is dying, they take him off the bed; on the earth, on a handful of straw and ashes, he dies in God. Why is it, strangely, that only strict orders such as these are not falling apart? How base our nature is; and how dangerous a life is lax! Rely upon yourself a little, give yourself a little leeway, and your whole soul is threatened with ruin, collapse, revolt against God, and eternal alienation from Him. We must constantly incarnate within ourselves the spirit of the Savior, and feed and strengthen ourselves with his Body, the bread of eternal life! Let us control all of our thoughts, feelings, actions: during our lifetime, very frequently uniting them in holy fervor, and in the humblest and most ordinary piety!

There are nine male Trappist monasteries in France. Recently the poor women accepted this same rule and style of life. And already they have more convents than the men: fifteen. For, while sin came through Eve, salvation comes through Mary. May Mary be Mother and Patroness to them all! Doesn't the world today need the prayer and penance of holy souls? Don't the merits of the saints rescue all of us sinners?

Apropos of sinners, I come back to speak of myself. On entering my beloved Trappe, my whole soul as stirred by the first object that caught my eye: the Most Holy Virgin above the door, and at her feet the inscription, “Refugium

⁶⁵⁵ “A bath, a powder room, a wedding feast.”

Peccatorum” (Refuge of sinners). I said to myself: “Bon ca me va, j’aserai a me chez moi⁶⁵⁶.”

In each guest who comes, the brother porter workships Christ the Lord: He receives him on his knees, and asks for a blessing. Then, he immediately leads him to the dwelling place... of the Savior Himself, hidden in the Most Blessed Sacrament. After a prayer in the church, one enters the reception room. Two silent monks come to greet him, in their white robes, like statues; then, prostrating themselves before the guest, they say certain prayers, and after they rise, they read him a few holy thoughts about the short duration of this life, and the eternity, bad or good, of the future life. This is how I was greeted.

I had special letters to Father Prior. From his first word, I liked him very much. And so I declared to him before-hand: “ma maladie est tres complique, tre inveterie, fort mal soigneiee⁶⁵⁷” and asked him for a “traitement radical⁶⁵⁸”. Then he wrote me a prescription, while I sent up my petitions to the Lord of boundless mercy. Surrender! I surrender myself to grace, without my conditions.

Throughout the whole retreat, Father Prior took possession of all my time and of my whole will, subject to his regulations: forbade me to speak, except to him. He assigned prayers, meditations, a way to settle my accounts with God, and a time for confession. Finally, cleansed in the Sacrament of Penance, and renewed in Christ the Lord, he prepared me for the Table of the Lord a few days ago, on the Feast of our Blessing Lady’s Betrothal to God. Alleluja! On this day, which will remain one of the solemn days of my life, I also received the privilege of eating in the monastery refectory. About 100 monks sat down, with their cowls over their heads. Each one had before him: a bowl of soup with mixed vegetables, a bowl of barley porridge, a couple of unpeeled potatoes, and a couple of apples. This is their ordinary dinner. Long prayers were said before and after. The walls were hung with emblems of death, and words of Scripture encouraging mortification. During dinner, when the Prior knocks, they all put down their spoons (there are no forks) and stop eating for a few minutes, in order to curb all

⁶⁵⁶ “Very good... this pleases me; I will feel at home here.”

⁶⁵⁷ “My illness is very complicated, very deep-rooted, very poorly treated.”

⁶⁵⁸ “A radical treatment.”

carnal appetites. At this dinner, I felt like the prodigal son in the Gospel: having wasted the gifts and graces which were given to me not so long ago, I had returned to the home of my Father... There I was, sitting at a banquet in the midst of the guests invited by God the Father, witnesses of my spiritual return. And, within my soul, I groaned and sighed to the Lord, seeking the graces necessary to fulfill my good resolutions in the future.

O marvelous mercy of God! I, who not so long ago was so miserable, bothered and distressed by so many troubles, by most vexing; in large part known to my Lady; irritations in relations with people as well as in material matters. Today, I am the happiest man alive! rejoicing and thanking God, even for all the problems and worries, as if they were the greatest act of kindness... regarding them as the most merciful and wisest way for God to judge me, in order to keep me from falling and to instruct me in the way of humility, patience, sacrifice, and untiring effort in the way of Christian life and salvation.

True, when I remember some of the problems, needs, obligations and concerns that will fall on my neck immediately after my return to Paris, my whole lower nature, as the theologians say, which, in Christ the Lord, quaked with fear and was drenched in bloody sweat in the Garden; grows weak within me, fears, trembles and is disturbed. But humility, patience, and hope in God's mercy conquer even the greatest difficulties. I will conquer mine; I have this conviction and confidence in God.

My dear Lady! From the time I first came to know you, my Lady has always been so good to me... I ask Madame most sincerely to say a short prayer - an Our Father or a Hail Mary - for my intention, to thank God for the invaluable graces with which he has endowed me, and to obtain for me the gift of perseverance in good. This is the very first concern that prompts me to write this letter to my Lady.

How is it possible that I, Lazarus, once dead by reason of my sins and sufferings, but raised to life by Christ our Lord, who is forever alive in his holy Church, and only recently come to my Lady from the ends of the earth, dare in such brotherly fashion address my Lady, and enter into the particulars and little

details of what is happening to me, speaking at length and pouring out to my Lady the story of my interior life? I am seduced by Madam's kindness. May the merciful God richly reward you, my Lady, in eternity, as well as in everything that Madame loves on earth.

Hence, as Madame was once gracious and good enough to listen to my troubles and afflictions, may my Lady now learn of their ending and of my consolation. That is why I am writing this letter. And finally, because in past times I scandalized my Lady so much by my fervor grown cold, by worldly conversations and by the whole of my dissipated, disordered and bad life, I feel that I have an obligation in conscience "d'un faire ma amende honorable"⁶⁵⁹ humbly to beg Madame's pardon for the scandal and with Christian joy and hope tell her about my penance and purpose of amendment.

But, Madame is surely skipping sentences of my letter, looking for the news that will most delight her heart: news of her Napoleon. And so, before I add anything more from or about myself, about him; I left Paris about a month ago. Before my departure I saw him⁶⁶⁰, healthy and in good spirits. He has respect and a very friendly attitude toward Mr. Baude⁶⁶¹; and Mr. Baude is also happy with him. In general, his behavior is good, and he is learning well; he is becoming more and more mature. He himself admits that, in rhetoric, he is now "parmi des grands"⁶⁶², and can no longer act like a child. Ultimately, if to now there had been anything wrong - since I receive letters from them⁶⁶³ from College Stanislaus - they would have informed me; meanwhile, they have not written anything like that to me. Therefore, I judge that, through this whole while, nothing happened, and that everything continues to go quite well.

Here, I thought about him when I could, that is, in my most solemn audiences with the Almighty God and kindest Benefactor of us all. With all the fervor of my soul, I prayed for him, asking God to bless him and to grant him

⁶⁵⁹ "Public confession of guilt."

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whatever graces were needed to correct and perfect himself completely, together with the grace of a very successful future. I also asked that God grant all good things to my Lady, and to all of those who are dear to her heart. When I return, I will consider it one of my primary obligations - it is one of my most sacred resolutions - to show my gratitude to Madame for her gracious and Christian friendship for me, and to him for the special trust that he places in me, to hold a few good meetings with him to sound him out... to repair what might need repair, and to encourage him once again to good. I will also count it as my obligation to pay careful and constant attention to his studies and behavior, and to report anything wrong to my Lady. This is a bouquet which I gathered for my Lady during my retreat, bound together by all the sacramental holiness of the resolutions I made while I was here. I send it as an offering to my Lady. I have yet another for my Lady: more personal, made up of beautiful resolutions; but I should not frighten you before time. While here, I am slowly preparing a pressing spiritual attack on someone, for there she may be pampered: "Aj! Aj! That Frances is so good! How splendidly she speaks of the saints. How pious she is. She is an angel, a saint!" That is how they all speak of her there. And perhaps they convince her...? Whereas, here I am. I know the Lady. With half gruff and half delicate openness, and without pity, I say to her: What does this mean? And why is that spot there? Does that green, that yellow, that grey almost become black? Fi! Everything ought to be white!

But now I hurry along with my first-aid kit: bleaching powders, medicines, prescriptions, surgical cutting! I meet with pain, screaming, weeping. I do not wish to frighten you before time. I want you to be deeply humble before God, and not trust yourself so much; and guard against the slightest stain. Use the Holy Sacraments to be washed clean of every stain as soon as possible, and to become again as white as a true angel.

I permit myself to engage in these spiritual vagaries, a kind of written continuation of our conversations, confident that, after Madame has read all of this scratching, she will immediately burn it, lest it fall into some third person's hands, for the might, absolutely without reason, be scandalized by all this.

I add this about myself: I expect that Madame will mitigate or completely withdraw the rebukes and scolding's which I received from Madame in the past for entering into relation with people⁶⁶⁴ Madame does not like, considering that Madame may have come on a little too strong about these people previously, and these relationships have not in the past, and not now, compromise me. Indeed, with known insights, they have been useful to me. About this I am absolutely sure.

As I have always received Madame's observations gratefully, so have I retained them. And I assure her that I will be most scrupulous about using discretion in the future. Why then, even right before my departure, should I have received some kind of scolding? I was trying to figure out why. Undoubtedly it had to do with continuing my housekeeping. This would require a longer explanation. I get around to making that longer explanation, Madame will tell me that I was right. For now, I will only say that I have profited by past experience. I have made very sensible arrangements so that by economy in personal expenses I might get myself out of debt, instead of falling further into debt. My rent is cheaper by half. As of October 15th, we are living at Boulevard Monstparnasse 25.

All of Madame's scolding's are to me, as a mark of Madame's kindness towards me! With God's help, I will repay them by grumbling at Napoleon!

I was purposely using a smaller sheet of paper, in order to hold myself in check, and not permit myself, this first time, to engage in any lengthy written chit-chat... and here I am adding another scrap of paper, which is already soiled.

Grace! Pardon! I finish. I beg Madame most humbly to forgive me for my indelicate abuse of the freedom, which, as a result of my insistence and begging, permits me to write a few words to my Lady. I would apologize for something else; but surely Madame (will not be scandalized, or be offended this time by the all too light and familiar tone in which I address my Lady. If there was even a single word that may have seemed less proper, Madame knows that it was not such by knowledge and intent),^x was not scandalized by the overly familiar way I spoke of holy things. Madame will understand that these are the babblings and

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free behavior toward the Father demonstrated by that prodigal son who, having regained his father's favor and the inheritance of eternal promises together with peace of soul, cannot contain himself for joy and cuts capers after the banquet. Therefore, Madame will understand all my words in the spirit in which I wrote them: in the child-like simplicity of a Christian heart.

I would like to ask Madame to write a few words to me, but I do not venture to burden her with this tedious and troublesome task. And so, I do not ask. Having discovered a way of obliging Madame to await my letters, and even desire them, since I will be including reports about Napoleon, *je vrai faire le fier*, without waiting (or even having to wait) for any response or permission, I will write a second letter to my Lady. This letter was mostly about me since Madame does not know anyone else here except myself. However, in Paris Napoleon will be near me; and so practically my whole letter will be about him. I will write shortly after I return to Paris and I am returning in a few weeks. I am getting ready to have here. I will travel a dozen or more leagues to Solesmes, where a very good priest-friend of mine⁶⁶⁵ founded a Benedictine abbey a few years ago. God has blessed him; for, having established a community that is already quite numerous, this year the Pope appointed him Abbot, with the right to establish foundations of Benedictines under his jurisdiction all over France. I will stay with him for some time before I return to Paris.

After I return to Paris, that is within a few weeks, for I am leaving today for the Benedictine Abbey at Solesmes, I will send a letter to my Lady with a report on Napoleon.

“O my dearest sister, may Jesus Christ dwell in your soul!”. This is how one of my favorite saints, St. John of the Cross, St. Teresa's confessor, began his letters to the Spanish Sisters. With this greeting and prayer I conclude my letter to my Lady, I, an unworthy brother in Christ the Lord, and my gracious Lady's faithful and ever devoted servant,

Bogdan
Jański

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P.S. If he still remembers me, give Mr. Adolph my most sincere greetings⁶⁶⁶.

^x These words are crossed out in the rough draft.

Letter Nr. 136

Paris, December 15, 1837

[To F. Giedroyć]

My gratitude⁶⁶⁷ to the Prince's family for their untold kindness to me, for the confidence with which they honored me their truly merciful care⁶⁶⁸ for me during my most recent illness⁶⁶⁹ is, and shall always be, a deep and undying sentiment in my heart.

My the grace of Our Lord, Jesus Christ attend the most beloved Prince and his family always and everywhere.

Bogdan
Jański⁶⁷⁰

December 15, 1839

⁶⁶⁷ This is one of the few farewell notes that has been preserved. Jański wrote them before leaving Paris forever.

⁶⁶⁸ In this time of his serious illness, he had to depend completely on the kindness of his friends.

⁶⁶⁹ The second very serious recurrence of tuberculosis.

⁶⁷⁰ The rough draft is preserved in CRR: Mss 8568/15; p. 710.

Letter Nr. 137

Solesmes, December 7, 1837

[To E. Duński]

Praesed be Jesus Chris!

My dearest Edward!

I received your letter of two weeks ago, dated November 22nd, on Friday, the 24th, with the letters from Rome enclosed. May God reward you for your speedy response, as well as for all the manifestations of your brotherly love.

I left La Trappe on the next day, but arrived here only a few days ago, since I stopped along the way to visit with various groups of our compatriots, first at Mortagne, then at Lemans; but I will tell you more about this on my return. At Lemans, a segment of the Democratic Society insisted that I stay for their 29 material spiritual celebrations unfortunately, these latter, the spiritual, are from their own standpoint and after their own mind.

N.B. In this section there are two brothers, Ignatius and Macarxus Fontana⁶⁷¹, whom you will probably remember from former times at Pułusk. All of these people are like they were unbaptized: without worship and without faith; but, their hearts are good and you can tell that God once lived in them. And, please God, Christ the Lord is preparing a dwelling place for himself in them. There is hope.

Since I will soon be returning to you maybe even next week; surely in the following week, I am writing this short letter simply to tell you that I am here, in case you had some important communication for me, or letters arrived from Poland, especially from Cracow, and for one other reason.

(But I must first tell you that the 150 francs you gave me before my departure from Paris, after making necessary payments, were sufficient only for

⁶⁷¹ Ignatius Fontana (+1874) – a second – lieutenant in the grenadiers during the November uprising, decorated with the cross Virtuti Militari; and Macarius Fontana, standard-bearer of the 7th regiment of infantry on the line. Both were emigrants.

my journey; so exactly, that I arrived at La Trappe with just five francs a few small coins...)^x

My dear Edward, you will have to dig up a little more money for me somewhere, for, after all my expenses and the cost of a new thirty and some day journey, my pockets are empty. And, since I am so close to Angers, where a number of Jerome's and Leonard's "ex-recruits"⁶⁷² live, I would like to visit with them for at least one day. To make a long story short, please scrape up about 25 francs, 30 if possible, wherever and however you can, and send them to me here. God willing, after my return to Paris, I will return this money to you. Brother Nielubowicz⁶⁷³ from Chateau, to whom I have a letter from Kozłowski⁶⁷⁴, will undoubtedly be my guide among the brethren in Angers. I have not yet met with him, because until now I have been occupied with my own spiritual affairs; but we will meet shortly, inevitably, even if I have to go to see him; for Kozłowski had much good tell me about him. However, economy and necessity require that I hold off with this whole excursion until I receive your letter and a new supply of funds. Get around to doing this as quickly as you can. You will receive this letter on the day after tomorrow, Saturday morning. If you answer the next day, I will have your letter on Tuesday. I will be expecting it more or less on that day.

Considering that these are beginnings, the news from Rome is not that bad. Thank God, the situation is tolerable; as long as they have a place to stay, and one that is suitable for clerics. There is no need to hurry with a reply to their second letter, the last which you sent me; you can even wait for their reply to your letter containing assistance. However, since Fr. Gueranger and dear Brandes will add a note and also send letters of recommendation, I will write to them shortly, while I am still here; then, later, we will write together from Paris after we receive their next letter.

I wrote to Celiński from La Trappe, I think about the 10th of November, and he has surely received my letter and, as long as I have it in mind, while I am

⁶⁷² That is, former subordinates and friends of J. Kajsiewicz and L. Rettel.

⁶⁷³ Thomas Nielubowicz came from the region of Grodno. He was the standard-bearer for the 13th Uhlan regiment. He emigrated to France, and belonged to the Polish Democratic Society.

⁶⁷⁴ Joseph George Kozłowski,

still here, I will write a note to that Frenchman whose letter to Jerome you forwarded here. I may even meet him here. In any case, after the information I obtained here, it seems that the matter is finished and that nothing will come of these projects. I am sorry, but I still haven't sent the petition to the Ministry for Marszewski. Do not wait for me to do it on my return. Let Hube take it over tomorrow, after he comes to see you.

My dear Edward, I do not need to encourage you to zeal in all matters that pertain to fraternal needs, since I am sure of your good will and diligence. I only pray, from the bottom of my heart, that the all-merciful God would preserve you in that zeal, and would add more and more of, his holy graces, keeping you, as good child, in his Fatherly care. Do not forget that both you and our dearest brother Hube are to go about continually among the brethren and visit them as often as you can, especially at home. With patience, kindness and love continue your efforts to enter their hearts, urging them all to become one ever more intensively, really and practically in Christ the Lord, who is our one eternal hope and love.

In this common, eternal hope and love that we share, greet and embrace all the brothers for me! Tell them that I have finished my accounting with the Lord God and, although it is good for me to be here, healthy and pleasant for my soul, I long to be with all of you as I would with blood brothers. And maybe even more! For the future, to be spent together for ever and ever, which our holy faith promises us... our spiritual unity in Christ, who is our Lord and God, gives rise to a true brotherhood, in comparison with which all other bonds of blood or flesh are worthless, uncertain, almost a delusion...!

Convey my most sincere regards to our dear Father Dłuski, and embrace him as a mark of my respect. Tell him that I apologize from the bottom of my heart for the delay in my return, for apparently he too is waiting for me impatiently. But, for that, I bring him much good news and useful information. I urgently beg him to refrain from making a decision about his future before I return.

Separate greetings to the Honorable Administrative Official. (I am very sorry that I could not get to say good-bye to him before my departure, as I had intended to do)^x.

I now turn to brother Leonard⁶⁷⁵. I send him greetings and a kiss in Christ the Lord. I was going to write him a separate letter, but since I would be returning within a few days after sending the letter and I have much, very much to write to him, I prefer to postpone everything until I see him.

However, I beg him most earnestly, in the name of the most sacred bonds that unite us, to hold off on all of his projects⁶⁷⁶ and to await my return patiently. For I have my own plans for him⁶⁷⁷ something he had not even suspected. I am sure that he will be happy with these plans and that he will definitely accept them. Nor do I doubt that these plans will bring about a most complete and perfect harmony between him and all of us in the future.

I forget which one of you told me that he no longer comes to sleep at our house and, for all practical purposes, no longer lives there. Presuming on his common sense and his consideration for all of us, I expect that this is not intentional, and that it is not “parti-pris”⁶⁷⁸. If, however, what began as an instance or exception⁶⁷⁹ is prolonged, I beseech him by all the most solemn bonds between us, and I command him to remove himself from these other quarters⁶⁸⁰ as soon as possible, to return to our nest and there wait for me.

God is almighty. God is infinitely good. I have the gentle hope, which is practically a certainty, that He will hear my prayers, and that by His grace and mercy, this whole situation between us will have a happy ending.

⁶⁷⁵ Leonard Rettel (1811-1885) - a Volhynian; took part in the capture of the Warsaw Belvedere at the outbreak of the uprising in 1830; poet, writer, and translator from Spanish; author of Cyryl and Methodius and of verses in the Memoirs for the Beautiful Sex as well as of articles in the Warsaw Gazette. In 1836-1838 he was a member of the House in Paris and a cleric in the seminary attached to the College Stanislaus.

⁶⁷⁶ His intention to leave the community.

⁶⁷⁷ His own publishing house, press and printery.

⁶⁷⁸ A firm decision.

⁶⁷⁹ An exception.

⁶⁸⁰ With Louis Nabelak, a friend from the time of the uprising, who was again drawing him into Polish Democratic Society.

If Leonard complains about any inconveniences in the house, I beg you, Edward, as far as you can, try to satisfy his complaints. For example, buy wood, tobacco, and maybe even coffee for him. Make our nest attractive to him and let him wait there calmly, patiently, and in the fear of the Lord!

Bogdan Jański⁶⁸¹

^x These words are crossed out in the autograph.

⁶⁸¹ The autograph of this letter is preserved in CRR: Mss 8549, pp. 294-297. This letter was also published by Father Paul Smolikowski in Historia Zgromadzenia, vol. I, pp. 131-132, 212-213.

Letter Nr. 138

Solesmes, December 15, 1837

[To E. Duński]

Thanks and praise to the all-merciful God that, in spite of so many worries, your spirit is not diminished, and that you strengthen and rescue me by your living faith and hope. No, my dear Edward, I am not representing the situation to myself as rosier than it actually is, on the contrary, I may be representing it as far worse than it is as the principal culprit, fully aware of the greatness of his guilt. Everything that you wrote in your last letter, I expected and immediately after my departure.

I have not delayed my return now because I think that our financial situation is not very bad at present, or that it doesn't require an early solution. You should know that there is one thing, the most important thing right now, that I haven't explained to you yet.

I want to do this now, n.b. this explanation and this whole part of the letter is meant only for you. Where will we get the means to pay off our debts? God knows the humility, sadness and sorrow with which I accuse myself before Him of the lack of order and prudence in household economy... how strong and exceedingly solemn are the purposes of amendment I make... to live as God has commanded, maintaining the strictest order in financial affairs.

Thoughts of ways to introduce this reform into practice occupy me today and every day. And, thank God, all of my plans have a higher sanction than mere calculation according to earthly prudence... For the most, part God sends these to me in time of prayer. By His help I hope, and feel empowered to begin a new, Christian, life in the future; but now to allay the evil consequences of an evil past? That's the difficulty!

I regard this as the truest and, without doubt, not sufficiently severe punishment for my sins. I submit to these consequences, agreeing to bear them

with all humility and resignation... and I am not in the least despondent. I fear none of the annoyances, humiliations, and toils! I am ready to bear them, if only to repair the evil. Even if all my hopes and calculations were to miscarry, free of sin before God I shall stand before men with a peaceful conscience, putting all my hope in the mercy of God.

However, in order to satisfy obligations I had contracted, it was my duty to take whatever steps I could. In Paris I can expect practically no effective aid. I appealed to people who were once my closest friends, writing to Poland, using avenues by which my letters regularly reached the addressee. I cannot doubt, even for a moment, that I will receive a favorable reply. Especially since one of them⁶⁸² owes me a considerable sum, which he borrowed from me in better times. To the extent that one can be sure that some effort of his will succeed, because he knows the people and the situations, I am certain of my efforts. It was to await for the reply, which must definitely come, either sooner or later... and good... and with which all of my problems would be resolved, I delayed my return.

I told myself: If I return, I shall have to think immediately about paying the debts! Where will I get the money? To go running about to people right in those first days as I did before, without knowing yet where, or from whom to borrow? When, perhaps within about a week, the awaited letter will come and free me from the unbearable running back and forth! Better to wait.

This is the reason, my dearest Edward, why I have not left just yet; pardon me... I will still wait here for your response. And maybe there will be a letter from Poland, especially from Cracow⁶⁸³ (addressed to Boulevard Montparnasse)?

The reasons for these delays in my journey are very shabby. Especially since, while I sit here peacefully, others must do the chasing for me...! Therefore, in order not to multiply the scandal, keep these reasons secret, so that the brothers would not become ill-disposed. Cover, with the general statement that there is a real need that I stay here for a few more days. Particularly since, if the brothers were to become more aware of the critical situation and the uncertainty of means

⁶⁸² Michael Jaroszewki.

⁶⁸³ From L. Królikowski.

of deliverance, they lose all hope that things will improve for our work, and this would be the occasion for a great spiritual let-down. Put on a peaceful, hopeful and happy countenance.

Concerning the day of my departure, I put myself entirely in your hands. They are pressing me to stay here for Christmas. If you do not send me the letter from Poland now, I would want to wait here for it until the second day of Christmas, that is, until the 26th of this month. If I do not receive the letter by that time, I would accept God's will and would come to you immediately without stopping along the way, arriving either on the 27th in the evening or on the morning, of the 28th. If you were to send that letter to me now, with your response, I would come to you immediately.

Also, if you were to consider that the demoralization and the problems there are so great that I could not delay even a few days without grave danger and without some kind of scandal, that I must return as soon as possible, immediately, I will return immediately after receiving your response. However, I ask you, if at all possible, and the letter has not yet arrived, try to allow me to wait for it here until the 26th.

In any case, since my main reason for staying here is to wait for that letter, in order not to miss it I must wait here and not go anywhere else.

I planned to go to Angers⁶⁸⁴, expecting that I would already have received the letter from Poland together with yours which, since it would have solved all problems, would have allowed me to make this excursion. But since things have turned out otherwise, I will have to postpone it. Since I will stay here, at the longest until the 26th, and the stagecoach leaves in the evening, if that letter comes on the 24th and you could still get it in the mail that would be leaving that day, send it to me. If it comes on the 25th, keep it until I return. N.B. All of this refers not just to the letter from Cracow, but to all letters from Poland⁶⁸⁵. That, then, is the reason for the delay in my return.

⁶⁸⁴ A trip to Angers in search of new brothers.

⁶⁸⁵ Jański also expected help from Poznań.

Merciful God! How all of my hopes for deliverance hang on a single thread! But, they only seem to be that weak for they actually lean on the strongest foundation, on my deepest faith in your omnipotence and my trust in your limitless goodness.

O pray, my dear Edward! You too pray for deliverance, amid such pressing needs!

N.B. Beside the debts owed to the suppliers of the house, I am faced with urgent dead-lines by my other creditors.

If it should please God to frustrate my hopes and deny all deliverance on which I depended, may his blessed will be done! This will surely be better for me, for my humility, and for my spiritual instruction and correction. With gratitude I will kiss the hand of the Father who chastizes me... you see, these are the conditions and the results of my new covenant with the Lord. What saddens and troubles me is that this chastisement will also touch others who are less deserving. That is why I pray that it may be averted.

Now a second important matter (just between the two of us). Because I have made the most sacred resolution, after my arrival to apply myself with all my strength to repair whatever evil has been done, the evil which you feel and over which you grieve, I would ask you to note any suggestions that may have occurred to you or that may yet occur to you about the various areas in which all of us, but especially I, need to improve: what especially scandalizes people, what especially leads to our downfall, and what might keep us on the right road.

Aside from general conferences, I propose to speak with you personally and in detail about these matters. And that immediately, in the first days. Prepare yourself, therefore, and pro memoria note your observations and counsels beforehand. Generally, everything you have tell me.

I need, add no request for absolute openness and, totally unmerciful severity in my regard, for I expect that you will regard this as your duty in fraternal love and in Christian zeal our common good.

Now, as to the other matters listed in your letter. And first and most important, about Mikulski⁶⁸⁶. It is a basic principle that (if he eventually wants to obtain permission) he cannot come to Paris beforehand without a passport. If he came without a passport and stayed with us, I am convinced this would finish us off, that is, all prejudices and animosity of the police in our regard would be awakened. They would seize this pretext and we could even be disbanded.

If you do not desire to present his petition through C.⁶⁸⁷, then the only and apparently the surest way to bring him here would be that Fr. Auge⁶⁸⁸ submit a letter along with his passport, testifying that he accepts him for the College, as he did in your case. Then let Mikulski wait for the response where he is. Having received the response and before he enters the College, I think he might stay with us for a while, maybe even for a few months.

But, if he wants to come even before he receives a response, he should not do so before he obtains a temporary passport from the Prefect. The question is then; Do you think that Fr. Auge might refuse such a letter if you ask him for it? If you are not absolutely sure, I am sure that I could obtain it on my return. In this way the matter would undoubtedly reach a happy solution.

2. In reference to Turowski⁶⁸⁹, the same method would surely be the most effective. It would be best if both petitions could be submitted at the same time, with an appropriate letter from Fr. Auge. If you judge that the accomplishment of this purpose can wait for my return, for which you will set the time, then in view of the success of the negotiations, with Fr. Auge, it would be better to wait.

There is an agreement with Leonard. I am counting on his word.

Also, tell me what this speech was that Fr. Dłuski⁶⁹⁰ gave. What did he hope to accomplish by it? Did it make any sense? Have they written from

⁶⁸⁶ Francis Mikulski.

⁶⁸⁷ A. Czartoryski.

⁶⁸⁸ The priest director of College Stanislaus.

⁶⁸⁹ Leopold Turowski.

⁶⁹⁰ Fr. Casper Dłuski from Nowogródek; a military chaplain, emigrant, and a member of the House.

Montpellier that Celiński⁶⁹¹ received my letter? I am including notes for Ziomecki and the principal creditors, and for Sidorowicz⁶⁹².

As far as you can, go about correcting everything and everyone. Once again, God bless you for sending the francs! I greet the most noble Fr. Joseph⁶⁹³ from the bottom of my heart, and commend myself to the both of you requesting fervent prayer.

B

ogdan

December 15, 1837

⁶⁹¹ Adam Celiński (1809-1837) - a poet, who studied in Krzemienic and Warsaw; an insurgent and emigrant, he was Jański's first companion, and to the end of his life remained a helper in his religious activities. At this time he was no longer alive, but Jański was not aware of this. He died December 8th.

⁶⁹² Victor Sidorowicz.

⁶⁹³ A cleric at College Stanislas - J. Hube.

Letter Nr. 139

Paris, December 30, 1837

[To F. Krahnas]

My dearest Krahnas!

Agreed! In general, I agree to all of your propositions. In my unworthiness I humbly bow down before God to thank him for the noble and holy inspirations with which He fills you. Unworthy of His infinite love, I beg Him to confirm, sanctify and increase them abundantly in you. God is the beginning and source of all truth, all life, all good, and all perfection; the life that makes itself felt in you is from Him. If you wish to live and grow in Him, first recognize that he is the beginning. If you want to come to a good end, remember that you cannot reach God without God. Be persevering and careful.

Persevering: Having entered upon the way, do not stop; do not be satisfied with what is good today, or with what meets with your desires from one or another aspect. Seek perfect satisfaction; seek what is good in everything, and you will achieve the knowledge and possession of God. For God is Truth, Love, Perfection not just abstractly and subjectively existing in our minds and in our hearts, changeable and false; He is the living Truth, alive in Him and in the person, personally, real.

Let this be your goal above all other goals. Do not let yourself be led astray by other goals, even though they may be good, but only partially and temporarily good.

Be careful about becoming involved in intellectual movements⁶⁹⁴ which, though they may be very respectable, may also contain much that is false. Do not become entangled in them and, for the love of God the living truth and only perfection, do not digress. Do not digress and do not fall back!

⁶⁹⁴ Political quarrels among the emigrant parties.

You will not digress, you will not fall back, you will not stop if you keep your final End before your eyes constantly, and if you continue to be inflamed with greater love for Him and confide completely in Him.

And you will not lose sight of Him. You will always love Him and direct everything to Him, if you not only permit Him to enter your mind, but also establish him in your heart⁶⁹⁵.

B

. Jański

⁶⁹⁵ The letter lacks a conclusion. The rough draft preserved in CRR: Mss 8548, pp. 292-293

Letter Nr. 140

Nevers, February 10, 1838

[To A. Czartoryski]

Once again I offer my humblest apologies to the Honorable Prince, for, due to accidental circumstances and difficulties, I did not pay a personal visit to the Honorable Prince after my first return from out of town, and before my present departure; even when, as Count Zaoyski informs me, the Prince was kind enough to remember the favors he had promised me for our friends outside Paris and that he was awaiting my appearance. With utter confidence in the Honorable Prince's gracious protection, I come to him with the request to present the enclosed petition to the Honorable Minister of Internal Affairs.

This refers to a recommendation to be sent to Paris allowing one of the petitioners, for whom the Honorable Prince promised to intercede, to reside with us. He is Francis Mikulski, a young man we know who now is only 22 years old. I, and especially one of my companions⁶⁹⁶, have known him practically from the cradle; therefore, we are completely sure of him.

There are no charges pending against him from his past life as an emigrant, except that a few years ago, when political prisoners were being led through Nevers, the child cried out: "Vive la Republique!" For this he was sentenced to exile from the departmental seat to a small town where, without any possibility of gaining profitable employment, he has lived in poverty these last years, continuing in vain to send petitions to the government so that he might come to live with us in Paris.

Messrs. Charles Montalembert and Caesar Plater have interceded for him in this matter. They had already received favorable promises, and nobody knows why nothing has yet been accomplished.

Apparently, the problem was the debts this young man, counting on assistance he was to receive from his father in Poland, had previously contracted

⁶⁹⁶ Edward Duński.

within the department, and which he had not paid off completely. In order to settle his financial affairs and to reach an agreement with his creditors, I set out on this journey. I hoped to obtain a temporary passport for him from the local authorities in order to take him to Paris with me. I figured that, once there, he could submit a petition for permanent residence which I would only then place in the hands of the Honorable Prince.

Mikulski, frustrated for so long in his hopes of coming to us, ultimately fell into such a sad state of depression that it was urgently necessary for me to come to his rescue; for he could no longer help himself. Moreover, I had an obligation to help him by reason of my former relations with him and his family and in view of the hopes I have for him in the future.

Hence please excuse me, dear Prince if, full of unlimited confidence in the Prince's gracious goodness, I ventured to go into such detail, and to take up the Honorable Prince's time with such trifles, once I came here, I settled the financial affairs of my pupil. Then, having obtained a passport for him from sub-Prefect, I got him out of the town where he was living (Clamency) and brought him with me to Nevers. But here the Prefect tells me that he cannot issue a temporary passport, not even for the shortest time, without recourse to the Minister. "Autant vaut" I prepared immediately to present such a petition for residence in Paris. It is my privilege to send Mikulski's petition in care of the most gracious Prince.

If, not having yet received the report of the Prefect, they create any difficulties in the Ministry by reason of the debts, let the permission be conditional, upon settlement of his financial affairs, which the Prefect here will verify.

One further consideration. The young man is so desperate and so frightened, afraid that he might again have to spend months and years in idle hope, that he begs me with tears in his eyes, refusing to let me go; he holds me a prisoner until he obtains permission to go to Paris with me. Therefore, in this matter, it is not simply a question of providing for him to come to us, but also of freeing me; for I urgently need to return as quickly as I can. For example, it is very important that I come to visit the Prince with significant and good news from

Rome, where God has blessed our envoys beyond all expectation. Moreover, in consequence of letters I have received from Mr. Caesar Plater, I consider this a duty, which I would wish to satisfy as soon as possible.

I commend all these matters and myself to the kind graces and care of the Prince. I conclude, offering the Prince the homage of my constant sentiments of respect, gratitude, and readiness forever-faithful service.

Bogdan Jański⁶⁹⁷

Nevers, February 25, 1838

Once again⁶⁹⁸, I think that, if we had to make the point, we could also “faire valoir a l’avantage de notre maison”⁶⁹⁹, that for the more than two years of our existence, in spite of all the suspicions of the police, we have not been guilty of any transgression at all and, considering all of those who have been with us, there has not been a single charge against us. In fact, six of our people have renounced their pensions (Kajsiewicz, Semenenko, Rettel, Duński, Hube, Ziomecki).

As for Mikulski’s plans to become a cleric, I would not venture guarantee that this is sure to happen. For, especially at such an early age, such resolutions require the test of time.

May the Honorable Prince allow me to add the expression of my own very genuine respect and gratitude.

I have one small request to make of Count Zamoyski, who should have received my few words mailed on the very day of my departure, written in response to his gracious letter of about 10 days ago. Would the Honorable Prince

⁶⁹⁷ The original letter is preserved in the Czartoryski Library in Cracow; Mss 1551; the rough draft is in CRR, Mss 8594. This letter was also published by Fr. P. Smolikowski in *Historia Zgromadzenia* vol. I, pp. 256-258.; the rough draft is in CRR, Mss 8594 p. 1245;

⁶⁹⁸ This is a fragment of a rough draft in somewhat different form.

⁶⁹⁹ Emphasize that our House is useful.

please ask him to send me the outcome of the matter pending in the Ministry⁷⁰⁰ as soon as this is known; for my departure from here depends on it.

My address is:

A Nevers, Hotel du Poids de la Ville.

Bogdan Jański

⁷⁰⁰ The request for the new brothers from out of town to reside in Paris.

Letter Nr. 141

Paris, May 2, 1836

[To Joseph and Bohdan Zaleski]

Do not believe what Jerome⁷⁰¹ writes about me. The mind is willing, but the flesh is weak.

Let us love one another in Christ, our Lord and Savior. Let us love, one another most sincerely.

Let us pray for one another!

That is all I have to write to you today. God willing, I will write you a longer letter in the near future.

Bogdan
Jański

This is a postscript in J. Kajsiewicz's letter to the Zaleskis.
The original is preserved in the Jagiellonian Library, Cracow; Mss 9202, III, p. 25.

⁷⁰¹ Jerome Kajsiewicz.

Letter Nr. 142

Paris, April 24, 1838

[To Joseph and Bohdan Zaleski]

Greetings to our brothers⁷⁰² and coheirs of eternity in Christ the Lord!

Until now the contact between all of us and you has been maintained by brothers who formerly had more frequent and closer relations with you, especially by our very dear Edward.

If I myself have been silent to now, please be assured that in our daily prayer for brothers who are far from us I have always remembered you. Indeed, I kept you in mind always as persons who are very dear to our hearts and a part of all of our hopes. I praise myself shamelessly in this regard, for aside from this testimony, I have no other declaration to make and so I will make none.

Secondly, as I begin this correspondence with you, I make this request of you above all: that you too, if you have not been doing it so far, from now on, add a little prayer to your daily prayers for that same intention - either a “Hail Mary” or some other prayer for the brothers who are far from you. The merciful God, then, will bless us all because of all of our merits and prayers; He will maintain among us, and even increase, our fraternal love and sacred unity.

It is not Edward’s fault that the response to your letter is so delayed; the fault is entirely mine. He sent your letters to me in Nevers, together with the letter he had written to you. There I was experiencing serious problems with my pupil⁷⁰³; moreover, I was not feeling well. As a result, in spite of a most sacred obligation and urgent necessity, I failed, I sinned. Wishing to write a lengthier letter about the status and condition of our fraternal union in its entirety, I dragged my feet in getting around to it... with the result that, with my return to Paris to new problems and numerous business matters, I must postpone a more extensive

⁷⁰² That is, the extern brothers: Joseph and Bohdan Zaleski. Joseph Bohdan Zales (1802-1886) – “the Ukrainian song writer”. He was a great friend and helper to Bogdan Jański in his activities, and a generous donor.

⁷⁰³ Francis Mikulski.

report for somewhat later and limit myself today to answers for three explicit questions submitted by Bohdan:

1. As to a college in Rome: Your observations are very correct. If we were to begin anything there on a larger scale, with the grandiloquent title “Polish College”, Moscow would inevitably be affected, and we would be creating an insuperable difficulty for ourselves. However, in letters to you, the word “college” was used falsely and needlessly; and you were led to understand distant hopes as present reality. To establish a college, we would need to pass through authoritative channels, we would need funds for professors etc, etc. And we cannot even think about all of this today.

But, we can and must, and we are in fact thinking about the establishment of a separate house, in which our members preparing for the priesthood would live together, while attending classes at the Roman College, or at the Germanicum, or some other theological school. They, would spend all of their time in study, study which, in particular, is more necessary for a Polish priest. We can think about this for people who know the locality⁷⁰⁴ have come forth with these plans on their own. It is needed; for it is an unrequited shame that people like Peter and Jerome have to sacrifice whole days and waste their health in strenuous work with children⁷⁰⁵, with only about three hours of free time daily for themselves.

If there were no other important reasons except that the best seminary training is to be found in Rome, this would be reason enough to strive to send our other seminarians, present and future, there. Especially since, whether here or there, they have to waste so much precious time and work with children in order to attend the seminary. It is possible that, when new members were sent to Rome, they might not find a place in the institutions where the others are living, and would have to look elsewhere. This would lead to a separation of the former from the latter, and to a lack of very close union and continual consultation during their preparatory work that is absolutely necessary with a view to the future.

⁷⁰⁴ That is, the situation in Rome.

⁷⁰⁵ Peter Semenenko and Jerome Kajsiewicz were tutors in the Orphanage of the Somaschi Fathers in Piazza Capranica.

Therefore, if it is our duty to use all of our energies to help those of you on whom such great hopes rest, the most effective means for affording such assistance and the best medium for such training would be to establish such a house which - who knows? - beginning in God's name and able to expect all that is good from God, might, in time, become a Polish College...? Thus, to the extent that reason can foresee, as soon as Rome is able to assume a more independent posture with reference to Moscow which time may be very close, all the materials would be ready to establish an institution that is most important for our country.

There is hope that they will obtain a place free of charge, some kind of house belonging to the Vicariate⁷⁰⁶. I received a letter to this effect on the third of this month. They have already submitted a request to Cardinal Odescalchi in this matter, assured before-hand by favorable promises. If they do not get this one, they will surely get some other abandoned convent. Briefly, they are certain of a place. They are only concerned about funds to assure their support.

You ask how much it costs for the upkeep a single person. Although I am convinced that 50 francs per person per month is not needed for upkeep, since it will be necessary to buy books, have them shipped from Poland etc. perhaps for, this purpose, for a library, God might provide a separate fund some day, it seems that less than this sum would not be sufficient today, that is, we would have to provide 600 francs per year, per man.

Funds for how many? The number is undetermined. During the next vacation period we must definitely send two: Edward⁷⁰⁷ and Turowski⁷⁰⁸, and there may be a third. Later, with God's help, there may be others from among the emigrants and, perhaps with time, we may receive pious refugees from Poland.

It stands to reason, of course, that at present you will have to limit assurances by available funds, offering a bourse to one or two or more, for a year or for a half year. Ultimately, it is important to begin, respectably and firmly, for what is to come later we can depend on the Providence of God.

⁷⁰⁶ That is, the Vicariate of the City of Rome.

⁷⁰⁷ Edward Duński.

⁷⁰⁸ Leopold Turowski.

Under whose care, direction? My dearest brothers, the sincere desire for what is good and a clear conscience permit us to be completely open with you and to depend on that openness in our relations with you. In a post-script I am anticipating the reply to the third question: Not everyone of us has a right to that complete openness without the permission of those in authority. You will soon learn who that despotic authority is.

The Polish Jesuits, Fr. Suszyński and Fr. Ryłło⁷⁰⁹, have encouraged this plan and they are using all their influence to support it. They are both zealous Polish patriots and priests of Christ. But, have no fear of any Jesuit intrigues. First of all, these people are certainly prompted by religious, national and fraternal zeal. The guarantee of this is their past history and all of their relationship with our men.

Secondly, thanks be to God, our men are very firm in their resolve not to break with us. They are determined to preserve and intensify their very close union with us and will not yield to any influences that would divide us or cause them to give up a future that is dedicated to God and to our unfortunate fatherland. They are going to need some outstanding figure if possible as a protector, maybe even Cardinal Odescalchi. One of them will be the superior, who will be responsible for their interior government and who will communicate with all of us in their name.

The last of the questions in this category: Will the local authority allow this? We could not seek such a permission before-hand. But the Jesuits, who know their way around in such matters, assure us that it can be done, and they urge us to do it as quickly as possible.

2. With reference to the house in Paris: It exists, and as Edward wrote you, it is in very good shape spiritually, thanks be to God. The entrance into the seminary of our main pillars could have been, dangerous to our further existence, but God, in his kindness, has warded off this danger. Our weak, new members are

⁷⁰⁹ Evacuated from the territory annexed by the Russians, and hiding in Rome under assumed names.

growing stronger, more mature; they are growing in strength and in spirit beyond, all expectation.

Rettel has been marvelously renewed by his retreat at La Trappe, where I sent him not long ago after I had been there. Sidorowicz, a school colleague of Semenenko, offers the highest hopes. Joseph Kozłowski is an example of most regular Christian life, pious, quiet and industrious. Siennicki, the artist, also continues to mature. I brought young Mikulski⁷¹⁰ back with me. The strongest and the most zealous is the doctor, Terlecki. He is staying with us, but he does not yet have permission for residence in Paris. Turowski Leopold will live with us until either he enters College Stanislas or goes to Rome.

Outside of Paris we have many outstanding candidates. But, there is a problem, a very difficult problem, with government permission for them to reside in Paris. However, this will also be resolved with time. In general, we have not had any real renegades. Everyone who entered has remained with us either here or, if he has left the House for whatever reasons, he remains united with us in spirit and shares our hopes.

Nevertheless, as Edward wrote you, our financial affairs are in very bad shape. We are in existence three years. In that time we have equally satisfied the needs of all, without any regard to what they could bring in with them, and it happened that some could bring nothing. Therefore, there are debts. We have no money with which to provide for any further rental. Up to now, we have been sleeping on bare mattresses, without sheets, because we haven't had enough money to buy any!... Under horse blankets.

The third category. There would not be such peace and unity among us, as there has been and still is, Thank God, if everyone insisted on passing judgment, and if every decision had to be discussed. There is authority among us and it is very strong because it depends on mutual confidence and love. These continue to grow and lead to an ever more fervent obedience, practically without limit. I should explain to you that our principles and notions of authority, of interior organization and government, took form among us a result of our initial

⁷¹⁰ Francis Mikulski was brought to Paris by Jański about April 28, 1838.

inspirations and desires to lead a most perfect Christian life built on the examples which, without even being aware of it, we had drawn from the lives of the Saints, which we have been reading daily since we first came together.

God help me if I wished to compare us or our community with the pious communities established in the ages of faith. However, in spite of our unworthiness and weakness, we ourselves recognized the ideal. I would like to erase what I have just written, and I would ask you to please separate from it especially what might be considered any merit of mine, for I am the worst among these young people who are so full of life and who give themselves to God without any concern for themselves or any regard for earthly promises.

Nevertheless, I who am worn out, sick in body, mind and heart, an old cast-off and broken down, I who any day now may take a seat in the corner, I exercise among all the brothers the overall and chief ministry. From our very foundation the brothers have recognized me as their Elder Brother. And, until now, those who are in Rome, those who are at the College Stanislas those who are here in the House and those who have aligned themselves with us outside of Paris continue to show me fully, voluntary and complete confidence and obedience.

From this it does not follow that in financial dealings with you I alone issue receipts. Indeed, if you specify the need for which you are sending money, that is, if you clearly designate what it is to be used for, you can send it in care of either Adam⁷¹¹ or Stephen, who are our friends and protectors. Moreover, you can commission them to see that the money is used properly and to issue receipts. However, do not refuse us your kindness in view of what, in the name of the brothers, I will present to you as the most important.

And so, today, from whatever funds you can designate for the future house in Rome, I would ask you especially to set aside some money to pay off old debts left behind by Jerome and Peter. Naturally, I am responsible for these debts and have, no money with which to pay them. They come to almost 700 francs. Edward has a detailed list of them. Some are very urgent.

⁷¹¹ That is, Adam Mickiewicz and Stephen Witwicki.

Finally, in view of the particular condition of poverty in our house at this time, could you designate any funds to meet our needs? This could be the rent for a quarter or half year (275 francs), or a special offering sheets and shirts (which are also lacking), or about 100 francs to pay off our most pressings creditors etc.

What you consider best, and whatever you can do. Be that as it may, I forewarn you that I will soon make a request for a very important purpose, to which I am sure you will want to contribute.

On this note, commending all of us to your graciousness and fraternal love, I conclude for today.

Please pray for us.

Bogdan Jański

P.S. Boleslaus, Valerian Wielogłowski's oldest brother, came to us from Versailles yesterday. He began his confession today. He is very, very promising. Support him by your prayers.

John Omieciński⁷¹² has submitted a petition for residence in Paris. He will live with us. Let Joseph⁷¹³ write a few words to him here.

In Bordeaux, in Dax, in the department of Landes, in Montpellier, there is a vast harvest. Alleluia!⁷¹⁴

⁷¹² John Nepomucene Omieciński did, in fact, enter the House this year June 1, 1838, but he did not persevere, he left in Spring, 1839.

⁷¹³ Joseph Zaleski

⁷¹⁴ The original letter is preserved in Jagiellonian Library, Mss 9201, pp. 8-11. The copy of this letter preserved in CRR: Mss 8655, pp. 77-86. This letter was also published by Fr. Smolikowski in Historia Zgromadzenia vol. I, pp. 216-219.

Letter Nr. 143

Paris
Boulevard Mont Parnasse 25
May 15, 1838

[To Bohdan Zaleski]

Our most gracious brother almoner,

Thanks to Divine Providence and your kindness, we received your letter with the money on the third of this month. Dear Edward wrote immediately to inform you of this. But I, the inveterate sinner, counting on this, and waiting for a letter from Adam⁷¹⁵, who wished to send his letter with mine, and once again occupied with various very pressing matters, I delayed writing until now, in keeping with my old sinful habit.

Have mercy! Through your love for Christ the Lord do not refuse me your kind forgiveness! Be very sure that as far as all of us are concerned, it is our most fervent desire and constant striving to become more worthy in the eyes of God and in your fraternal heart.

I am sending a receipt on my own. But Adam, though he may not mention this in his letter, for he wrote it before mine, is most willing to add his signature if you consider this better and necessary. Also, if you wish any change in the form of this receipt, tear up the one I am sending now, write it in the form you consider best, and we will rewrite and sign it. I wrote it in general terms, without describing who we are, or for what purpose we have come together, for I thought it would be better if you offer whatever explanation you consider most proper in your letter.

I will shortly send you a detailed account of money spent, in accord with the needs we presented to you, and which were confirmed by you. When I presented these needs to you, I also spoke of them to Adam and sought his approval. I do not wish to keep any of our expenses, even the slightest, a secret

⁷¹⁵ Adam Mickiewicz.

from him; rather, I would wish him to know about everything, and to advise... But knowing him, you can surmise that an obligatory inspection of all these details would be both a little difficult and boring for him. Therefore, you will have to be satisfied with my detailed account of expenses, which ultimately can also be signed by Edward⁷¹⁶.

I had a letter yesterday from our Roman brother⁷¹⁷. They tell me that they had also written to you recently. And so you have very encouraging news of the progress of our undertaking there. God grant that our wishes will be fulfilled as regards the protectorate by Cardinal Odescalchi⁷¹⁸, since they have already been so well received by him, and practically taken under his protection. He ordered them to put down everything about themselves in writing, so that he could relate our entire work to the Holy Father.

My dear brothers, something very positive is being accomplished there for our cause. Therefore, for the love of Christ the Lord, while you have avenues open to you, go about begging as fast and as often as you can while the avenues are open, in order to collect as much as possible, so that we might be able to plant our roots deeply there. I need not warn you how necessary prudence and haste are in this matter; for if the Russians get wind of what is going on before we are able to establish something more stable there, they could make everything more difficult and maybe even put a stop to it.

Therefore, for the sum of 2,400 francs, allocated by you: Glory to God, and thanks to you, dearest Bohdan, in Christ the Lord and, before God, thanks to our unknown benefactors. But, in view of the fact that it would be better if as many of our men as possible were located there before any difficulties arise, we may send a third man at this time - Hube⁷¹⁹. We have hopes of obtaining money for their journey a few hundred francs apiece elsewhere, but this is less certain. Mercy, then my dear friend. If you still have some money available, do not spend it for other purposes; hold on to it for this, undoubtedly the most important

⁷¹⁶ Edward Duński.

⁷¹⁷ Peter Semenenko and Jerome Kajsiewicz.

⁷¹⁸ Cardinal and Secretary of State.

⁷¹⁹ J. Hube.

purpose. That you cannot give us any guarantee for the more distant future - thank God. None of our people are concerned about this, nor will they be concerned. Having put their future in the hands of God, they justly place all of their hopes in Him.

Finally, because of the lack of time and the need for haste, I will not write in this letter all that I would wish, or that I would need to write to you. However, I consider it my duty, on the question of money, to make certain more urgent requests. First of all, there is one pressing need for which it would be worth setting some money aside immediately - to purchase books for religious propaganda here among the emigrants.

Until now, in or out of Paris, most of the work was done *viva voce*, or with the help of borrowed books. The borrowed books were kept for a long time, became dog-eared through borrowing, and this made those who loaned the books reluctant. Moreover, what could be borrowed was not always what was urgently needed; neither was it always possible to borrow books... Our library, made up as it is of books we brought with ourselves, is very inadequate, poor in what is most important.

Meanwhile, they are calling for books: from Bordeaux, from Montpellier, from Landes; they would also be useful elsewhere. I am not talking about books that would be useful for the study of religious topics, or for a knowledge of our national religious literature... I am talking mainly about apologetic works, written for converts, or for those who are being converted and for those giving instructions, e.g.: Essai sur l'indifference⁷²⁰, Bautain's Philosophie du Christianisme⁷²¹, the writings of Gerbet⁷²², La religion constante par la science of De la Marne⁷²³, Moore's Voyages d'un Irlandais à la recherche d'une vraie

⁷²⁰ The work of Fr. F. Lammenais.

⁷²¹ Fr. Louis Bautain (1797-1867) - French theologian and philosopher; 2 volumes of his Christian Philosophy appeared in 1835, and 2 volumes of Experimental Philosophy in 1839.

⁷²² Olympius Phillip Gerbet.

⁷²³ John Baptist de la Marne (1699-1756) - historian, professor of theology, and legal counselor in Liege. Encyclopedias do not list this work.

A book by Anthony Francis Roselly de Lorgues, published in Paris, 1835; in 1842 it appeared in Polish, translated by Dziekoński.

religion, Cobbet's⁷²⁴ book about protestantism, Le Christ devant le Siecle⁷²⁵, La Raison du Christianisme, Triomphe de l'Evangele, Universite Catholique⁷²⁶ etc. etc.

Moreover, for recent converts we could use more comprehensive catechisms, such as that of Grenada⁷²⁷, the Montpellier catechism by Charancy, and pious works offering counsels for a more perfect life etc. All of these materials are very necessary to us today, and it would be worthwhile to set aside a few hundred francs for that purpose at least a few hundred; something at least for the most urgent materials.

N.B. These books would not become anyone's private property; they would be loaned out for the use of those who needed them. Secondly, with reference to our House here: Thanks be to God, our spirit is good, and, in Christ the Lord, there is every hope of growth. I have just received a promise from Montalembert that he will obtain government permission for two or three of our members to reside here. Since Paris is a center for the emigrants, and since most of the emigrants who are studying live here etc., it is important that we strengthen our position here.

Hence, I am planning to increase our personnel, adding new and very solid people. The first candidate is our dear brother, Doctor Terlecki⁷²⁸, who is living in Meaux at present. He is a very respectable and pious man, who is very popular with many people. Then, just a few days ago, I visited with Krahnas in Meaux, to advise him about what he should do after his confession and conversion we have already sent you news of this. I was moved, edified and delighted beyond any words or expectations by the grace of God evident in his thoughts and intentions,

⁷²⁴ William Cobbet (1762-1835) - an English publicist. Jański has in mind his History of the reform (1827). Already in 1843, a translation under the title of History of Protestantism appeared in Wilno.

⁷²⁵ A book by Anthony Francis Roselly de Lorgues, published in Paris, 1835; in 1842 it appeared in Polish, translated by Dziekoński.

⁷²⁶ An educational journal published by Fr. Gerbet and others.

⁷²⁷ Louis of Grenada (1525-1588) - Dominican, ascetical writer and preacher. Undoubtedly there is question here of his Compendium of Christian Doctrine, published posthumously (1644).

⁷²⁸ Hipolit Terlecki, who later went to Rome, for theology (in 1840).

and by his readiness to make any sacrifice for Christ the Lord and for our Catholic cause.

He, too, will live with us. N.B. he is capable, leads a very respectable life, is an example of industry, and has extensive contacts with our young people. In addition, I will choose a third person.

John Omieciński has already put in his petition to come to Paris, and he will live with us. I place my confidence in God, therefore, that within a short time we will strengthen ourselves notably. God is merciful! For, after the departure of our spiritual brothers⁷²⁹, who were pillars living among us, our “little House” ...” seemed to be in precarious condition. But, it continued to exist, thanks to confidence in God and persevering faith in the sacredness and unfailing character of the divine idea which had bound us together as one. Thanks and praise to the merciful Lord!

Your financial assistance, then, came just in time for the House too; for, with so many needs and problems weighing us down, and which were monopolizing my thoughts and my time, it was extremely difficult, almost impossible, to grow, to recruit, to reorganize. I even lacked the courage and necessary strength to introduce people such as those I just named, who were so orderly in their former way of life and housekeeping, into the mire of our poverty and worries from which, thanks to you, we are gradually emerging.

Yet, if we are to put things in order and stand on firm ground in the future, when the new men come, we will have to get rid of our debts, as far as we can. Especially since, thank God, we no longer need so much to achieve that goal a few hundred francs. Therefore, in view of the importance of our situation here and, consequently, of our foundation, I beg you, most gracious Bohdan, if at all possible, do not refuse to provide assistance for those of us who are here.

When it comes to the distribution of funds, do not let the choice between our House and Rome disturb you in the least. Whatever, you give them will cheer us and lift up our spirits, almost as if we here needed nothing at all!

⁷²⁹ Semenenko and Kajsiewicz.

For now, then, two financial requests, and with Rome, three. But, I forewarn you, brother almoner, that there will be others. Prepare yourself beforehand.

I have not yet come up with the information you requested concerning the Society for Aid to Education⁷³⁰, but I will make inquiries and send the information. But, dear Bohdan, if you are thinking of making some kind of offering there, consider that this society without denying the good that it may accomplish, receives the patronage of so many people who have such extensive contacts, who take up subscriptions, run bazaars etc., to raise funds for them.

Therefore, it seems to me that, without any qualms of conscience, you can feel free not to put yourself out for this cause, but instead, turn to and concentrate your efforts, influence and aid on our cause or, rather, God grant it!, God's cause.

Bogdan Jański⁷³¹

⁷³⁰ There is question here of the Society for Aid to Education, which enjoyed the patronage of Prince Czartoryski, the Platers, Jełowicki etc., and was in existence since 1832.

⁷³¹ The original is preserved in the Jagiellonian Library (Cracow); Mss 920-1, III, p. 1. Manuscript of this letter is preserved in CRR, Mss 8637, pp. 264-267. This letter was published by Fr. P. Smolikowski in Historia Zgromadzenia. Vol. I, pp. 123-124 and 214-215.

Letter Nr. 144

Paris, June 19, 1838

[To Joseph and Bohdan Zaleski]Misericordia omni peccato!

I do not venture, I cannot write anything else to you today.

It is more than a month since I wrote the preceding two pages. There was very little to add. And with that I have delayed so long! I am surely the most miserable and contemptible sinner.

O God, did you permit me to experience this grave humiliation so that, as an old slave of sin, I might not come to think that I am free? Do you permit this, in order that I may not be overcome by pride by reason of the fraternal, almost filial, respect that I, unworthy as I am, receive by your decree from my most worthy brothers in Christ the Lord?

Punish me, O God! “Quoniam iniquitates meae supergressae sunt caput meum et sicut onus grave gravata sunt super me.. Et in flagella paratus sum et dolor meus in conspectu meo semper.”

However, O God of infinite justice and love, in your compassionate kindness, grant that my holy brothers would not suffer for my sins!

I will add nothing more today. Tomorrow I will receive Holy Communion, asking God for the strength to write to you at greater length. Please do not write until you receive the letter that I will write to you tomorrow.

I am enclosing the receipt that Szaniecki⁷³² gave to Edward, together with a letter that Adam⁷³³ gave me some time ago to send to you.

Unfortunately, Edward, is again suffering from an illness of the lungs. He even went off for a few weeks in the country, to Meaux. He returned just a few days ago. He is feeling better; but, to be more sure that he is cured, he has

⁷³² John Ulrich Szaniecki (1783-1840) - an emigrant living in Paris. During the uprising, he was a delegate from Stobno, and the Minister of Justice. In exile, he published several issues of Poland (1836).

⁷³³ Adam Mickiewicz.

interrupted his studies at the College⁷³⁴. In the judgment of the doctor, the trip to Italy will be helpful to him, even as far as his health is concerned. Joseph's⁷³⁵ last letter to him arrived while he was away. Not wishing to trouble him with my sinfulness and your worry while he was so weak, I did not show him the letter.

If, after you pray, you decide that it is God's will and yours to cover my scandalous failure by your merciful silence, do not scandalize Adam Mickiewicz and Edward by telling them of it!

O God, send us your chosen leader for our family, one who is full of your holy grace, outstanding in love, wisdom and strength! And remove me, O Lord, with all haste, from the front ranks of active service; quickly send me somewhere for life-long penance!

Dear brothers, I beg you to intercede for me in this matter. I commend myself to your mercy, and all of us to your prayer and love. May the grace of our Lord continue to comfort, strengthen and perfect you, so that you may reach perfect eternal life.

Bogdan Jański

Address: Monsieur Joseph Zaleski

Marsailles, Bouches du Rhone

(Endome, Campagna Terrs)⁷³⁶

⁷³⁴ The College Stanislaus Leszczyński, a school that accepted boarders.

⁷³⁵ Joseph Zaleski.

⁷³⁶ The original of this letter is preserved in the Jagiellonian Library (Cracow): Mss 9201, III, p.2. The rough draft is found in CRR; Mss 8628, pp. 966-967.

Letter Nr. 145Paris, June 19, 1838⁷³⁷**[To Joseph and Bohdan Zaleski]**

And so, thank God, I begin this letter to you today as I promised.

First of all, my dearest brothers, have no fear. Do not think that the unreasonable neglect by which I saddened you was due to any new happenings or catastrophes, or some new spiritual disturbances and sufferings. On the contrary, freed from most disturbing external difficulties by your kindness, within me I am experiencing a time of quiet, if not of perfect peace. With this quiet, I am experiencing an ever more fervent desire for every spiritual good, and with that desire come ever more vibrant Christian hopes and divine delights.

But, God's grace is clearly to no avail. Side by side with it, I am crushed by the weight of my bad habits; and so far, it seems, with all the strength of my resolutions and my good will, I am unable to rid myself of habitual laziness in correspondence. I pray on this constantly; but, apparently, as a consequence of my sins and some deeply rooted perversity, I do not achieve the fruits of prayer. May the Lord's will be done!

My God, how many losses, humiliations and very painful difficulties have I experienced as a result of this miserable procrastination and languor when it comes to correspondence! Indeed, in April I allowed myself to become completely sluggish in my correspondence with you, and that in spite of our urgent needs, and the fact that you had money set aside and ready for us. The brothers in Rome, so far, have only been able to maintain contact through Edward.

This is not a simple case of laziness. God sees that I am busy all day, from 4:30 in the morning, from the time of our morning prayers, until late at night, running around here and there, occupied with something I consider very urgent. This is precisely a part of my illness: the matters at hand that trouble me, exert

⁷³⁷ The date is established on the basis of the content of the letter, and the Zaleski correspondence.

such a tyrannical influence upon me, that I become their slave exclusively, and what is more important, but far away, goes unnoticed.

A second characteristic of this deeply-rooted illness of mine is a kind of positive repugnance, a physical weakness, an aversion to write anything at all as coming from me. And the secretary knows this. N.B. we know what Mr. Anthony⁷³⁸ understands by “secretary”, that is “the ugly one” or “grey one”. This is secretary, taking the form of an angel, suggests very holy reasons to justify my conduct: “What do you know, you sinful person? You know how imperfect you are, you old cesspool of the most filthy sins! Why should you write, repeating your hackneyed ideas, opinions and counsels?

Are you not already proud enough, that you allow yourself to talk and talk about holy things? You yourself are so far from holiness! And to become involved in writing? Realize that you are writing to your own condemnation. When you speak, you say this or that, and “verba volant”; but, as you write, do you live according to what you write? How can you dare to leave behind you and set down on paper, what you have not established in your heart or life? Finally, can you possibly write what you feel and what you wish to say? You are not capable of doing so! ... etc., etc., etc.”

Briefly, although there are times when I cast off the yoke of slavery - current irritating matters, labors and needs that oppress me - and I sit down in a free moment to write a letter; yet, then, some invisible force holds me by the hand, and does not permit me to write a single word. For a long while, this has been my usual condition. And only rarely are there any “lucida intervalla”⁷³⁹. However, brothers, I believe, I really do believe that every spirit praises the Lord; and I hope that, once I correct myself and purify myself more profoundly and thoroughly, by God’s help, I shall be able to conquer this invisible force that persecutes me so despotically. Therefore, the main issue is to be reborn in Christ the Lord.

⁷³⁸ Anthony Górecki

⁷³⁹ Lucid intervals.

This, without doubt, in the root of my illness. Thanks to God, for some time now I enjoy peace of soul, free of disturbance by way of individual projects, particular feelings or thoughts. But there is one feeling, one annoying thought that permeates all of my thoughts and feelings ... the feeling that the whole tone of my Christian life at present is false, un-Christian, evil! The feeling that the tone, the mode of my, of our, life agrees more with the world than it does with Christ... and the hair on my head stands on end, and a chill passes over me.

One cannot be only half a Christian, half pious, half penitent, and achieve eternity with God with just a minimum effort. I sense, and I am constantly hearing the cry of my Guardian Angel or my conscience, I know not which, that the principal work is not even begun, that the one and chief obligation of giving ourselves entirely to God has been neglected (n.b. this does not necessarily involve becoming a priest).

Thus, everything that flows from the mode of my life and work until now, seems to be so obviously inadequate, worthless, practically useless. Day and night I am being called somewhere else; and in the place where I am. I am constantly distracted, spent, not myself. This leads to a general feeling of discontent with myself, and consequently to the aversion of writing a lot of nonsense about myself today.

Merciful God, may my misery awaken sentiments of forgiveness in the hearts of the brothers who read what I write! May that sentiment clarify and complete this fitful and fraternal confession that I make to them.

The words about penance and withdrawal from active service which I included in yesterday's letter, unnecessarily and undoubtedly prematurely, are not to be taken as a shot in the air through desperation, after having brought you so much sadness and being forced to humble myself. It is part of that general anxiety about which I just wrote. And it stems from the general feeling that there is a quality of falseness about my whole life today, as well as from a general and constant desire to give to my life a higher Christian quality.

My dearest brothers, do not be shocked that, having touched on my sin, I have gone on at such great length about myself. It was bad. I should, perhaps,

have allowed you to give up on me; but I was concerned about the totality of our work, about the brothers. I would simply like to write to you that he who was their “corporal” or “lieutenant” until now is not retreating... and, although he is mute, he is faithful to the banner, and ever more ready to do battle. He is afraid to begin; but he grows faint with impatience and the desire to begin a decisive campaign.

My dearest brothers, I began this letter late, in the last hour before the mail was to leave and, in accord with my promise, I would like to send it out today. Therefore, I will send a continuation tomorrow. Today to accustom myself to keeping my word concerning correspondence, I am mailing what I have written.

I will only add two more things:

1. That the condition of Edward's health is not dangerous; in fact, it is not even as serious as his two previous break-down in 1835 and 1836.
2. If you wish to write to Poland, to Cracow, you have an excellent and certain opportunity to do so through Walter. Therefore, write, and send your letter soon. I will write more about this tomorrow, and likewise about many other important matters - about Adam, Stephen, Damiron. From the bottom of my heart I apologize for the length, the emptiness and lack of order in this scrap of a letter. I commend Edward, myself, and all of us to your prayers.

Bogdan Jański⁷⁴⁰

⁷⁴⁰ The original is preserved in Jagiellonian Library (Cracow): Mss 9201, III pp. 12-13. The letter was printed in the History of Fr. P. Smolikowski, vol. 2, pp. 263-266.

Letter Nr. 146Paris, June 20, 1838⁷⁴¹**[To Joseph and Bohdan Zaleski]**

Dearest brothers, by God's grace I begin the continuation of my letter to you. What nonsense I wrote in yesterday's, today's, letter! Please accept it all with the mercy of the heart of Christ. It would be impossible for me to write to you tomorrow, Thursday, for there are essential matters that must be taken care of during the day. And, since I definitely wanted to send you further reports, I am making use of this time at night. It is after spiritual reading, meditation and night prayers, and the brothers are all asleep. Although I am tired, I invoke the help of Him who stimulates souls, Jesus, and I begin a kind of evening conversation with you about all the important things I have to tell you.

First, I return to Edward, and I repeat that there is no danger: his illness is less serious than it was two years ago; but, since there is a recurrence after two years of health, it is good to be cautious. To be more certain of a complete cure, he will go out into the country again soon. We are trusting in God that by the end of next month, at the latest, toward the middle of August, you will see him, completely restored to health, when he comes to Rome. Help in the realization of that goal, brothers, by your prayers.

Concerning the opportunity to write to Cracow: Walter⁷⁴², who I already mentioned to you, is the son of a Cracow merchant, and was once appointed professor of Chemistry at the University. Here he is the director of the chemical laboratory at the Central School. He is taking a vacation to visit with his father.

In his opinions, and in the way he thinks, he is definitely a Catholic. But, unfortunately, the devil has a hold on him through a certain woman. As a result, he has still not surrendered to the truth that lives in our holy Church; he does not practice his faith. But he is very friendly toward us and has been very close to me

⁷⁴¹ The date has been established as above.

⁷⁴² Philip Neri Walter.

since his arrival in Paris. Knowing his heart and his character, I feel that you can entrust any commission, even the most confidential, to him⁷⁴³. Therefore, if you want to send any letters through him, get them here quickly.

In reference to our House: Thank God, everything is going well. At present, there are six of us living together: I, Rettel, Sidorowicz are those who have remained; Mikulski⁷⁴⁴, Edward's⁷⁴⁵ cousin, whom I brought with me from Nevers, is among us, undergoing a period of trial in the novitiate.

He is a great consolation to us for, in spite of his former evil life, he is making rapid progress in the spiritual way. Our fifth member is John Omieciński, who came to us at the beginning of this month and has already been put in charge of housekeeping, has made his decision, and has been accepted into the category of those who are bound together by bonds of strictest unity, such as Peter, Jerome, and Edward. He is a holy man; by his humble, generous, devout love and meekness, he is a great help to us in the common life. Krahnas is our sixth member. A few days ago, with the help of a recommendation from Montalembert⁷⁴⁶, he obtained permission to come to us from Meaux; from every aspect, he offers us the greatest hopes. Marszewski⁷⁴⁷ received his permission together with Krahnas, and will come to us shortly from Bayeur. He is a lancer who was in service for some time. He is 40 years old, and is a special friend of the Hube's. He will use him for many jobs around the house, at which he is very excellent.

Two others who lived with us formerly, but who were forced to move closer to the center of town because of their work, Siennicki⁷⁴⁸ and Kozłowski⁷⁴⁹, come to us only for festal celebrations.

⁷⁴³ The most confidential commission.

⁷⁴⁴ Francis Mikulski who later became Fr. Bonaventure, a Franciscan in Assisi. He lived in the House from April, 1838.

⁷⁴⁵ Namely, of Edward Duński.

⁷⁴⁶ Count Charles de Montalembert (1810-1870) – historian, publicist, politician and Catholic thinker. He was a great friend of the Poles, especially of Mickiewicz and Jański. The author of a very popular life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, of Du vandalisme et du catholicisme dans l'art (1829), and many other works.

⁷⁴⁷ Joseph Marszewski – a captain during the uprising; he did, in fact, enter the House this year.

⁷⁴⁸ Francis Siennicki returned at the end of the year.

We have two aspirants: Zan⁷⁵⁰, and Kaczanowski, who is now doing some work in the neighborhood of Rouen, but who will return soon.

Turowski⁷⁵¹ is supposed to arrive any day now. Kamocki⁷⁵² is coming with him. He has permission to come to Paris, but only for a few months; however, there is hope that he will be able to stay. He will also live with us. He is a very valuable acquisition. I have known him for a long time; we attended the university together. He is a nephew of Bishop Skórkowski⁷⁵³, through whom he indicated previously that he wished to enter into correspondence and a closer relationship with us. He is an educated person who knows people, has an engaging personality, and is very well grounded in the faith, since he never stopped practicing it. Yet, in consequence of recent experiences, sufferings⁷⁵⁴ and divine enlightenment, he is like one who has just undergone a complete conversion in the depths of his soul.

And finally, our dearly beloved Terlecki is with us body and soul. He will be a pillar. I am trying to obtain permission for him to reside in Paris through Fr. Gerbet, who is now Vicar-General in Meaux. Thus, we will soon be short on living space. During the next quarter, I will, have to rent a few rooms close by, and we will, undoubtedly, divide into two groups: the stricter observance, and the less strict. The establishment of this filial house seems necessary at this time, and I must begin to do something about it immediately. If this appeals to you, and funds permit, may our brother almoner⁷⁵⁵ keep this in mind.

I probably mentioned in a previous letter that I intended to establish such a filial house outside of Paris. However, after consulting with Terlecki, Krahnas, Królikowski⁷⁵⁶, Koźmian⁷⁵⁷, we agreed that it was essential for those in the

⁷⁴⁹ Joseph Kozłowski had previously belonged to the House for a while, but was gradually breaking all ties with it.

⁷⁵⁰ Stephen Zan did not become a member of the House.

⁷⁵¹ Leopold Turowski did, in fact, come; later he went to Rome, but did not persevere.

⁷⁵² Marian Kamocki also made his appearance very soon (June 23, 1838); but he did not persevere. He later became a Vincentian priest.

⁷⁵³ In the copy „Kórkowski’s” letter: Charles Vincent Sergei Skórkowski (1768-1851), bishop of Cracow from 1830; he studied with the Vincentian Fathers at Stradom.

⁷⁵⁴ His wife died, and his property was confiscated for taking part in the uprising.

⁷⁵⁵ Bohdan Zaleski.

⁷⁵⁶ Charles Królikowski from Bordeaux, a lay brother, and an assistant to Jański from 1836.

⁷⁵⁷ John Koźmian completed his Law studies in Toulouse at that time. He stayed for a long while in the Paris House, and was imbued with its spirit.

outlying districts who were to become “associates” and “servants of unity” to live with us for a time, in order to be bound to us in closer unity, and to assure more stable conduct on their part when operating at a distance from us.

N.B. John Koźmian passed through Paris recently, on his way to England and Germany, to visit his mother (this is secret). The boy has completely shaken off his former extremely worldly attitude, his attitude as a student, and is a fervent, pious Catholic. He, too, has aligned himself with us, and wishes to join us on his return. Also, Maliński⁷⁵⁸ should be coming to us any day from England. Thus, the prospects are that there will be a dozen or more of us.

In view of the increase in the number of brothers, we may have to move from St. Michael and make other arrangements. But first it is necessary to establish the filial house, so that we can receive those who are ready to enter.

Królikowski, from Bordeaux, is presently our zealous missionary among our brethren in the depots⁷⁵⁹. He will soon undertake a journey through the southern provinces. He will move along, but he will not reach Marseilles. However, if you could make a move, it would be well for you to arrange to meet somewhere. It would also be well, if you could at least visit Montpellier.

He is our brother, mainly a friend of Terlecki. Giecewicz a slightly older person, is supposed to be dependable and pious, but somewhat cold; Kozakiewicz is a young lad, a student of medicine; Humphrey Dłuski, a nephew of the priest, is very, very close, and is said to be capable. The good priest sent us a beautiful and very promising letter from him. Raulin⁷⁶⁰ is also there. He is somewhat notorious, and has many enemies, but even more flightiness and mischief, yet he is not to be neglected. He is attached to us body and soul, especially to Semenenko.

Therefore, it would be good for you to visit all of them.

Fr. Dłuski is living in Aix, where he wanted to enter the Capuchins. He is a very dear man. We had an opportunity to know him better, because he lived with

⁷⁵⁸ Joseph maliński did not stop with promises that he would return, he was in the House already at the time when the uprising began, in 1830. He did, in fact, return; but this was already after B. Jański's departure for Rome.

⁷⁵⁹ The traveling lay apostle of the emigrant depots throughout the towns of southern France.

⁷⁶⁰ Arthur Raulin, a friend of Adam Celiński and Peter Semenenko.

us for a year. He possesses rare piety, and an interior life that is at once lofty and profound, the likes of which I have not encountered among any of our emigrant priests. His mental problems have vanished completely. He was not an ordinary mental illness; rather, a very interesting spiritual variety.

Forgive me if I didn't wait for your permission. I encouraged him to visit you in Endoume.

Now about Rome: You must have had news from them recently. The project⁷⁶¹ presented to the Holy Father by Cardinal Odescalchi was not successful. May God's will be done!

They are not in the least discouraged. But Adam was very much disturbed by this⁷⁶². I agree with the General of the Jesuits, that this might have been premature, and that there was no need to pursue the matter on quite such a lofty level. And now, in spite of all this, we have to do it on our own, and with all our might! Hence, we must send others, while we can.

Although, my dear brother Bohdan, you mentioned by name those for whom you were sending support, I presume that you intended the 2,000 francs for their foundation, without sticking literally to the named recipients. I am writing this, because we are sending not two, but three people; therefore, having no other funds, all three will have to share what is available. And perhaps, if only two leave now, we may still send Joseph Hube later; for we will have no difficulty on his father's side⁷⁶³ as I feared in which case, the father will live with us at the rue Notre Dame des Champs, as he did previously.

I have not yet met Turowski. I know of him only through others, Edward and Jerome. He has yet to be tested, whereas Hube is already sure, even very sure.

Mickiewicz, especially, favours his departure, and thinks that he can be a great help to our men in Rome. Indeed, aside from Semenenko, in none of us did conversion effect a deeper and more complete change than that to be seen in

⁷⁶¹ The establishment of a separate institute for Poles: the Polish College in Rome.

⁷⁶² A. Mickiewicz was deeply affected by the unfriendly welcome accorded to the Polish exiles, Semenenko and Kajsiewicz, in Rome, and especially by the fact that the important project of the Polish College was not accepted.

⁷⁶³ Michael Hube.

Hube. Among all of us, he is outstanding in spiritual recollection, unshaken inner peace, and life in the presence of God. And, if at first I voted for him to stay here, I did so mainly aside from the difficulty expected on his father's side because I wanted him to be engaged in the formation of new members, who would later enter the seminary for we do have such hopes.

Whoever goes, it will be better for them to wait here until the end of the school year, just as the others, the "Romans", must also await vacation time. Our fundamental principle must always be that in Rome something very important is happening for us; and, while we can, before the Russians set up any obstacles, we must send as many tried and sure men there as we can.

I return to Paris. My first bit of information about Adam Mickiewicz is that he is in good health. A while ago he suspended his work on a history of Poland. Nevertheless, hasn't he been putting out some poetry? This would be something tremendous! For, he is full of life, and strength, and spirit.

You wrote once, asking about his financial condition. N.B. Everything I write here is a secret, under the seal of the confessional, God forbid that he should ever learn that I wrote anything about this. I even encourage you to burn this bit of written information.

First: I don't know whether you know that for the past year he has been receiving a pension from the government: 1,000 francs a year, not as an emigrant, but from a special fund to support "men of letters". Last year the rumor was spread about among many people, unknown to him, that he was in very dire circumstances. But the rumors were grossly exaggerated. Adam never had, and still does not have, any special patrons; he has to count every sou. However, for a while now it has seemed that things were going better for him; he received various small allocations from Poland.

You should know that I am the confidant of his poverty, and his agent who, in time of ultimate need, pawns his wife's jewels which are fairly valuable. For a while, everything was redeemed. But just today, this is why I wrote such a short letter previously, and why I had no time during the day, he called me, and asked me to pawn a portion of the jewels for 700 francs. This is surely a bad sign.

Undoubtedly, the approaching quarterly rental payment demanded this, plus the fact that his wife will soon give birth to a child. Daily, for the past month, they have been expecting the delivery.

I think that if you could send him something, stating simply that the money is part of a fund that comes from Poland of which you are the executor, or that the money was sent especially, for him in your care, he would accept it. To be more certain, do not send money order in his name if it might come to that; rather, send it to me, and I would take him the money after the exchange. This would be more difficult for him to refuse.

I have fulfilled your request, even to the point of committing and indiscretion. Please, either burn this whole letter, or at least this page, so that no trace of it would remain, and lock this bit of information within yourself.

He told me that in his letter to you he wrote about Algiers. This has been an *idée fixe* with him for that past few years⁷⁶⁴. Essentially, this project may contain a very fruitful seed. But, since there are not enough sowers for our field of Poland and the emigration perhaps, for the timebeing, we should limit it to our own, that is, keeping in mind several hundred of our brothers who live there without any religious assistance. Fr.Korycki⁷⁶⁵ is not against going there; and possibly, if Adam's proposition interested you, you could help father get there and establish himself, either alone or with your brother Joseph⁷⁶⁶. But, above all, it would first be necessary to get to know the terrain better.

Several days ago Witwicki left for Germany, to Kissingen with its mineral springs. You have undoubtedly that, for the past few months, he has had a great deal of trouble with his bones, especially his legs, to the point where he can scarcely walk. He published a second edition of the Ołtarzyk ("Little altar") in stereotype, which will sell for half the price of the first edition.

⁷⁶⁴ At this time, A. Mickiewicz was emphasizing the importance of a mission in Algiers, where the French had begun a strong penetration, and where a group of emigrants lived.

⁷⁶⁵ Fr. Francis Korycki a chaplain among the insurgents, emigrant, leader of the Frankfurt expedition from Dijon, spent a short time in the House of Jański.

⁷⁶⁶ Joseph Zaleski was also planning to go to Algiers.

Domeyko has not yet written from his destination but then, the journey itself takes from three to four months, and he left in February. His last letter was written to Adam, from Madeira, in the Canary Islands.

Adam's⁷⁶⁷ little Mary is a very beautiful child; she is already chattering delightfully. Sometimes she comes with her father to pay us a visit. And Adam, what a father! How he loves her! How he watches her every movement and every word, correcting and teaching!

Since Michael came to Berlin, Caesar Plater had to leave Dresden. He is in Hamburg now. It's quite true that the primary purpose of his stay in Germany is to marry Miss Małachowska, who is from the area of Sandomierz; but somehow, things are not going too well for him.

Montalembert has already left Paris for Villersexel, to stay with his wife's family; he has a pretty little daughter, Elisabeth.

I forgot one other important and pressing matter. You asked that we keep you abreast of rumors about our relationship with Poland. Be at peace! There are no rumors of anything new. From the past many people are aware that you were in contact, and that you have been maintaining contact - from which I can infer that you are, indeed, maintaining contact.

A second important matter. Apparently, you are about to move shortly? It is about time! It should not be source of wonder to you that, because of our semi-Jesuit constituency, nothing that you write to the "Romans" is hidden from me however, I tell no one else. And so, our "Romans" once mentioned to me that you've been toying with the idea of establishing your residence there. What a golden, holy, sacred plan!

I dare not ask or persuade... But, I am praying very fervently, asking God to cause this idea to become a very firm intention, and to move you to realize it as soon as possible. How good that would be for them, and for all of us, for the whole of our foundation and the holy work we have undertaken!⁷⁶⁸ Please, bear them no resentment because they wrote to me. Do not reproach on this account.

⁷⁶⁷ Adam Mickiewicz's eldest daughter, Mary.

⁷⁶⁸ The work of religious renewal in Poland, and its liberation.

O God, may this come, about, if it is your will, even better than not to settle?...

Finally, about Young Poland⁷⁶⁹. You were very much mistaken. Neither Adam, nor Stephen⁷⁷⁰, nor any of us wrote a single word for it. Who writes it, then? You would never guess. This is a strange and mysterious enterprise⁷⁷¹. It has a visible and an invisible editorial staff. I will let you in on a secret, but this is also “under the seal of confession”; Uruski⁷⁷², a Galician Count, gave the money; Januszkiewicz is the entrepreneur; Ropelewski⁷⁷³ provides the man-power; and the editor-in-chief is some Frenchman named Jourdain.

But this is a very great secret, for its revelation would create serious problems for Uruski, and would prevent the Frenchman from returning with him to Galicia. From this you will infer that this unexpected ally⁷⁷⁴ is causing us much trouble. Some of the articles show obvious talent, since you suspected that they were written by either Adam or Stephen. But it is the Frenchman who came out, claiming designation as instructor of the Poles, naturally without any knowledge of our political positions, problems and parties.

This whole clique begins with the idea that they do not need us, with the desire to become, the organ of the Catholic party in Poland and among the emigrants. The Frenchman cannot control what- is printed, nor does he know what to write. Januszkiewicz is out to make a profit. Ropelewski, while all of his ideas are Catholic, is known to be non-practicing; he is a vain, wavering and most unreliable person. The damage might be great; but the situation might still be rectified by substituting another, more dependable publication.

I know both Uruski and Jourdain; but they did all of this while. I was away, and without even consulting Adam.

With reference to Rome, to Poland, and to our relations here, this has muddled our situation considerably, affecting our neutrality in political matters

⁷⁶⁹ An emigrant periodical that that appeared in Paris, 1838-1840.

⁷⁷⁰ That is, neither Adam Mickiewicz, nor Stephen Witwicki.

⁷⁷¹ That is, undertaking, or group.

⁷⁷² Severin Uruski later the author of a book of heraldry, The Family.

⁷⁷³ Stanislaus Ropelewski publicist, author of Kerchief Poems, editor of Young Poland.

⁷⁷⁴ Young Poland presented itself as a Catholic organ.

which, it would seem we should continue to observe strictly for some time yet. Above all, we must lay a foundation, a foundation in minds and hearts: faith, love, and common hope that stems from Christ, our Lord, and the unity of the Universal Church. Let us continue to pray, to be vigilant, and to persevere in the spirit of sacrifice and all of this evil will turn to good for us.

I am putting Damiron⁷⁷⁵ aside for tomorrow. It is already after midnight and this conversation has gone on too long already. Good night, dearest brothers. Good night, flowering rose.

God night, flowering rose.

Good night dear Jesus. Good night.

Good night, O exquisite lily.

Good night, O Virgin Mary. Good night⁷⁷⁶.

Thursday, the Octave of Corpus
Christi, (Paris, June 21, 1838)

I thought that your Damiron was also the owner of the Hotel Vivienne, on rue Vivienne, where you lived before you moved to Sevres, and I thought that I could obtain information there about whether he still lives in Sevres, and whether he still owns the hotel. As it turns out, I learned nothing... and I will have to go to Sevres for any information. Therefore, I will have to put off any news about him to a future, please God, shortly letter. I will have to do the same my response to Joseph⁷⁷⁷ concerning the life of St. Francis de Sales; and likewise with all that I still have to tell you concerning all the details you ask about in your letters. I will send this letter as it is.

I remember that you once made an inquiry about Adolph⁷⁷⁸. He fell ill in Strasbourg and changed, or, as he writes, suspends his plans. Recently he wrote to Edward; but there is no evidence of spiritual progress in his letter.

⁷⁷⁵ A Frenchman a friend of the Zaleskis; owner of the hotel in Sevres.

⁷⁷⁶ The original of this letter is preserved in the Jagiellonian Library (Cracow); Mss 9201, pp. 405. This letter was published by Fr. P. Smolikowski in *Historia Zgromadzenia*. Vol. II, pp. 263-266.

⁷⁷⁷ Joseph Zaleski.

⁷⁷⁸ Adolph Zaleski.

Ordega remains in Rennes. They told me in Versailles that in the recent past he has been beset by an uncontrollable frenzy to make his own improvements on religion. Apparently he was ascribing to himself some great mission as a reformer⁷⁷⁹. However, according to the latest information, he seems to have cooled off in this regard. Who knows, he may go to live with the Wielogłowski⁷⁸⁰.

We passed through that foolishness here ourselves, acting like wise men!⁷⁸¹

Tomorrow I am going to Meaux to take care of some business for Terlecki⁷⁸², and for one of our men, Charzewski⁷⁸³, from Agen, for whom, with the help of Fr. Gerbet, I would like to obtain a position as master of studies in the College Juilly⁷⁸⁴.

I will finish, throwing myself into the embrace of your merciful, fraternal love, and here, in the end, I cry out one more: Misericordia omni peccato. And if you will punish the sin, let the punishment fall on me as the one who is guilty, and not touch the brothers and whole of our project.

Your brother and servant in Christ the Lord,

Bogdan Jański⁷⁸⁵

⁷⁷⁹ Joseph Ordega became very interested in the Christian socialism of J. Buchez, a contemporary French thinker and economist.

⁷⁸⁰ Valerian Wielogłowski lived in Versailles with wife Constance, and his daughter Mary.

⁷⁸¹ B. Jański has saintsimonism in mind, with which he connects Buchez.

⁷⁸² B. Jański planned to use the influence of Fr. Gerbet, a friend from L'Avenir and the Vicar-General of Meaux, to obtain permission for the new brothers, especially Hipolite Terlecki, to stay in Paris.

⁷⁸³ Adalbert Charzewski.

⁷⁸⁴ The famous liceum of the Oratorians in Juilly, several dozen kilometers north of Paris, where Jański was able to locate three exiles a short time later.

⁷⁸⁵ This letter is preserved in the Jagiellonian Library (Cracow); Mss 9101, k. 3

This letter was published by Fr. P. Smolikowski in Historia Zgromadzenia. Vol. II, pp. 263 - 266.

Letter Nr. 147

Paris, June 29, 1838

[To Joseph and Bohdan Zaleski]

My dearest brothers, I am writing to you on the Feast of St. Peter, who was chosen by Our Lord as the foundation of Christian unity throughout the world. Once again confessing my sinfulness and unworthiness, and invoking the intercession of today's holy patron through fervent prayer for my intention, I beg you to renew our loving and perfect union in Christ the Lord.

You are aware of Peter's sin, and you know that the Lord forgave him. Not on my account, not because of my sorrow and most sincere purpose of amendment, but rather, for Christ the Lord and in the name of St. Peter, grant me, brother, total, Christ like forgiveness. Designate a day when, receiving the Most Holy Sacrament for this intention, praying for you and for myself, and thanking God, I might receive your forgiveness.

My guilt has been great. I knew Bohdan's character well enough to realize how much worry my neglect would cause him. And yet I forgot myself to such an extent! Dear brothers, the few justly harsh and bitter words that Joseph⁷⁸⁶ sent through Różycki punished me more severely than I have ever been punished before.

O God! At what great cost do I teach others patience, and myself order and regularity in my relations with people! What dangerous trials our fraternal love must pass through by reason of my fault! In your infinite goodness, O Lord, may these trials contribute to the amendment of my sinfulness! And stir the hearts of my offended brothers to forgiveness. Nevertheless, in this, and in all things, may your holy will be forever blessed!

Dear brothers, I have now resolved to write when and to whom obligation demands, whether or not I have the strength and my mind is free, committing the direction of my pen, my mind and my hand to the grace of God. To confess my

⁷⁸⁶ Joseph Zaleski.

guilt, to express my sorrow, and to ask you for forgiveness once again, I write to you, seeking the intercession of St Peter; at the same time, I wish to complete the information you requested previously.

Damiron is alive and well. He continues to keep the hotel in Sevres as formerly. The brother I sent to investigate met his wife. She was very delighted to hear from you and said that with them things are pretty much the same as when you left. They remember you with affection and send their greetings. She even asked for your address so that her husband could write to you.

Concerning the life of St. Francis de Sales⁷⁸⁷, it is a little difficult to make a selection. The most popular book about him was written by l'abbe Marsolier⁷⁸⁸. I am surprised that Esprit de Saint Francois did not appeal to Joseph (it was written by Le Camus⁷⁸⁹, a Bishop, and a companion of St. Francis; the shorter version was edited by Callot⁷⁹⁰, a doctor at the Sorbonne). It enjoys, universal respect! At the end of the last century some bibliographer counted 80 some books on the life of St. Francis.

It seems to me that he will have to have recourse to one of the older works, such as the one by Charles August de Sales, St. Francis' brothers-in-law and the successor to his See; Fr. Louis de la Riviere⁷⁹¹; Fr. Goulu⁷⁹²; the Bishop of Maupas⁷⁹³; Sister de Bussi-Rabuti⁷⁹⁴; and especially, the letters and discourses of the Saint himself, which have been collected in his own writings.

⁷⁸⁷ St. Francis de Sales (1567-1622), Bishop of Geneva, founder of the Visitation Sister, zealous shepherds of souls and esteemed ascetical writer. Author of Introduction to a Devout Life or Philitea, Treatise on the Love of God, and Spiritual Letters.

⁷⁸⁸ James Marsolier (1647-1724), French historian and hagiographer. There is question here of his Life of St. Francis de Sales.

⁷⁸⁹ John Peter Camus de Pontcarre (1582-1652), Bishop of Bailey; French religious writer. The complete title of his work is: The Spirit of Blessed Francis de Sales, Paris, 1641, vols. 1-3.

⁷⁹⁰ Fr. Callot published a shorter version of this work under the same title in 1727.

⁷⁹¹ Fr. Louis de la Riviere (or Barbier, +1670), the title of his work is The Life of Venerable Francis de Sales, Lyon, 1624.

⁷⁹² Fr. Dominic John Goulu (1576-1629). A General of the Cistersians. B. Jański has in mind his Life of St. Francis de Sales (1624).

⁷⁹³ Henry Gauchon de Maupas de Tour (1600-1680), the Bishop of Maupas; author of The Life of Venerable Francis de Sales, Paris, 1657.

⁷⁹⁴ The daughter of the Count Roger Bussi-Rabutin. She died in 1716. Jański has in mind her Compendiuiti of the Life of Saint Francis de Sales, Paris, 1659.

My advice to Joseph is that since, from his earliest years, God has inspired him with a special devotion to this Saint, he should consider the person, the works and the life of this Saint as his special study. He should collect all the works that relate to him, and translate the principal ones, such as The Devout Life, after reviewing previous translations, a selection of the Letters and Discourses. Then, following the pattern of Marsolier, he should write a life, citing what speaks to the heart from other writings, especially from the writings of St. Francis himself.

There is a new, complete edition⁷⁹⁵ of the works of St. Francis, in four large volumes, that costs only 30 francs. It was published here by Bethune. If Joseph wants it, I would send it immediately. In it he will find at the beginning, the life of the Saint written by Marsolier, and the Spirit of St. Francis by Callot. Moreover, I could provide other works for him.

The translation of the Life of St. Elizabeth by Montalembert⁷⁹⁶, which was done in Poland, and notice of which seems to have caused Joseph to halt his work, is regarded as totally unsatisfactory. Therefore, if he does not decide to work on St. Francis, it would be well for him to finish with St. Elizabeth, since he has already begun. I think that many would read such a book with relish and with profit.

Edward is feeling a little better; but he is not well, as a precaution, he has suspended all work. He has gone to Meaux again, to Terlecki. He will stay there for a few weeks, perhaps longer. Turowski, Kamocki and Krahnas are already with us. These are very pleasant and edifying people to live with.

Tremendous news! A one-hundred gun salute from future emigrant canons! Władysław Mickiewicz, a son for Adam, was born the day before yesterday, Wednesday, June 27th, the Feast of St. Władysław, at 3:30 in the afternoon. He is a healthy child, the mother is doing well, and dear Adam is overjoyed. Thank God on this occasion, and ask him to bless the child.

⁷⁹⁵ The Complete Works of Saint Francis de Sales, Paris, 1821-1823, and Lyon, 1834-1836.

⁷⁹⁶ Jański has in mind Charles de Montalembert's Life of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary as translated by Clement Hoffman, The Life of St. Elizabeth (1838).

I send you fraternal greetings, brothers, with the hope of receiving your Christian forgiveness. To assure a more certain and more perfect peace among us, I free our most kind “brother almoner” from responding to my previous request for money, if that would cause him any inconvenience. Just Rome... always Rome, on my knees I comment it to your remembrance and your kindness, always. We may send three new members there.

May God be with you, dearest brothers. Do not forget about us, and about unworthy me, in your prayers.

Bogdan Jański

Address: Monsieur Bohdan Zaleski
a Marseille (Bouches du Rhone)
parti d'Eudoume, Campagne
M.V. Teris

Postmark: Paris, June 29, 1839

Bureau Marseille, June 2, 1838, (2)

The original letter is preserved in the Jagiellonian Library (Cracow): Mss 9201/iii, pp. 607.

Letter Nr. 148

Paris, November 11, 1838

[To Joseph and Bohdan Zaleski]Sunday, at 5 in the afternoon

Thank God, she is better!⁷⁹⁷ Better, than it ever was. After a restless night, she spent several hours in the bath, and she quieted down. Since morning, and especially since noon, her condition is almost completely good.

Esquirol⁷⁹⁸ has just now finished his consultation. He gave orders that she was not to be disturbed in any way, if at all possible; and he urged that she use the baths very frequently. He offers hope.

Very definitely persevere in your holy, fraternal intentions, my dearest brothers. Get here before Adam arrives, that is, definitely tomorrow, Monday. Find temporary residence somewhere close by. On rue d'Enfer, just across from the School of Mines, there is a hotel owned by very pious and respectable people. Or, find rooms somewhere sur Val-de-Grace, on rue St. Jacques, so that throughout the day you would be close to Adam⁷⁹⁹.

Lord, have mercy!

Bogdan Jański

Addressee: Monsieur Zaleski

a Sevres, rue Vaugiraud 22

Postmark: Paris, November 18, 1838, Bureau

⁷⁹⁷ He is speaking here of the illness of Mrs. Cecilia Mickiewicz, who was experiencing psychic disorders after giving birth to a child.

⁷⁹⁸ The doctor - a parisian psychiatrist.

⁷⁹⁹ This letter is preserved in the Jagiellonian Library (Cracow): Mss 9201-III, pp. 14-14a.

Letter Nr. 149

From La Trappe, near Mortagne

June 3, 1839

after 40 days of retreat

[To B. Zaleski]

Greetings in the Lord, my dear brother standard-bearer!⁸⁰⁰

The Lord said: “Misericordia omni peccato” to every sinner, even the most sinful among us, if only he has the desire to be converted and to sin no more.

I have sinned grievously against you! But, my sorrow for that sin is sincere; and the agony I feel each time I remember that, through my neglect in sending you those books I might have caused you great harm and distress, is even greater, as God is my witness. I am ready to do anything to repair the damage; and I am very firmly resolved that, in all my future relations with you, I will never offend you in any way.

Will you say to me: Misericordia tuo peccato?

On my knees, I beg your forgiveness, for the love of God and in His name, to be freed of remorse of conscience, and to regain your former⁸⁰¹, and always precious, graciousness towards me!

Say, please say: Amen! And, in the Lord, with my heart pressed close to yours, accept my kiss as a sign of apology and of our former friendship.

Perhaps the circumstance that I am writing this letter, from Normandy, and that the air which the men and women of Normandy breathe blows upon it, may intercede for me⁸⁰². Therefore, I Invoke every breath and heart-beat of the Norman people that could be dear to you, and send them, with the winds that blow upon this letter, as a petition in my favor. But I know you, you of noble blood! At

⁸⁰⁰ Rough draft of a letter to B. Zaleski. In CRR: Mss 8627, p. 778.

⁸⁰¹ Zaleski lived and wrote for some time in Normandy.

⁸⁰² Zaleski lived and wrote for some time in Normandy.

times you like to be obdurate and slow to forgive, with a simple look knocking the guilty person to the ground, so that casually, putting your foot on him and curling your mustache, you might finally say to him: Get up, vassal, and know your place! Agreed!

Therefore, first, without waiting for the look or the word, I cast myself at your “lordly” feet, I freely surrender myself, to you in this very letter, ready for the bloody vengeance that is proper to your noble heart!

But first, about some old business, about your books...⁸⁰³

⁸⁰³ Very probably there is question of French books, worth translating into Polish.

Letter Nr. 150

Paris, September 7, 1838

[To A. Jabłoński]

No, no my ever dearest Adam⁸⁰⁴, my heart has not changed in your regard, in spite of my failure to respond to your letters. This is a most unfortunate fault of mine (which thereby becomes such a sinful habit), the unconquered fault of slothfulness in correspondence. It is the sole reason why, while you were constantly on my mind and my heart was turned to you, I could not get myself to respond, until now.

In my quite numerous relations with the emigrants I use the brothers who live with me as intermediaries in correspondence.

(I think you know that for the past three years I am living in a community, a kind of family, with many of our young compatriots. These people dedicate themselves to various occupations: some as clerics, others as lay people. Of the clerics: Kajsiewicz and Semenenko have already spent one year in Rome studying; Duński and Joseph Hube (a former professor) will be going there for the same purpose within a few days. In their place, the following will enter the seminary at the College Stanislas: Leopold Turowski from Płock, Francis Krahnas, Alexander Biergiel and... someone you would never suspect, our former colleague, Marian Kamocki, who came here from Bordeaux a few months ago, and is. also living-with me; a widower now, he wishes to become a priest).

In the parentheses you now have statistical information our spiritual foundation.

I declare, then, and I forewarn you that instead of abstaining from writing for as long as I did in the present instance, I prefer to send you a few words that come from me, but are written by the hand of one of my brothers. Do not let this

⁸⁰⁴ Adam Jabłoński - A colleague of Bogdan Jański from Pułtusk and the Royal University of Warsaw.

offend you; although, naturally, in that case I will not touch on more intimate matters that might refer to you.

On the other hand, I shall ask God, and I shall make a very serious effort to do without this assistance, and to write to you at great length and very often. I decided to use this assistance in order not to keep you waiting for such a long while for a reply; for God knows how much I am now suffering on that account, and how often I reproach myself. I ask God to have you forget about me during that period when I do not write temporarily... forget that you have a friend who loves you dearly, a companion throughout your early years, for whose tardy words you wait; rather than have you feel even a portion of the discomfort and distress with which the just God continues to torment my heart in punishment of my guilt against you.

Write, then, dearest Adam! Write, opening your heart to me with complete confidence. Although I may have lost all right to such by my slothfulness, I still have that right by reason of my sincere, undisturbed, and very keen attachment to you. Your kind heart leads me to expect that you will receive this assurance without fear of being disappointed.

Some time ago, during the Winter, Theophilus Kwiatkowski⁸⁰⁵ told me about your plans in reference to Poland. Would that I could, at least in part, alleviate and soothe your sufferings... Believe me, there is no sacrifice I would not undergo! How does this whole matter stand?

I thought, and I still think, that if you came to Paris, *coute que coute*⁸⁰⁶, everything could be done more easily. Ultimately, and above all, you would find here people and circumstances among whom you could spend the present time more bearably.

I don't know how you feel about it. But as for as, the older I get the more am I convinced that there is no way in which we can establish closer, friendly

⁸⁰⁵ Theophil Kwiatkowski (1809-1891) - A Polish artist, born at Pułtusk, who died in France. He was a friend of Chopin, who also had a reputation as a singer. He studied in Warsaw and Paris. His works: Chopin's last moments (1850), Chopin's Polonez. A colleague of Jański in the grammar school at Pułtusk and in Warsaw.

⁸⁰⁶ At all cost.

relationships as we do simple acquaintances or more general relationships, by chance, with this or that person who possesses some suitable qualifications.

But each person receives something providential, like a family, which does not depend on our choice, something's provided by time, a barrel of salt is used in common, through some mysterious bonds and conformity of heart, prepared and tested by God himself.

In a word, for me the ideal friendship is an old friendship, a childhood friendship that began when hearts and natures were manifested in all of their nakedness and simplicity and totality, before the experience of the world and of people causes us to fortify ourselves and wrap ourselves up in⁸⁰⁷ various cautions and mannerisms.

Finally, with time, as a person grows older, a specific mood, temperament and habit develop in one person, while in another these may be quite different. If a person is judged by these qualities, he is judged badly. Only he can judge surely and accurately about what is within our heart, who sees it as it was before our entry into the world, into an active life, in this vale of tears.

Therefore, my dearest Adam, with such convictions and feelings, you needn't wonder that in speaking to you I am moved to declare my very special friendship for you. Or, that I am distressed and troubled by my failures in our relationship. To repair the damage, after God, I place all my trust in your kind heart, which I have known for so long, which I respect so highly, and which I love with a childlike and brotherly love.

How happy I would be if I could embrace you in the very near future! I have many confreres in Christ, friends with whom I live in the greatest intimacy and trust, in complete unity of mind, feelings and intentions; but with none of them is there such a personal, close family and brotherly relationship as with you! Why, then, have I been so guilty in this regard for so long?

⁸⁰⁷ The polish word today would be "obwijania", not "obwiniania", from the verb "obwinad".

How are your brothers⁸⁰⁸, what are they doing, what are their plans? Someone mentioned that Louis is married. Please convey ray most sincere, greetings to them! My brother Anthony⁸⁰⁹, who attended the Polytechnic Institute, died in New York back in 1834. Eternal rest grant unto him, O Lord! I have had no news from Stephen⁸¹⁰, who was studying medicine, for the past three years. When you write to your parents, send them my best regards and my wishes for all that is good.

My dear Adam, in your last note (n.b. I did not see the person who brought it, nor do I know who it was), you yourself promised a lengthier letter. Eagerly I look forward to it, and expect to receive it soon. Please do not follow my bad example! Instead, write soon, as soon as possible.

Please consider the possibility: Could you not decide to come to Paris? As things stand at present, let the question of upkeep be secondary in your eyes, for I am confident that, if you are willing and properly disposed and should it be necessary, I can suggest and arrange for some kind of job. Ultimately, as the head of our spiritual family, I have my own hose and housekeeping. I invite you, as one invites a friend, at least come to visit.

I will not hide this from you: I often think of; and am very interested in your, present situation, from the standpoint of your religious ideas. God grant that it is very close to the eternal Truth, in which you will find peace on this earth, and for eternity achieve the goal of your creation, your being. This is the most important question.

We need to talk about these things, and it would be best to do so viva voce. However, send me at least some general information about yourself in this regard.

Concerning myself: You probably know that, after a long search and much wandering about, I have returned whole-heartedly to the Universal Church. I recognize that Christ the Lord is that eternal, Divine Truth, by whom everything, that is exists, and which enlightens every man coming into the world. But men

⁸⁰⁸ Leo Jabłoński, a captain in the 3rd infantry regiment on the line. Louis Jabłoński, a second-lieutenant in the 11th infantry regiment of riflemen. Both were emigrants.

⁸⁰⁹ Anthony Jański.

⁸¹⁰ Stephen Jański.

have loved darkness instead! I humbly submit to the teaching of the Church as proceeding from this supernatural intervention of God in the affairs of men, from the revelation, the incarnation of Christ, who is both God and man. I submit to all the institutions of the Church, in which the spirit of Christ is always present... etc.

However, we will talk to one another about this at greater length some time later. I will add just one more word: Today I am wholeheartedly convinced that whatever is good for man and mankind, all progress, perfection, wisdom, salvation, is achieved only through Christ, and in the Universal Society⁸¹¹ which He himself instituted.

Dearest Adam, I hope that the remnants of our once common scientific prejudices do not continue to keep you at such a distance from God that you do not experience Him as a living reality... that you could not enter into a real relationship with Him, and that, by way of prayer, you could not draw from Him all strength, consolation and grace. O prayer! Humble, sincere and trusting prayer! It alone is the beginning of true life and wisdom! Pardon me, my friend, for concluding this letter on this homiletic note. I have such confidence in the goodness of your heart that, even if at this time you were very much opposed to all that I have said, I would not cease to be for you, or you for me, the friend that you truly are forever.

Bogdan Jański

P.S. I am adding another note to what I have already written, in order, to tell you about Greuve⁸¹², for I know that he too is lazy when it comes to correspondence. He left for the seashore, for Bareges, in May, and returned to Paris only yesterday. Unfortunately, the condition of his health is worse than when he left. However, thank God, it is no longer his lungs. Now it is his legs. Some kind of swelling, he can barely walk. I have not seen him as yet. Apparently he is planning a trip to Germany, to visit his mother, who is living somewhere there. If you want to send

⁸¹¹ That is, in the Catholic Church.

⁸¹² Charles Greuve - from Warsaw; a second-lieutenant in the 9th infantry regiment on the line in 1830/1; a member of Polish Democratic Society from 1835.

him a note, send it in my care. I cannot send you his address because I myself do not know it.

Do you correspond with Louis Lasocki⁸¹³, who is probably also among the emigrants? If you do, give him my regards. In general, are you in contact with any of our former friends and colleagues?

Whole-heartedly yours,

Bogdan Jański

P.P.S. My dear friend, come to Paris immediately! At least for a short while... surely the stage-coach does not cost that much? Moreover, you need only pay for your trip here. Please do not worry about upkeep during your stay here, or about your return trip! If you would allow me, I would take these responsibilities upon myself. I'm sure this will not offend you, for such openness is not only permitted, it is obligatory among old colleagues. Therefore, come! May God's all-powerful grace, unlimited in its goodness, protect, comfort and support you, and bring you to us very soon.

One further addition: You may wonder who is living with me at present? Other than the 4 people I mentioned who are entering the seminary, there are: Terlecki, a doctor of medicine from the University of Cracow, a person you will come to love; John Omieciński, from Wołyń (at one time, here in exile, he was a saintsimonist, together with Greuve at Montpellier); and Leonard Rettel, the brother of our former colleague, who took part in the capture of the Warsaw Belvedere at the outbreak of the uprising in 1830⁸¹⁴.

⁸¹³ Louis Lasocki (1806-1863) - Bogdan Jański's colleague from Pułtusk and Warsaw; an emigrant, later a railroad engineer in Warsaw. He died during the January uprising.

⁸¹⁴ This letter is preserved in CRR: Mss 8651, pp.1039-1048.

Letter Nr. 151

Paris, October 9, 1838

[To M. Hube]

Please God, I will not have written this letter too late; or rather that, by my delay, I will not have caused you any inconvenience, my dear Sir... for it is already Tuesday, the 9th! For you wrote me, honorable Sir, that your funds will last only until the 10th of October.

First of all, then, I apologize most humbly. For a variety of little reasons which it would be useless to list, I am sending you this draft for 30 francs only today. It can be redeemed at any post-office.

Once again, I apologize, for, wanting definitely to send this letter today and since the hour when the mail leaves is near, I am able to write almost nothing else except this apology.

This be to God, everything is going well with us.

Joseph wrote from Nevers. It seems that now they can be somewhere in the vicinity of Marseilles⁸¹⁵.

As for your other two requests, honorable Sir, I followed your directions. I will give you an account of this, as of all other things, when you come.

At this time I simply wish to renew my assurance of deepest respect, as a Pole and a citizen, and of my most sincere because filial, affection for you as a friend, brother and servant in Christ the Lord.

Bogdan Jański

Tuesday, October 9

⁸¹⁵ Joseph Hube and Edward Duński were on their way to Rome at the time, and, enroute, were conducting religious activities by way of conversation and the distribution of good books.

P.S. You received absolutely no letter, honorable Sir, other than some invitation from the Literary Society. Kolasiński has already received his response, permission, and an allotment. Ziomecki has already returned from Normandy, but apparently he will no longer be at the College Stanislas. Of our members: Kamocki is on retreat at the Trappists; Sidorowicz and Mikulski are temporarily serving as masters of study at the College de Juilly near Meaux⁸¹⁶; Krahnas and Turowski are traveling about through the country during the vacation period.⁸¹⁷

Address: Monsieur Chavalier, editor of La Feuille d'annonce, a Saint Brieux (Cote du Nord),

to be remitted to Mr. Hube⁸¹⁸.

⁸¹⁶ They were substituting for regular teachers: C. Kozarzewski and N. Późniak. However, F. Mikulski remained there permanently.

⁸¹⁷ They were involved in Catholic action among the democratic emigrants, as lay apostles.

⁸¹⁸ This letter is preserved in CRR: Mss 8516, pp.212-215.

Letter Nr. 152

Rome, January 25, 1840

[To M. Hube]

I too have finally come to Rome. I found everyone in good health. And I myself, while not yet completely rested, am feeling much better. Please accept the very sincere expression of my respect and affection for you, honorable Sir, and my best wishes on the occasion of the New Year.

Bogdan Jański

Address: France, Monsieur Michael Hube

rue Notre Dame des Champs nr 11, Paris⁸¹⁹

⁸¹⁹ The note added to J. Hube's letter to M. Hube is preserved in CRR: Mss 15504 p. 3.

Letter Nr. 153

Paris, November 20, 1838

[To confreres in Rome]

My dearest brothers in Christ Lord!

In his special and ever greater goodness toward us, Fr. Froment⁸²⁰ most graciously spoke of us to the Reverend Bishop of Nancy, the Primate of Lotharingia, just before his departure for Rome. As a result of this conversation, the Most Reverend Bishop⁸²¹ indicated a desire to see me, to visit with you, and to deliver my letters and parcels to you.

Therefore, I plan to visit the Bishop today, in the company of Fr. Froment; and I am writing these few words in order to give them to him, and to offer you the possibility of visiting with the Most Reverend Bishop. His name is Forbin-Janson. After the July revolution he was forced to leave his diocese. Of all the prelates, he shows a very special zeal for foundations, and for the welfare of clerical congregations of every form.

There is something strangely providential in this, for God has so arranged matters that we should first make the acquaintance of this Bishop, the Primate of Lotharingia, who is universally recognized as an out-and-out Carlist⁸²², and therefore less disposed toward our national cause⁸²³; and to him, the first of the French Bishops, we will declare our plans and hopes.

All-powerful and all-merciful God, fill him with understanding and merciful love for us!⁸²⁴

⁸²⁰ One of the Priest Directors of the College Stanislas, who belonged to the group of founders of that organization, along with Fr. Auge and Fr. Lieutard, in 1804.

⁸²¹ Charles August de Forbin Janson (1785-1844) - Bishop and Primate of Lotharingia, belonging to France.

⁸²² An advocate of the monarchical system in France.

⁸²³ The French monarchists were faithful to the "holy alliance".

⁸²⁴ The rough draft lacks a conclusion; it is preserved in CRR: Mss 8534, pp. 44-45.

Letter Nr. 154

Paris, November 24, 1838

[To confreres in Rome]

Dearest brothers!

Shortly after I received your letter of the 13th, an opportunity presented itself to send things to Rome; but it was so sudden, that I had no time to prepare any parcels.

I am writing these few words specifically to provide an opportunity for you to make the acquaintance of the most zealous of the French prelates, the Most Reverend Bishop of Nancy and Toul, the Primate of Lotharingia, Forbin Janson, who graciously declared his readiness to deliver parcels to you, and who is bringing this letter to you. I, we have been recommended to him by our dear Fr. Froment, who is ever more gracious in the interest he shows us.

In the short conversation I had with the Reverend Primate, he expressed great good-will toward us, and offered hope of recommendations and help here. He is very powerful here, by reason of his many contacts and the great influence he wields. For all of this we offer our most humble and endless thanks to the all-merciful God!

I hope in God that I will soon send you a lengthier letter, which you should receive even before you receive this one. In this mailing I include a letter from Valerian⁸²⁵.

Our most important news is sad: Mrs. Adam Mickiewicz is ill, seriously and terribly ill⁸²⁶. I leave the details for later. Arrange to make a most solemn novena for the intention of her health. One happy bit of news⁸²⁷: he have already

⁸²⁵ Valerian Wielogłowski.

⁸²⁶ Celine Mickiewicz - the poet's wife was showing the first signs of mental illness.

⁸²⁷ Today we say: encouraging.

moved into our second⁸²⁸ house, at rue Vauvin 13; but there are still many things lacking just in bare furnishings. Pray! Pray! Pray!

As soon as you receive this letter, visit the Most Reverend Bishop to thank him for delivering it, and give him an account of your and our situation, I spoke with him very briefly. Take Fr. Ryłło⁸²⁹ and Fr. Suszyński⁸³⁰ to meet him; I mentioned them to him, and he will be happy to make their acquaintance. Also, enlighten him, as far as you can, about the sad condition of our Polish Church⁸³¹. May the Holy Spirit be on your lips in all that you say.

I send my unworthy greetings, regards and thanks to Fr. Ryłło, Fr. Suszyński, and to all of our reverend benefactors.

I kiss you in Christ the Lord, our only hope and love.

Bogdan⁸³²

The Feast of St. John of the Cross

⁸²⁸ The first was at Boulevard Montparnasse 25; on September 29, 1837 it moved to Notre-Dame des Champs 11. Shortly two others were added: rue Notre-Dame des Champs 31 bis, and one in Versailles.

⁸²⁹ Fr. Maximillian Ryłło (1802-1848) - a Jesuit, who was shortly to become a zealous missionary in the Near East; a gifted preacher. At this time he was teacher of rhetoric in Rome, spokesman for the Polish cause, and a friend of the followers of B. Jański.

⁸³⁰ Fr. Suszyński-Ardini (1799-1871) – a less-known Roman Jesuit, who decided much time to the poor followers of B. Jański in the first years of their stay in Rome.

⁸³¹ B. Jański has in mind a defense of the Basilian Congregation and of the members of the Uniate Church persecuted by the Tsar.

⁸³² This letter is preserved in CRR: Mss 8535, pp. 46-47.

Letter Nr. 155

Mortagne, July 12, 1839

[To confreres in Rome]

The grace and peace of God be with you, my dearest brothers!

Although my silence has dragged on excessively, I will not attempt to offer you any explanations. You know my heart. Till now I have no reason to doubt that you are convinced of my love. And the fact that you have recognized my weakness and incompetence so visibly, clearly and irrefutably is a great benefit to me which, God grant, can be turned to our common good in the future. Moreover, you yourselves once freed me from making these explanations.

Therefore, I will get right down to business; on this occasion I am purposely limiting myself to a few words, a very few, if only that I might finally get around to sending them to you. Until now one of the principal causes for the delay in my response has been my desire to write everything that I wanted and needed to write to you. Because of this I was constantly preparing to provide you with a lengthy and very complete journal; and it was difficult to get down to a task like that. I was unable to do so until now.

Undoubtedly it is with special and very great eagerness that you wait for news from me about our present situation, seeking the last word, as it were, and the conclusion of so much that you have heard about various changes that have occurred among us⁸³³. This is the primary reason for this letter; I am setting aside details and all other matters for later.

The last word about where we stand today: Kneel down and let us thank God together, very humbly and very fervently, for he has saved us from so many and such serious dangers. His special, holy and most loving care for us should

⁸³³ Jański has in mind the troubles experienced in the Spring of that year - the inner turmoil in the Paris and Versailles Houses that resulted from the infiltration of emigrant political differences - especially of the monarchist group with the democrats.

encourage us once again to fidelity and perseverance, kindling within us the fire of most holy love and most perfect dedication.

In spite of all the sad news⁸³⁴ you have received recently, thanks to God's loving kindness there was never any danger of our breaking up completely. Indeed, the foolproof bond of spiritual unity was always there, even though one or another might falter temporally.

Victor Sidorowicz has held fast in that unity until now nevertheless, always a little on his own. He has been a great help and comfort to me. But in one of your letters you concluded wrongly that he already has the intention of becoming a priest.

Leopold Turowski did, in fact, allow himself to be drawn temporarily to those opposed to our monasticism for such was the watch-word and direction of some of our former disheartened brothers. However, he has definitely withdrawn from that position, has repented, and has confessed his fault in a brotherly spirit. At present he is living with us in perfect unity. He continues to attend theology lectures at College Stanislaus.

Hipolite Terlecki was wavering for a while, especially in view of our bad financial condition and the uncertainty that things would be any better in the future. But, thank God, at present he has calmed down, so that all such troubles and fears do not keep him from unity with us and from sharing our common hopes. He wrote to me just a few days ago with assurances, pouring out his feelings about this, as well as his ultimate hopes and affirmations in reference to these matters. As you know, however, circumstances within his family require that he settle somewhere outside Paris to practice medicine. He is doing this only after reaching a complete understanding with me. At present he is making a retreat with the Jesuits.

I recently spent a few weeks at La Trappe with Adolph (Zalewski). He made a retreat here. His dispositions were very good, and, please God, he profited much by the experience. His director told me to arrange an order of retreat for him

⁸³⁴ In Spring, 1839 a considerable number of members left the House of Jański (Omieciński, Krahnas, Jełowicki, Terlecki, Kamocki and others), as a result of above-mentioned conflicts.

which he, then, handed to him personally. Beside the ordinary exercises of meditation, reading etc. to put him under fire, and accustom him to devotions that were as yet unknown to him, little by little I assigned a visit to the Blessed Sacrament, the Way of the Cross, and the Rosary. And when he had accepted everything most eagerly and showed himself most punctual in fulfilling whatever was prescribed, and especially when I saw him on his knees before the Most Blessed Virgin humbly reciting the Rosary, in spirit I cried out: Victoria! He was so moved and spiritually edified that for a while he kept telling me that he wants to remain with the Trappists for about a year as a “frere familier”, that is, as a lay brother without vows, who performs services and manual labor in return for certain participation in the monastic devotions and food. Only there did we establish a genuinely closer relationship among ourselves. May God grant that with time it will lead to a complete unity with us. Right now he is still attracted by the aromas of garlic and onions from his past politico-romantic life; his mind and heart are still confused by the “kosher and no-kosher” of the emigrant parties. From this you can surmise that he is still unwilling to renounce himself for Christ, is still overly sensitive to his political impotence, and retains a false esteem for his former activities. Brother Edward (Duński) detected this very well in his June letter to Valerian. He needs to attack him full force on this point, writing a special letter to him. For my part, I have to be very careful in dealing with him; for if I wish to push him a little further beyond his actual dispositions, not only does he resist, but even takes a step backward for fear of some anti-democratic tendencies. At least that’s the way it has been until now. That is why in my dealings with him I have tried above all to gain time, and to prevent him from plunging into some kind of political activity. He is presently getting ready to go to the seashore; and, thank God, this occupies his attention completely. As for later, after his return, he has agreed to involve himself in some scholarly work; he promised that he would undertake the translation of some religious work. (His Confessor in Paris is Fr. Lavayer from St. Roch, the same who was confessor for Mikulski. He is very happy with him, loves and respects him. He made his first confession immediately after coming to us in October).

Besides these four, the following are living in the House at present:

5. Marszewski Joseph, always a housekeeper, a very dependable and calm person, my good friend. Nevertheless, after a year's trial, I am convinced that he simply does not have the qualifications to remain with us permanently. He has various habits that he has acquired and other cravings that stand in his way. He lacks understanding and love for that which prompted us to establish ourselves in community.

6. Stanislaus Kaczorowski, a young lad, eighteen years old, who recently came from Fryburg, a nephew of Major Święcicki, who lived with us for a while after he got out of the hospital. He is preparing to enter some special school. His confessor and director is one of the Jesuit Fathers. He is especially and very closely attached to Leopold. There is nothing definite about him as yet; but there are hopes.

7. Fr. Dłuski returned to Paris not long ago while I was away, and is living with us as he did before. I have nothing new to tell you about him.

These are all the people who are presently living with us. I am the eighth. Here I will immediately add two bits of good news. One: Good Charles Kaczanowski has decided to enter the seminary. He came to Paris recently and stayed with us. He is urging me visit him, and is waiting for me to come. He tells me that it is possible for him to enrol in the Rouen Seminary. But he wants to discuss this matter with us first. You know him, and so I am sure this news will cheer you as it does me with the hope that he will become our brother, totally united with us.

The second bit of news: Raymond Sumiński, a poet from Poitiers the author of the poems for November 29th, which you undoubtedly read in Young Poland. In spite of what he has heard about our losses in personnel and our troubles, he is applying (so they tell me) to join and live with us. He is corresponding with Turowski. After my return I will come to a better understanding with him, and I expect to obtain permission for him to come to Paris.

John Nepomucene Omieciński - I sent him to Versailles at the beginning of January to live with Boleslaus Wielogłowski and Reces Wątróbka. In March he returned to Paris. However, his uncle, General Dłuski, who lives in Frankfurt on the Oder, invited him to come there, and he began to make efforts to obtain permission to stay with his uncle. He did not do this without my knowledge, and there are serious reasons why he should do so (do not mention this in your letters to others). Obviously then many considerations required that he stop living with us. The reason I mentioned was not made public; but between him and me it was the one decisive reason for our separation. Indeed, from what I have heard about him, especially from our dear Valerian, he is presently experiencing some kind of great political reaction. If this is so, it would not be for me something entirely new or unexpected. Even while he was still living with us, he was constantly bothering me to join the party on which, as he thought already then, all of our national hopes hinged. Even before he came to us he had written long treatises and memorials in this same spirit and with the same purpose, and later he gave them to me to read. Recent more frequent conversations with Czajkowski might have brought him to a definite decision. But I am not at all sure about the extent to which he may have changed; for, till the very last moments before my departure, his relations with me were what they had been. And so, in spite of Valerian's reports, at that time I thought it better not to initiate with him any discussion about some supposed declaration he had made against us in secondary matters. As a result, the matter has not been clarified between us; and I cannot tell you anything definite about him, except that I have high hopes that our dear John, however much he has changed or will change in temporal matters, will not abandon God or efforts to achieve a more perfect Christian life.

As for Francis Krahnas, the matter is in abeyance. He is living in Poitiers temporarily (since April) with his French friend (Bastard), who is in the process of conversion.

Leonard Rettel things have not changed. He continues to live apart from us, although there has been no final break between us. I will direct all my efforts

toward placing him in the College de Juilly after vacation. Bore is drawing him there and offering him encouragement.

Francis Mikulski continues on at Juilly, and this is of great benefit to him. Although he is pompous and proud, and has no set plans as yet, perseverance in obligatory religious practices, a regular program, edifying companions, and life according to a definite discipline is clearly contributing to his formation. He is, as ever, very attached to Edward and always very well disposed towards me, even too docile and polite. Casimir Kozarzewski from Bordeaux, a friend of mine back in Warsaw, is also at Juilly. He is stable and capable person, highly esteemed, a friend of ours. There is great hope for him. Captain Napoleon Późniak, Kamocki's friend, is also a master of studies there.

Marian Kamocki has been living at College Stanislas as a boarder since March. He continues his studies in theology. There will be a position for him there after vacation.

I have written at length, my dearest brothers, at greater length than I had intended on this occasion, about all the brothers who were left in the House at the time of Joseph Hube and Edward's (Duński) departure. In this report I have also included information about our current personnel. There would be much more to add to this which, please God, I will add in my future letters. News about brothers who came later and those who left, and a general account of what has been happening to us recently, which in part you know from the letters of our dearest brother Valerian, I am also leaving for a future letter.

In this letter I have written what is most important: that the same spirit, the same love and faith and hope by which God had joined us together, were alive in us, survived all the trials and, through the special mercy of God, are still alive. Fully aware of my own unworthiness and confident in your kindness, after thanking God for the grace to complete this feeble communication with you, I wish to commend myself to your love and prayers, finish writing, and immediately send these few words to you before I write anything more.

Therefore, I will add only a general report about our material situation, the uncertainty of which must greatly disturb you. This once again, as a consequence of disappointed hopes and my own sins, was the chief cause of all our troubles.

Don't worry! Thank God, we have not injured anyone; and the total sum of all our debts and obligations has increased only slightly. It is not so excessive that, with the help of good people and by the grace and providence of God, we would, not be able to pay it. The greatest evil that can result from our present straitened circumstances if, indeed, this can be called an evil is that: having cut down already, in March, from two houses to one⁸³⁵ and from seventeen brothers to seven, I will try to get the owner to cancel the contract on this present house; then I will rent just a little house, in this same section of the city, where I can live with this reduced number of brothers. This whole matter will be decided within a few days after my return to Paris.

However, I am prompted to make some effort to remain where we are, as we are, by the conviction that, having survived the present difficulties, we could manage to maintain ourselves in the future; and that, with a view to our obligations and our needs in the immediate future, it would be better to do so.

But, to be humbled in the eyes of men is something so holy, good and very useful that I do not honestly know which of these two situations I would choose. Hence I surrender myself with complete peace and confidence to the will of God, and refuse to worry about anything.

I do not know how I can pour out my whole soul and my whole life in thanksgiving to God for this freedom and peace of soul I feel, or for the readiness and eagerness He gives me in his great love, permitting me to start anew as it were and this is basically what I must do, from A-B-C, but with the experience of the past, in work for and in the service of God, which we have undertaken as a community. I continue to trust in the help that comes from your love and your prayers; and for my part I do not cease to remember you in all my prayers, asking God's most abundant graces and blessing for you.

⁸³⁵ At the turn of the year 1838/9 there were three Houses Montparnasse 25, Notre Dame des Champs 31 bis, and Vavin 13. After the difficulties in March, 1839, only Vavin 13 remained.

Therefore, do not be afraid or worried by all of our local troubles. I ask you to withhold your judgment about all that pertains to us, whether it be about our finances or about other matters, until you receive a more extensive and more detailed account from me. As for all corrections, developments, improvements of our life together in the future, in general or in particular, I presume to trust without fail in the mercy of God that he will not permit me to be even the slightest hindrance in these matters. For my part, I wish to contribute to such progress to the extent that my strength and good will allow, and according to the grace that God will give me.

The manner in which you have established yourselves, according to what you wrote to me, and the recognition of our dearest brother Peter as your superior, enjoying my rights in the spirit of our original and complete unity in Christ the Lord, I confirm “ad maiorem Dei gloriam, nostramque et proximorum salutem!” (“for the greater glory of God; for our salvation and that of our neighbors”); I leave for later, until I can discuss the matter with you, a definition of the powers of this superior ship.

In all circumstances hereafter I wish brothers Jerome, Edward and Joseph to use this Romanized title for the office of director, rector or prefect when referring to their brother superior. I also ask that the brothers, among themselves in all circumstances hereafter, accord preeminence to brother Joseph⁸³⁶.

In wishing to bring brother Edward here to us, I intended to appoint him to just such a superior ship in our Paris House⁸³⁷.

In this selection I thought I would be satisfying considerations concerning Edward’s health, and his studies, which I felt would be more strenuous for him there and more difficult for him to finish. However, since things have worked out differently, may God be praised. May his stay in Rome bring him improved health and great success in his studies for his instruction!

⁸³⁶ It was Jański’s decision that Joseph Hube, the former professor at the University of Warsaw and the oldest - in age, was to be the substitute superior in Rome.

⁸³⁷ In this way Jański hopes to keep those who intended to leave (and who did leave) in the House.

My dearest and most beloved brothers, in the midst of all your occupations, projects, hopes, business - of all that surrounds you-constantly and without fail raise your souls to God and to our eternal homeland; urgently move and press on toward that goal, drawing us after yourselves in spirit and by your prayers. This is my main advice and request.

I am writing this letter from Mortagne where I have stopped for a few days after a long stay at La Trappe, until the Feast of St. Adalbert⁸³⁸ before returning to Paris. Allow our most gracious brother and benefactor Caesar to read it. I apologize to him most sincerely and most humbly for not writing a special note to him this time. God willing, I will do this shortly when I write to you again within a few days.

I received your last letter on the 20th of April; it was dated the second.

Finally, in my name let brother superior kiss each of the brothers most cordially in Christ the Lord; and in spirit let him accept.

May God be with you!

P.S. We send our grateful greetings to the Jesuit Fathers.

Bogdan

Mortagne, July 12, 1839, the Feast of St. John Gualbert⁸³⁹.

With this one letter I had hoped to include some post-scripts intended for you, as well as separate letters to Peter and Edward. But this only delayed the mailing... As a result. I am sending this letter from Paris, practically at the moment of my arrival. I am leaving the post-scripts for a future letter.

Send your response to the address of either Fr. Buquet or Fr. Froment.

⁸³⁸ That is, from April 23rd. When in Mortagne, Jański usually stayed with Anthony Bojanowski, who had already lived there for a few years in considerable affluence.

⁸³⁹ The original letter is preserved in CRR: Mss 8542, pp. 278-281.

This letter was also published by Fr. P. Smolikowski in Historia Zgromadzenia. Vol. II, pp. 222-225.

Once more, my dearest and most beloved brothers, I embrace you with all my heart and all my soul. May be grace of our Lord Jesus Christ guard and sanctify you!

Bogdan

Address: M. Pierre Semenenko,
Piazza Margana 24, Roma⁸⁴⁰

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⁸⁴⁰ This is an appendix to the previous letter written to the Roman brethren.

Letter Nr. 156Paris, May 31, 1838⁸⁴¹**[To V. Wielogłowski]**

I ask that Boleslaus⁸⁴², on his way to Meaux, come to visit us without fail, for I have books to send⁸⁴³. I send most sincere greetings to all the brothers and sisters.

B. Jański⁸⁴⁴

⁸⁴¹ The date of the postmark in Paris,

⁸⁴² This is a post-script that B. Jański added to the letter, of C. Królikowski from Bordeaux (May 24, 1838) to V. Wielogłowski in Versailles. Boleslaus Wielogłowski was a close relative of Valerian.

⁸⁴³ Jański often sent good religious books to his compatriots with apostolic goals in mind.

⁸⁴⁴ The original of this post-script is preserved in the Polish Academy of Science Library (Cracow): Mss 1834, p. 257.

Letter Nr. 157

Paris, July 29, 1838
 8th Sunday after Pentecost
 St. Martin

[To V. Wielogłowski]

I have not written till now, my dearest brother Valerian⁸⁴⁵, for in accord with your wishes I honestly had the desire and intention of coming to visit you. However, a whole series of little circumstances did not allow this. Yet I have not lost hope; and with God's help, I am absolutely determined to get there next week.

Therefore, if it is still your purpose to discuss certain questions and problems with me personally, please jot them down beforehand for memory's and for order's sake, in order to give our conversation a definite direction right from the start, according to your wishes and our common needs.

Nevertheless, in regard to these questions and problems, and in whatever concerns our minds and hearts, let the main rule, true for all time, be: Let us turn, and continue to turn them, as well as our minds and our hearts to God! And let us continue to cleanse them of all vanity, weakness and earthly servitude. Once cleansed, let us surrender and offer them completely to the living Truth, the unchanging Justice, the purest and most perfect Love to God! Cleansed, may they direct and open us to one another.... Then God, the Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier of all good, perfection and life, will fill, enlighten and satisfy them, calling them to union with Him, and strengthening us in that union... Through our union with Him He will sanctify and save us!

Therefore, pray, pray, pray! We must persevere in prayer, in spirit and in all our thoughts... humble and confident prayer, constantly more fervent, involving our whole soul and embracing our whole life! And we must join to that prayer a greater and greater purity of soul, together with perfection in the

⁸⁴⁵ Valerian Wielogłowski.

Christian life, manifesting love for God and neighbor in all of our actions. This is the necessary condition.

Finally, let us always remember that our faith is God's holy and eternal truth, which is best and most desirable for mankind under every aspect. This truth mankind can and, if it desires, will possess, only and in no other way, except by faith.

O how great is our vocation!

Lastly, you have our envoys and news about our life in the brothers who will deliver, these words to you.

Valerian, please help Edward⁸⁴⁶, using the veivode to find Captain Bathor, a Hungarian, who was recommended to me by Hłuszniewicz⁸⁴⁷, and ask him whether he would be good enough to translate⁸⁴⁸ a few numbers of the newspaper Religious Principles, that is an article about religious statistics relating to Austria. He can dictate this to you in French, so that Edward could bring it back with him.

May God be with you. May you enjoy his holy grace in ever greater abundance.

Bogdan Jański

P.S. Give my very best to your wife⁸⁴⁹, your daughter⁸⁵⁰ and Boleslaus. Give my regards to the Januszkiewicz family⁸⁵¹.

I could use the first volume of Lamennais: Essay on Indifference... if this is at all possible. Also send back the first volume of Bautain, and any other books that you may no longer need.

To brother Valerian⁸⁵².

⁸⁴⁶ Edward Duński.

⁸⁴⁷ Anthony Hłuszniewicz (1793-1861) – Studied medicine in Wilno, was an insurgent from Boryn, a very active worker among the emigrants, founder of the Batignole Library in Paris.

⁸⁴⁸ It was a question of translating articles from a Hungarian newspaper, so that Jański could make use of them.

⁸⁴⁹ Constance Wielogłowska (1808-1863) - accompanied her husband into exile.

⁸⁵⁰ Mary Wielogłowska (born February 14, 1825) - was also living in exile.

⁸⁵¹ Theophil Januszewicz (1796-1876) - a judge in the court of first instance in Sandomierz, a conspirator, and commander of "Lud Polski" ("the People in Poland") in Galicia; from 1836 he lived in exile with his family in France, (Versailles).

⁸⁵² Added by Jański on the overleaf of the letter in place of an address. The original is preserved in the Polish Academy of Science Library (Cracow): Mss 1835, pp.24-25.

Letter Nr. 158

Paris, August 8, 1838

[To V. Wielogłowski]

Dearest brother Valerian!

With me it is always the same story: I definitely want to pay you a visit; but I am forced by various and forever new problems to put off my coming from day to day. And the result is that I am once again late with my response, without ever abandoning my intention to visit. Thank you very much for the translation from Hungarian which you sent, and for the trouble you took upon yourself in seeing to it. It will be used in the daily The Friend of Religion, which is ready to pay the Hungarian according to the standard rate for translation.

If you think that he would not be offended, I will obtain the ten or so francs due to him according to the number of pages and lines, and will send them to him. As for other articles, please ask what they are about, and whether there is anything important in them.

In regard to your Christ confronts the Age⁸⁵³ I would rather that you undertake the translation of a book that speaks to the heart one that is not (please excuse the blot)⁸⁵⁴ argumentative, but geared instead to build up and excite piety - a book of piety and devotion.

The reason why I had Edward mention Christ confronts the Age and other books like it is that I was looking for something scholarly to replace Bautain. However, I prefer, and I counsel you to put aside the work you have begun for a time and not to begin the translation of similar books. Rather, set to work translating, e.g., one of the devotional books written by St. Liguori⁸⁵⁵, or some other warm and pious book approved by the Church. This is precisely what I

⁸⁵³ A little book by Anthony Francis Roselly (born 1805), published in Paris in 1835, and translated by the followers of Jański (J. Dziekoński: Chrystus wobec wieku - Warsaw, 1842).

⁸⁵⁴ The Polish word for blot is the same as the word for "Jew"; there is a blot here in the original

⁸⁵⁵ St. Alphonse Marie Ligouri (1696-1787) - Founder of the Redemptorists, author of many religious books, often full of fervent feeling.

wanted to discuss with you; and I even intended to bring a few such books with me offering you a choice. Therefore, if you are waiting on my decision, take a little vacation until we can get together to discuss the matter.

Since Edward is freer than I am, and can govern the use of his time with greater certainty, he promises to pay you, a visit next Sunday. It is probably only after that I will come⁸⁵⁶. Especially since I am waiting for requests from some people⁸⁵⁷ to transfer to the department of Seine and Aix, and I would like to ask the Voivode to write a recommendation for them.

John⁸⁵⁸ is just now telling me - he heard from chamberlain Moszczyński⁸⁵⁹ that you had received good news from Poland. Thank God!

I commend myself and all of us to your prayers and your love, assuring you once again of our unchanging feelings for you in Christ the Lord.

Bogdan Jański

P.S. from August 3, 1838:

I wrote the above yesterday, Thursday, and wanted to send it by mail today, when Boleslaus arrived.

Agreed! What could be easier? We will withdraw other possessions from Mont de Piete⁸⁶⁰. It will probably be better if I go there myself. I will show them your letter addressed to me; they know your signature there and will be able to determine its authenticity. Although there will probably be no problem.

God grant that next week I will be with you. But maybe you will come to visit us, since you no longer have that “metallic”⁸⁶¹ impediment.

Edward plans to visit you tomorrow, instead of Sunday; but even that depends on whether he will be able to do so.

⁸⁵⁶ Instead of “chyba” (only) the original has “chiba”.

⁸⁵⁷ New candidates for the new community.

⁸⁵⁸ John Omieciński.

⁸⁵⁹ Michael Moszczeński (Moszczyński?) of the Nałęcz family, chamberlain of His Royal Majesty, heir to Kazimierz and Rorszenice, husband of Eleanor Brinska, daughter of the castellan of Śrem, father of Stanislaus, Catherine and Mary.

⁸⁶⁰ The name of bank in Paris.

⁸⁶¹ That is, the lack of money which had arrived from Poland.

May God's abundant grace be with you and with all of those who are dear to your heart!

Bogdan

Annotation on the everleaf: Brother Valerian.⁸⁶²

⁸⁶² The original is in the Polish Academy of Science Library /Cracow/: Mss 1835, pp. 26-27.

Letter Nr. 159Paris, August 13, 1838⁸⁶³**[To V. Wielogłowski]**

Dearest brother Valerian!

Could you do one favor and one convenience for me? But, I want you to respond with complete fraternal openness as to whether it is going to cause you any difficulty. I have suddenly accumulated a great number of needs and expenses. As a result, I will need at least several hundred francs, which I could return to you immediately next month, in September. Therefore, it is a question of whether or not you can loan them to me? And if not (because surely you too have many needs and expenses), please excuse me if I make bold enough to ask that you provide this convenience for me in some other way.

I see that your pawn ticket is dated November. Therefore, if you do not need the things that you pawned immediately, would you allow me to put off their redemption for two, three, at the most four weeks, and to use the amount I now need, taking it from the money you sent me for that purpose? Justice would demand that you permit me to pay you the interest that would accrue through this one month. I repeat: respond with complete fraternal openness as to whether or not this is going to cause you any difficulty.

Friday, when Boleslaus arrived, and the following day, Saturday, I could not get around to redeeming your things because I had much current business to take care of; especially when I saw that the date on the ticket was the 23rd. Then Monday is crossed my mind that perhaps, as a convenience to me, you might allow for my request in case you could not make me a loan; after giving myself 24 hours to think about this proposition, I appeal to your brotherly heart for a response, which I ask you to give me without delay.

The management of The Friend of Religion⁸⁶⁴ sent me 15 francs to pay the Hungarian for his translation. If he will accept the money, pay him, and I will

⁸⁶³ The date was established according to the postmark and the day of the week.

repay you when I see you. At the same time, they sent a few new copies to look through, and for translation should there be anything worth while.

Figure out whether we can count on him for this work, or whether we should look for someone else. Perhaps he may even know one of his compatriots in Paris, someone who is involved in scholarly work and is also religious. It would be good if he did; write me about this.

I would like to visit you after I receive requests from out of town for two of our friends⁸⁶⁵ who would like to enrol in the School of Agriculture. If I had these requests with me when I visit, I could arrange for proper permissions, certificates⁸⁶⁶, and maybe recommendations from the Voivode.

John left on Sunday for Meaux as our special ambassador to Hipolite⁸⁶⁷, with name day greetings from all of us. He will be returning today or tomorrow.

May the grace of Christ the Lord be with you!

Bogdan Jański

Monday, August 13, 1838

Addressee: Monsieur Valere Wielogłowski

a Versailles, Avenue de St, Cloud, 43.

Postmark: Versailles, August 14, 1838;

Paris, August 14, Bureau G.

The original is in the Polish Academy of Science Library (Cracow): Mss 1835, pp. 3-4.

⁸⁶⁴ A periodical for French Catholics.

⁸⁶⁵ Very probably C. Kozarzewski and Napoleon Poźniak.

⁸⁶⁶ In the original “certyfikata” – “assurances”.

⁸⁶⁷ John Omieciński to Hipolite Terlecki. (August 13, St. Hipolite.)

Letter Nr. 160

Paris, November 9, 1838

[To V. Wielogłowski]

Dearest Valerian!

Woe! Woe! Mrs. Mickiewicz keeps getting worse! What a misfortune! I am praying. Let us all pray to God for mercy and comfort.

Thanks to your intervention, Włodimir⁸⁶⁸ is agreeable to everything. He approaches the discussion of business with complete readiness, eagerness and confidence. But, to complete the agreement, we both positively need your good judgment as a mediator. Therefore, I am asking you to overcome all momentary difficulties, and to come to us tomorrow or the day after, Saturday or Sunday. If you come tomorrow, Saturday, come for dinner, spend the evening and the night with us, and then we can go to Mass together. If you come on Sunday, come to our house between 2 and 3, Boulevard Mont Parnasse 25.

May the grace of God be with you always, throughout sternity.

Bogdan Jański

Friday, November 9, 1838

I⁸⁶⁹ am also asking you to come; for, since you know my financial status and my habits, you will be able to bring the matter to a most successful conclusion, though I do not think there will be much trouble.

Your brother, Włodimir.

Addressee: Monsieur Velere Wielogłowski

Avenue de Saint Cloud 43,
a Versailles.

⁸⁶⁸ Włodimir Chwalibóg, influenced by Wielogłowski, had decided to help B. Jański buy the Polish Printery and Bookstore in Paris by means of a sizeable loan without interest.

⁸⁶⁹ A postscript added by Włodimir Chwalibóg.

Postmark: Paris, November 9, 1838, Bureau.

The original is in the Polish Academy of Science Library (Cracow): Mss 1835, p. 20.

Letter Nr. 161

Paris, November 13, 1838

[To V. Wielogłowski]

Wlodimir did not come yesterday, at the time agreed upon. And I did not see him today because I have been waiting for Mickiewicz since morning, checking on various stage-coaches; but he has not yet arrived⁸⁷⁰. Therefore; I have no knowledge at all, of what he has decided to do. First find out yourself; then, please God, try to bring the matter to a conclusion.

I am writing these words:

1. To inform you that I will not be able to come tomorrow, Wednesday, in the afternoon; but I will come in the evening and stay overnight. This will be a freer time for me, and I will be able to stay with you a little longer.

2. Because I have new and very important motives to confirm me in my plans to take a loan from Wlodimir. And I would like to add a word of encouragement, urgently begging you to conclude this matter affirmatively, in so far as this lies within your power.

3. It would be very important for us, if it would be no trouble to him, to obtain an advance of about 1,000 francs from Wlodimir, from Havre. Please keep this in mind.

O God, do not abandon us, but keep us in your holy care!

Bogdan Jański

Tuesday, St. Stanislaus Kostka

Postmark: Paris, November 13, 1838, Bureau.

Addressee: Monsieur Wielogłowski,

a Versailles, Avenue St. Cloud 43⁸⁷¹

⁸⁷⁰ A. Mickiewicz was summoned from Switzerland to visit his sick wife; but he arrived only on November 18th.

⁸⁷¹ The original letter is found in Polish Academy of Science Library (Cracow): Mss 1835, pp. 22-23.

Letter Nr. 162Paris, November 23, 1838⁸⁷²**[To V. Wielogłowski]**

My dearest Valerian!

Thanks and praise to God for all the holy sentiments and eager dedication with which your heart is filled, as well as for the holy humility and deference with which you seek fraternal counsel in all that you intend to do.

Well, my definite advice is: No! This is not the time. We cannot, we have no need to realize our plan for a House⁸⁷³ now. An I am asking you to hold up for now on any steps you may have taken in that direction. It seems to me that right now it would be the source of more trouble, new difficulties and opposition, than any definite spiritual good.

The main reason: Because it lacks the foundation for such a domestic Christian community; confreres who can and want to bind themselves together in a spirit of complete confidence, love and unity. The all-loving God, who knows all things, will accept the offering of your pure intentions and upright purposes.

Therefore, without even offering others, such as Miłkowski⁸⁷⁴ and Służalski⁸⁷⁵, an explanation of your reasons, postpone this business to some later date at least until we meet.

A worthwhile, and perhaps necessary, reform that you might introduce into your life as I mentioned it above is to accept visits only during certain hours, and to designate other hours daily for work behind closed doors not to be spent

⁸⁷² The date has been established according to the content of the letter and Jański's Diary.

⁸⁷³ B. Jański and V. Wielogłowski intended to establish a new center for religious activity in Versailles. Jański changed these plans and opened a new center in Paris rue Vavin 13, from September, 1838.

⁸⁷⁴ Louis Miłkowski (1797-1867) from Poznań. An insurgent, emigrated from Cracow in 1836; a member of Polish Democratic Society. He returned to Poland, where he directed religious activities in Greater Poland in the spirit of Jański. He was a member of the Brotherhood of the Polish League, President of the Supreme Council of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, and the founder of many libraries.

⁸⁷⁵ Henry Służalski, a little-known friend of Wielogłowski from Versailles. He was to enter the new House together with Miłkowski.

necessarily only in translation, but also in the careful reading and annotating of books such as the Church history of Fleure⁸⁷⁶, or others. I would be worth reading De Maistre⁸⁷⁷, Bonald⁸⁷⁸, etc., as well as Universite Catholique⁸⁷⁹ etc.

As for your relations with the other brothers: The advice of Fr. Petigny⁸⁸⁰ is very wise. Above all, it would be well for you now to perform certain exercises regularly though not often: common prayers, common reading, common discussions etc., etc. I place my hope in God, however, that we will soon be able to discuss these matters at greater length.

We are experiencing great hardship and trying times. The establishment of the new House on rue Vavin is creating more and more new expenses, and we have no ready funds for anything. Still, thank God, I am accepting all of the difficulties of this situation with resignation. I accept each of these crosses, with gratitude, and with the conviction that I have merited far more severe punishments, set-backs and humiliations by my sins. I have not lost hope in God, and by his holy grace, I am not discouraged.

Among the worries in this last category, the principal one is that which Walter⁸⁸¹ has undoubtedly mentioned to you, and which refers to him.

Boleslaus will be staying with us for about a week.

You will soon receive a lengthier letter, or maybe even a visit from me. If possible. But, we will first look a response from you.

We place all of our hope in God; from Him we expect all things. Let us persevere in that hope, in spite of all obstacles!

⁸⁷⁶ Fr. Claude Fleury (1640-1723), a Church historian. B. Jański has in mind his History of the Church (20 vols., 1691-1720). His Historial Catechism (1679 2 parts) was also popular.

⁸⁷⁷ Joseph de Maistre (1755-1821), Christian politician and thinker; an unfortunate exile. Undoubtedly Jański has in mind his famous Petersburg Soirees (1821).

⁸⁷⁸ There were four famous Frenchmen with this name; the father and his three sons. The father: Viscount Louis Gabriel Ambrose Bonald (1754-1840), philosopher, publicist and statesman; founder and modern traditionalism, author of The Theory of Political and Religious Power ... (Constance, 1786), and other works. His son August Henry is the author of The Wisdom of the Catholic Church (1833). A second son, Victor, and the third, Louis James Maurice, archbishop of Lyon and Cardinal, also published works of a religious nature.

⁸⁷⁹ A scholarly French Catholic periodical, edited by Fr. Gerbet.

⁸⁸⁰ A curate from Versailles.

⁸⁸¹ Philip Neri Walter.

Your brother forever,

Bogdan⁸⁸²

To my dearest brother Valerian.

Rue d'Anjou, the first street on the right after you cross Rue Royale, Montefillee.

⁸⁸² The original letter is found in the Polish Academy of Science (Cracow): Mss 1835, pp. 28-29.

Letter Nr. 163

La Grande Trappe, may 1, 1839

[To V. Wielogłowski]

Pardon me, my dearest Valerian, for being so late about returning the letters you gave me to read. But, once I came to this holy place, I could not resist complete involvement in spiritual works - meditation, prayer. Nevertheless, thank God, you are so good that I have no doubt you remained patient till now.

Unworthy as I am, I never stop thanking the merciful Lord with all my soul for sending you to me as a comfort and support in the midst of such difficult circumstances!

My return to Paris may be delayed considerably; I would like to stay here as long as possible. And so once again I will ask you for patience amid various needs and unpleasant experiences, and that your love never change. I ask for prayer, more and more fervent prayer for myself and for all of our undertakings, insofar as these are in agreement with the will of God.

The person delivering these letters is brother Leopold⁸⁸³, about whom I have this happy news to relate: As a result of various unpleasant influences he had grown discouraged and apathetic toward us; but now he unites himself with us whole-heartedly and without any reservations, and he desires to enter into a complete spiritual and communal union. However, prudence dictates that he not manifest⁸⁸⁴ this, change in Paris immediately, for in others this would only arouse opposition, new antipathies and dissuasion.

Nevertheless, you can associate with him and speak with him openly; in fact, you ought to, as a brother who is joined with him in complete unity. You need to do this, in order to confirm and inspire him with that spirit of unity, as well as in his unity with Sidorowicz and Hipolite. If you have the chance,

⁸⁸³ Leopold Turowski.

⁸⁸⁴ The original has "odkazywał" (denounce; threaten/ instead of "ukazywał".

approach Orpiszewski⁸⁸⁵ for the same purpose, though this still looking to the future. Likewise, do not forget Adolph⁸⁸⁶ and dear Ordęga⁸⁸⁷. Continue to love our beloved John⁸⁸⁸, and show him that love at every opportunity.

If Leopold does not have enough for the return fare from Versailles to Paris, give him what he needs; and so, ask him about this.

What have you to tell me about yourself, or about those who are with you? You can write everything to me, whether the news is good or bad. Please write, at great length and very frequently. My address is: A La Grande Trappe, pres de Mortagne, departament de l'Orne.

In a few days I will write to Walter, apologizing for not saying good-bye before my departure, for I know that this is required.

Apropos the matter of people. Talk to Romuald⁸⁸⁹ also sometime. What does he have against me now? Why is he scheming against me, wherever and however he can? I presume that he feels resentment towards me because of someone else! I will probably talk to you about this, Valerian, when I see you.

O God, pardon me for not hiding these miseries within myself, and for dragging them out into the open before others! But you see, O God, that it is not aggrieved love of self that causes this; rather, the desire to check scandals lies and animosities that are an offence to You and to the Truth!

Let us trust in God, dearest Valerian, and persevere; let us grow in all that is good, avoiding all evil!

There is another calamity in Paris. One of our creditors, a baker, wanted to bring us to court. In order to appease him, I sent Sidorowicz instructions to pay a fairly considerable sum, 100 francs in all. Thus, with other small expenses, the money you took to him has already been spent. Yet there are bills that must be paid this month: some before the 15th; and some little ones right about the 1st. That is why I am writing to him, telling him to go to you in Versailles; in your

⁸⁸⁵ Louis Orpiszewski.

⁸⁸⁶ Adolf Zaleski.

⁸⁸⁷ Joseph Ordęga.

⁸⁸⁸ John Omieciński.

⁸⁸⁹ Romuald Giedroyć a relative of Prince Giedroyć and his Family.

kindness, please give him what remains of the funds that God sent us so lovingly and so providentially. If you should need it, retain some of this money for yourself in lieu of what I had taken from you on credit.

Without waiting my response, write to Popiel⁸⁹⁰ as the Holy Spirit inspires you. About me you can write that I intend to write to him later and recall myself to his memory; but I have gone on retreat. Therefore, I will write later. Send him my greetings, and thank him for me, as, by God's grace, you know how to do so well.

May you stay healthy, full of peace, growing constantly in good spirit in the Lord! Give my very best wishes to your wife, our dearest sister in Christ the Lord, and to dear Mary as well; in my thoughts and feelings they are not separated from you. I commend all of you to God's protection and love, asking your fraternal and Christian prayer for myself.

Give my regards to our dearest Theophil⁸⁹¹! May God continue to support him by His holy grace, and most lovingly pour out him all of the joys we wish him from the bottom of our hearts.

Also give my fraternal greetings in our only Lord and Savior Christ to Boleslaus, Wątróbka and Mińłowski.

Bogdan

Wednesday, May 1, 1839

For Brother Valerian⁸⁹²

⁸⁹⁰ Louis Popiel - A member of the Polish landed aristocracy who was traveling through the West; a relative of Wielogłowski and the brother of Paul Popiel of Cracow.

⁸⁹¹ Theophil Januskiewicz.

⁸⁹² The original is preserved in the Polish Academy of Science (Cracow): Mss. 1835, pp. 32-33.

Letter Nr. 164La Grande Trappe, May 25, 1839⁸⁹³**[To V. Wielogłowski]**

My dearest Valerian!

May God reward you for your recent letters, and for all the expressions and proofs of your truly fraternal attachment which they contain! And since I myself keep asking you to write to me very often and at great length, you can safely set aside any scruples the kind you wrote about in your next to last letter - that you were committing a fault by reason of your loquacity.

I began the above a few hours ago with the intention of writing a lengthy letter. Meanwhile a problem arose. Now the hour when the mail leaves is approaching, and I do not have time to write anything more today. Let Adolph⁸⁹⁴ come here on Monday, the day after tomorrow, or on Thursday.

An if you can, Valerian, please give him 3 francs for me.

You give me good reasons to return speedily; however, there are other reasons delaying my return. I will write to you about these in my next letter.

Continue to write to me at this address. Give your wife and Mary my greetings.

Yours in Christ the Lord,

Bogdan⁸⁹⁵

Saturday.

Address: Monsieur Valere Wielogłowski,
a Versailles, Avenue de St. Clous 43,
seine et Oise.

Postmark: Mortagne sur Huisne - May 27, 1839,
and Versailles, May 28, 1839.

⁸⁹³ The date is established by the postmark and the day of the week.

⁸⁹⁴ Adolph Zaleski.

⁸⁹⁵ The original letter is in the Polish Academy of Science (Cracow): Mss. 1835, pp. 9-10.

Letter Nr. 165La Grande Trappe, June 10, 1839⁸⁹⁶**[To V. Wielogłowski]**

My dearest, In Christ the Lord, Valerian!

I fear that you be offended and irritated with me on this occasion. Spiritually my condition is such that, even if I were in Paris, I would beg and importune you until you permitted me, alone with the local brethren⁸⁹⁷, to receive Holy Communion on the 13th of June for Mary's⁸⁹⁸ intention, spending the whole day raising my soul to God, asking him for most abundant graces and care for her, together with the blessing of Christ the Lord upon her whole life. On the supposition that I had met with you before-hand, and ready for later visits, with your permission, I would not come to Versailles on the festal day itself. For I am sure that your Christian, fatherly and fraternal heart will move you to invite for the occasion not only the brothers and friends, but all of those I presume you would feel obliged to invite. And, while it undoubtedly stems from my spiritual weakness, I sense this as a reality within me today: While it would be very pleasant and very desirable for me to spend this holy day with you your family and one, two or three of our closest brothers, at present I feel practically incapable of mingling in such a large and mixed group so soon after leaving this place. I would feel this especially in a situation where, by reason of my position, I would be obliged to observe the proprieties and "faire tete a tout le monde".

Therefore, I am asking God with all the fervor and humility of my soul, by his almighty grace to give you an understanding and forgiving heart.

I am giving you an account of what is going on within me, and what could be a hindrance to my being with you on June 13th. What could be, for there is another cause which it is not my power or will to remove in time, which makes

⁸⁹⁶ The date has been established by the postmark and the day of the week.

⁸⁹⁷ That is, with the Trappists.

⁸⁹⁸ Mary Wielogłowska, Valerian's daughter, was receiving her First Holy Communion on that day.

my coming absolutely impossible, as it does also my participation in the festivities there on the day after tomorrow.

When I wrote to you before that I was going to delay my return to Paris, I intended to leave this place within a day or two after Adolph's⁸⁹⁹ arrival, and to go to Solesmes, to the Benedictines, in order to catch up on all of the more important outstanding correspondence. Later, for various reasons, I decided to send out the most important ones while I was still here. Having explained this matter to my confessor with all of the considerations and circumstances involved, I am bound sacramentally to fulfill this resolution here before I leave. There is no way that I can do this before the 13th; therefore, my dearest friend, neither can I leave to be with you on that day.

You will not believe how sad this makes me, not to be able to satisfy your wish on the occasion of this unique and holy celebration. But if our hearts are saddened by my inability to come, we can both turn this to our advantage: first, by accepting this sadness willingly as coming from or permitted by the will of God; then by offering Him this sadness in the intention of our dearest celebrant.

Further, as for me here: from morning till night, the whole day of June 13th, without interruption, keeping this in mind as a day of celebration for you, Mary, and your dear sister Constance⁹⁰⁰, I will be able to offer my humble, fervent and sincere prayers, though they are surely of little value, to God for your intentions. Here my prayer will be more constant and more intense. Thus, throughout the whole day, I will be able to join with you in spirit better and more closely. Therefore, do not be offended! Do not be irritated with me!

My reasons: the first, my incapacity, and the second, my inability, are such, naturally, that it would not be proper to repeat them to anyone. I ask you to do this for me, though it is surely unnecessary for me to ask. If anyone asks you why I did not come, you will answer briefly: I wrote to you that I cannot come, and that there are serious reasons for this.

⁸⁹⁹ The arrival of Adolph Zaleski to make a retreat.

⁹⁰⁰ Constance, nee Wesslow, Wielogłowska, Valerian's wife.

In your last letter you wrote that you have to be in Geneva on the 20th of this month!

Did you write this to frighten me, or is this your immutable intention? As a last resort, if you are really planning to leave on this journey soon, I would definitely arrange to meet with you before then, at least meeting for a day or two somewhere between Versailles and Mortagne in Chartres or Dreux. You would also have to keep this a secret. For, besides catching up on outstanding correspondence which is more extensive than you imagined, there is another reason that keeps me from finally returning to Paris. It is that before I return I would definitely like to receive a reply to some of my letters, and to realize the hope of receiving some expected funds this too is a personal and confidential communication, without which the work of restoration⁹⁰¹ would prove very difficult. Moreover, I feel that it would render this work impossible, as regards some of the brothers. As a result, I would again be immersed in problems; and this could deprive me of whatever freedom of soul I have been able to regain, which I consider most important.

Therefore, please give me a clear and definite response concerning your planned trip to Geneva⁹⁰², and at the same time give me the latest news about yourself and what refers to us. Your letters are always welcome and gratifying to me.

May God's grace and peace be with you! When you will be kissing Mary after she has received Holy Communion, please add a kiss from me, in Christ the Lord... By all means!

Bogdan

Monday.

⁹⁰¹ Due to a lack of money and socio-political conflicts, Jański's Houses experienced a great crisis in the Spring of this year: In March, the House at Mont Parnasse 25 was closed, and 11 members left (Krahnas, Omieciński, Terlecki, Kamocki, Rettel, Szulc, C. Newelski, Słowaczyński, Biergiel, and Jełowicki).

⁹⁰² For a meeting between Valerian Wielogłowski and Louis Popiel in Geneva.

P.S. Adolph⁹⁰³ sends, his, greetings. In God there is hope that his stay here will bear good fruit. He is very docile in his relations with me, and has been impressed by La Trappe beyond expectation. I will write about him at greater length in a later letter, or I can tell you about him when I see you.

Give my fraternal greetings in Christ the Lord to Januszewicz, Ordęga, Boleslaus, Wątróbka⁹⁰⁴, and Miłkowski⁹⁰⁵.

Address: Monsieur Wielogłowski

a Versailles, Avenue de St. Clous 34, Seine et Oise

Postmark: Mortagne sur Huisne, June 13, 1839, (59).

(The Versailles postmark is smudged)

⁹⁰³ Adolph Zaleski was with Jański on retreat at La Trappe since May 30, 1839.

⁹⁰⁴ Recces Wątróbka, a lawyer from Wołyń, insurgent, emigrant, member of the Polish Democratic Society. He had lived in Troyes, but moved to Versailles.

⁹⁰⁵ The original letter, is in the Polish Academy of Science (Cracow): Mss 1835, pp. 30-31.

Letter Nr. 166

La Grande Trappe, June 19, 1839

[To V. Wielogłowski]

Thanks and praise to God for all the goodness of your Christian and fraternal heart that came through once again in reading your last letter.

Concerning the main point, that is, your meeting with Louis Popiel, for my part I have this to add, or rather to say:

1. When you get to Geneva, do not delay a single day. Go to church immediately, and there pray for your intentions in particular and our intentions in general. After you have put yourself entirely in Gods hands, make your confession (which, since you receive the Sacraments fairly often, will not, Thank God, require any lengthy preparation that could be hindered by your situation as a traveler), and obtain permission to receive Holy Communion two, three, or more times, according to the confessors directions and the state of your conscience; and when that permission expires, renew it. Do this with the intention of obtaining from God the grace of peace for your worthy wife. Having established yourself in the state of grace in this fashion, you will know best what you are to say and how you are to say it; and what you say will have a good effect.

2. In your conversation with Louis avoid especially any show of hatred or contempt for any individual party or person in exile, in order to elevate even more his opinion of our undertakings. Speak of everyone with love, confidently and peacefully, without bitterness or anger. Often, when we are more intimately involved in squabbles that refer to persons or opinions, we express ourselves in words that are-too heated, too caustic, or too bombastic and therefore not true. Wherefore, as the envoy and representative of our whole spiritual family, when entering into communication with so many of our dear brothers in Poland through Louis, make an effort to insure that it is always charity that speaks through you. This is really the essence of my instruction.

However, do not exaggerate the above admonition too much, for God knows that I do not have in mind any severe rebuke of your past conversations; neither are there any fears in my heart concerning your meeting with Louis. I simply offer this admonition to encourage you to be spiritually alert and more acutely aware of this principal Christian obligation.

In reference to us, order that God might bless your establishment of such important contacts, avoid all exaggeration of our undertakings. When you speak, speak in the spirit of very deep Christian humility, simplicity, and of unbounded confidence, not in our own strength, but in that of God himself; and speak only the strictest truth. Contrary to worldly propaganda methods, I offer this basic instruction: When describing our situation, better say less than more, leaving the rest unsaid, and commending everything to God.

Both the actual situation today and prudence counsel that you do not assign to us any political mission or position other than general national and patriotic hopes and sentiments; therefore, do not represent us as involved in a political encounter with anyone. Indicate as our principal concern what it is in reality: 1. The determination to lead the fullest and most perfect Christian life, whether this be in the clerical or the lay state, married or single, in one or another profession, and as a well regulated unity⁹⁰⁶. 2. The dedication of all of our efforts and means to the reform⁹⁰⁷ of our confreres and co-nationals in the way of truth and salvation although, until now, our life gives such feeble, practically no, evidence of our determination, our supreme goal; yet, this has always been a living reality among us, and continues to be such.

This determination clearly supposes in us the conviction that, in spite of so many loose and false opinions, we regard Christian perfection as an obligation that binds not only religious and priests, but also persons and all Christians. And we are convinced that all Christians who are not blinded by or immersed in earthly interests and passions⁹⁰⁸ ought to form a very close alliance in order to

⁹⁰⁶ That is, in a community possessing a government and authority.

⁹⁰⁷ Direction.

⁹⁰⁸ Infatuations.

defend the sacred Truth, and to spread that truth, on ground that has already been plowed, dug up and broken in pieces by so many catastrophes... and this may even be the beginning of a solution to all of the contemporary social problems. We in particular, regarding our conversion as a very special and totally undeserved gift of God's mercy, consider such a union, such a determination, and the offering of our whole life to Christ the Lord, as our own very clear and strict obligation.

However, I think that it would be imprudent for you to insist overly, or even to dwell even slightly on our plan to set ourselves up as a definite and permanent unit, having a fully-developed organization, and as already established. There is much prejudice, especially in Poland, against new foundations, new religious communities, new rules. At least it appears that way to me. Stop, therefore, at general expressions indicating that our present union is something real. Our union has a government;⁹⁰⁹ and it is our intention to remain united. Too bad that I do not have the time to write more about this. But, I trust that the Holy Spirit will do a better job filling in, and will tell you what I would have wished to write.

I repeat, do not represent us as in conflict with the parties, especially me; say as little as possible about me, for it is not necessary at this time, for example, in conversation with Adolph⁹¹⁰ or Ordega⁹¹¹, particularly with Czartoryski, who is surely highly regarded by the Popiels by reason of his position. However, underscore this very clearly: that we advise our own people and those who are close to us not to join any of the political parties, whether democratic or aristocratic for on both sides the older impulses and dominant ideas are not Christian. And although, especially among the aristocrats, there can be people who believe and practice their faith, these people (because they lack logic and do not accept religion as a complete foundation for their thought and conduct) on all social, political and moral questions think and speak like some Tory or Whig,

⁹⁰⁹ Our community exists under authority.

⁹¹⁰ Adolph Zaleski.

⁹¹¹ Joseph Ordega.

English protestants, or like a French liberal, an atheist or deist. And this is the truth, to the letter.

Nevertheless declare that we are ready to obey any general authority (recognized by the people as a whole) in Poland or in exile - only and after a revolution. Therefore, in order not to abandon, and cease to support our truth, the Catholic truth, in which there is complete salvation for all, and to which we have dedicated our whole life, we intend to remain united as we are, in community. (Yet, it might be better to place less emphasis on the matter of the future and of a future community; and primarily talk about what exists at present and what we wish to do today).

Where there is question of our particular doctrines, assure him before and above all that we submit absolutely to Catholic unity, to the Church, and to the Pope. We neither do anything, or wish to do anything, without the advice of the clergy or clerical authorities. We have no affiliation with anyone else.

3. In this letter I was supposed to write to you about our needs, and to send details concerning our cooperation with the people in Poland, but I lack the time. And, to avoid disturbing you, I would like to send this letter today. Therefore, I am postponing these items for tomorrow. I will send the letter to Versailles or, with the addition of other materials, to Geneva, poste restante. The only thing I would like to add here is that it would be well for you, after your departure, to write to your wife every day with news about yourself. But do not tell her about this intention. Rather tell her that you will write often, but not necessarily every day; otherwise, if she did not receive your letter one day, she would be worried.

Go in the name of God and may the grace and care of Christ the Lord protect and keep you from even the slightest accident, enjoying the best of health in body and soul. Return to us as soon as you can.

Before your departure, please send me (in one package, by mail, you pay 1 sou per printed sheet) Buchez' two volumes Concerning Philosophy⁹¹² ... and

⁹¹² Jański has in mind Essai d'un traité complet de philosophie au point de vue du catholicisme et du progrès, Paris, 1838-1840, 3 vols. (in 1839 only two volumes had appeared).

also, if you have it, An Introduction to the study of the Sciences⁹¹³ (a thin volume published earlier).

Send them in care of Bojanowski⁹¹⁴ at Mortagne, with a word to him asking him to hold them for me when they arrive in Mortagne. However, say nothing about this to Ordęga or the others⁹¹⁵, for they would go around telling people that I did not even know who this Buchez was, and had only now gone into seclusion to “bone up” on him etc., etc. I would like to catch them off their guard with a strong attack, and at the same time to prepare myself for a confrontation and conversation with Buchez himself.

Send your reply in care of Bojanowski: Mortagne, Cafe de la Paix, pour remettre a Mr. Jański.

May God be with you! Send letters to the Zaleskis. Moreover, if you seek a clarification of anything I have written in this letter, write; I will send my reply to Geneva, poste restante.

My dearest friend, pray for me daily, as I do for you.

Yours always,
Bogdan⁹¹⁶

⁹¹³ A work also written by Buchez.

⁹¹⁴ Anthony, Bojanowski - an insurgent and emigrant who lived permanently at Mortagne; he came from Zwierzyniec (near Lublin).

⁹¹⁵ Some of the confreres who left in the Spring were advocates of the social teaching of Buchez.

⁹¹⁶ The original letter is found in the Polish Academy of Science Library (Cracow): Mss 1835, pp. 11-12.

Letter Nr. 167

Mortagne, July 3, 1839

[To V. Wielogłowski]

The grace and peace of God be with you, my dearest Valerian! I have so accustomed you to my delays that once again you will say: Of course! and you forgive me.

I want to complete for you the material begun in the last letter. I hope I will still be in time, that is, before your parting with Popiel. But first I have some more important news about local problems.

First: I left La Trappe on June 24th, the Feast of St. John, together with Adolph, for whom I believe the retreat and the stay at La Trappe will prove to be a great benefit though perhaps only after a while. I stopped at Mortagne, and I am not anxious to return to Paris before some funds arrive. Otherwise, I will be overwhelmed by all the business matters that have been suspended until I return; and, perhaps in vain, I might be completely discredited by them.

Yet, in just the time that I have been here what sad news there is from Paris! I was supposed to make a number of necessary payments on the first of the month - a few notes etc... about 300 francs. I had no choice. I had write to Ladislaus Plater to remit the 300 francs in his possession which had been clearly and without any condition designated for my use; in fact, this money had been sent by his brother Caesar. I still have not received his reply, though it is practically sure that he will release the money. Thus the first, and most urgent expenses will be met.

However, suddenly and unexpectedly another very serious need has emerged. I owe my landlord about 600 francs for one and a half quarters. I thought that he would wait patiently until the end of the quarter, till July 15th. And perhaps before this time we would finally receive some assistance. I am especially expecting to receive 1,500 francs from Mrs. Łopacińska. She promised most

solemnly that she would send them immediately after her return. I understood that I would be receiving them already in June.

Then, just a few days ago, my landlord handed Sidorowicz an official notice and order to quit! That is, a termination of the contract after the half year and a demand, under pain of all the strictest measures, foreclosure etc., for payment of what is due to now. A few months ago, in the case brought against us by our baker, unsolicited and unasked, Plater declared that he has 1,000 francs for us. And so I wrote to him asking that he send me this money to meet this urgent need. But he has already done a complete turn-around. I don't know what is going to happen. Nevertheless, thanks to God, I am resigned and at peace, ready for anything, and resolved; not to allow myself to be deterred from our primary and spiritual undertakings by any material catastrophe.

I expect that I will be able to obtain a stay from the landlord until the 15th. However, if by that time we do not receive funds, at least to pay these 600 francs, there may be a catastrophe, even a great one. But there is hope in God! In any case, I will return to Paris by that time and I will use every means to avert such a coup.

May God's will be done! Right at the time when we are confronted by highest hopes on all sides, my past sins (disorder and imprudence) are responsible for calling God's most just punishment down on our work; this punishment is surely lighter than my sins deserve, but it., is nonetheless painful!

I am- asking God today, above all for the strength and the spirit to submit to this punishment, and to bear it as a Christian: with gratitude and peace, and for my correction. My dear Valerian, I am also asking you to pray for me in this intention.

Having made this disclosure, I move on to your meeting with Popiel. Please try to dispose him in such a way that none of the bad news about our material situation would make a bad impression on him, or undo what you will accomplish by your love, your prayers, and what you say; and even that in such an event, when he returns to Poland, he will defend us before those who would despair of us because of a set-back we have experienced. That is, even if, as I am

led to expect, we might be evicted from our house on rue Vavin. Maybe even, have our property sold at auction! Though these are only suppositions, the worst possible, ready to submit to any punishment for my sins, I have not lost hope that such a situation might be averted.

However, if the landlord, basing himself on certain articles of Law and unwilling to allow for any delay, wished to press his demands immediately, before the 15th, I would naturally return to Paris. Perhaps I could obtain the money to satisfy him, and perhaps not! In the later case the House on rue Vavin would, naturally, close. I would then rent some small house in the same section, and take up residence there with just the closest and most strongly united brothers.

Although this humiliation would be a scandal to the people and an occasion to despair about all our undertakings for many of those whose spirit is weak, surely as a humiliation it could turn out to be for our good. I add this for your information and to reassure you. Even in the event of a catastrophe I do not intend to abandon our work, or to remain in complete dispersion even a while! One more, in God there is hope! May God's will be done!

After you have established the closest and most perfect possible spiritual unity, you are undoubtedly negotiating for funds. It is necessary to present this matter in the best possible light, yet very truthfully in a word, in the spirit in which the whole work was undertaken, explaining the what and the how of our situation till now. And secondly, our plans for the future, on which we base our request for funds.

From the very beginning we were convinced that, if our own conversion as well as that of the brothers who were turning to God was to be effective, for the ones who were being converted, for God and for the people, it was most proper and even necessary to withdraw from the company in which we were living, and come together in a single community in which each individual could find support in all the others while strengthening them by his own spirit and by his participation in common practices. Thus the individual became, in a sense, bound before himself, God and men, and was led onto the right way. We decided to begin leading a common life, and we established a House at the beginning of

1836. This House was for its members, a guarantee of perseverance and of spiritual training.

Secondly, since before this time we had all dedicated ourselves to various earthly projects, when we were converted we wished to dedicate ourselves completely to the work of God. He became for us the focal point and the center; in Him we placed all of our zeal and all of our hopes. He was the bond uniting us in a spiritual community for the rest of our lives. But, in line with what I wrote in the last letter, you might put less emphasis on this point.

Thirdly, we established this House with the idea that it would become for each of these converts a House of refuge, reformation and spiritual exercise. It was also to be a kind of standard for those who, leaving behind entirely all of their plans for their careers, wished to offer their whole life, all of their strength and their means, to the service of God in order to defend the truth of Christ, and to propagate it and its practices in all forms of life.

We ourselves had no money. Yet we threw ourselves body and soul into the propagation and realization of this idea by which God had bound us together as one. From the beginning, a lack of calculation and prudence was our fault - especially mine. We often accepted people whose financial condition was bad. We took care of these matters for them. Some of those living with us had no income, and it was hard to find work for them. We offered a variety of help to a variety of people: books, correspondence, travel, etc., which entailed expenses exceeding our income and the small and irregular donations we were receiving from some people, among these from Caesar.

Apropos Caesar, who surely told Popiel some strange things in Rome, i.e., how he founded the House and maintains it, etc. The fact is that he did not know of our intention to found the House until, right before its establishment, Mickiewicz went to him with the request that, on his responsibility, he give him a few hundred francs from the funds which he had assured him previously were at his disposal. He gave 500 francs. But, in order to establish the house, we immediately took loans of 600 francs elsewhere, because we had to pay the rent before-hand.

Hence, the money advanced by Caesar did not constitute even half of our funds. Moreover, from the fact that he advanced us this money it does not follow that he was a person of importance in the foundation of the House. And as for his statements to various people that he supported us, or that he is supporting us - they are completely without foundation. He is gracious to us and is our benefactor, but in this regard, he shares this title with many others. I doubt whether what we received from him comes to even one third of the money we have received from outside sources. However, there is no need to make any declarations on this subject to Popiel, especially not in the sharp and straightforward manner in which I have written. If you felt it was proper to do so, you could touch on this lightly.

Caesar is a good boy. He is especially kind to me, and I love him very much. Yet, in spite of his very sincere and exemplary piety, he is sometimes vain even to the point of arrogance. But the good in him far outbalances all such similar shortcomings; and I even have the hope that he will rid himself of these. Therefore, if in your conversations with Popiel there would be an occasion to say something harsh about him in this regard, refrain from doing so, making such a statement only if it is necessary to do so, and without excluding him from our company. End of this paragraph about Caesar.

From what I have written above about our financial condition, which till now has been in the red, and from what it might be proper to explain to Louis, it follows naturally that we are in the red today⁹¹⁷. I especially assumed the responsibilities and took loans for others in my name to the extent that today I could be responsible for my action and set the seal on it. Unfortunately, this could compromise our whole work. I even write to you about this with some aversion and diffidence; yet I am forced to draw motivation from it. If you are able to awaken in Popiel a special interest for our cause, it would be well at the same time to obtain permission to, use part of the funds to pay off past debts which, in largest part, are mine.

The main reason and the occasion for expenses till now has been, first of all, the establishment of a real center for our propaganda and for all of our future

⁹¹⁷ That is, in debt.

work - a center composed of people united in one spirit and living in community in doing this we met more needs than we had means.

Secondly, expenses were occasioned by personal propaganda, *ad hominem*, in the course of which we regarded each convert as a brother and, without regard for his lack of means, wished to draw him into our spiritual family. And we wished to convert everyone in whom we could detect good will. We were not simply trying to change his thought; we were trying to change his life. As a result, we would introduce him to a new life and into our community, adopting him after a fashion, etc.

We are abandoning either of these works. However, we have learned from experience, and we propose to be more prudent in conducting them. We have not abandoned the idea of new foundations; indeed, after the current near breakdown of discussions about a gradual transfer to the provinces, we need to establish a center for community life there etc.

To these another is added for the future into which we propose to plunge with complete dedication; for we feel that the time is ripe, and that our spiritual work has developed sufficiently and has been tested for this purpose. This new work is a work of propaganda by means of publications and scholarly works; by the translation of better foreign works for publication either here or in Poland. We will try to avoid becoming some exclusive political party; in this respect restricting ourselves to social generalities, etc. We will concern ourselves primarily with educational materials, and with apostolic, Catholic purposes.

On this point there would be very, very much to write. I will leave the development of the topic to you according to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. But please, speak at length about these projects! After all, you are prepared to speak on this subject by your own thoughts and inspirations, which, today, I regard as the main ideas.

Therefore, if there are people who want to support our efforts by designating some money specifically for the printing and distribution of such books, they can make such a special offering. At their request we will present an account of such funds to those who made the offerings. While in general they will

support a special cause without specification, they will leave the use of such funds a more urgent need to our discretion.

Hence, in the course of your negotiations you can present two categories of funds requested: 1. General, on trust; 2. special, among which a first class would be for books and all other publications, printing, and sometimes for distribution etc., as needed for religious propaganda; a second class, for our “Romans”; a third class might include special⁹¹⁸ donations to help the poor (this would not include the maintenance of our House), etc. With time other such special categories could be set up.

A most welcome, result of your financial negotiations would be an agreement that all the people with whom Popiel is in contact regard all of these offerings as a patriotic and Catholic work; and that they would give these offerings precedence, over any that might be sent to the parties.

They should be encouraged to urge others to give for a cause that is at once so patriotic and religious.

Then, it would be good if, aside from the funds that are not designated, we might be able to receive some small but regular assistance, so much for a year, or for a quarter, relative to the donations that are received, whether they are greater or smaller.

I mentioned the matter of funds for books and printing. Add that the printing could be done in Poland, substantially many books dealing with religious material, prayer books and all books which could be printed for Poland. If these books could be printed in Cracow, Lwów, Poznań. I would be better to have them printed there. The reasons for this are clear. Meanwhile, here there could be people who would dedicate themselves exclusively to this work. Here it is easier to choose among foreign writings on piety.

Moreover, what they might send from Poland could be printed here. But for this purpose it would be necessary to establish sure means of correspondence and sending manuscripts. For, even though such relations are not in the area of

⁹¹⁸ The original has “specjalność”, “specialty”.

politics, they must be kept hidden, otherwise they will be forbidden and rendered ineffective.

Regard the establishment of such means of communication and correspondence as a preliminary and necessary element in any relations that you set up. Finally, add that whatever the general condition of our organization may be, we trust in God that we will be able to complete it, so that it might be permanent and most effective for our purpose. Likewise, as for our finances, we will establish an administration, and keep account books.

Enough! Otherwise I would not finish writing today. Thus I embark upon my good resolutions! Wasn't it for these that I went to my dear La Trappe?

Concerning Mickiewicz: I felt a fear similar to yours. However, if when speaking to him and in his presence you do not me on a throne, contrary to all truth and prudence, it seems to me that, be that as it may, he will not say anything that could ruin your negotiations with Louis⁹¹⁹. Nevertheless, in general he is presently quite skeptical of every undertaking, especially one so great and so inclusive.

As for me, he wants to exclude me from all temporal interests. On this matter, I always agree with him. In a similar instance I urge you to the same. Do not oppose him; rather tell him that I greatly desire to hand over all administration, finances, and management to my assistants. However, till now, the circumstances have been such that I could not do this. There were too many secrets of state that had to remain with me alone; that is, poverty, debts and obligations - for all of which I could not find among the brethren a spirit sufficiently venturesome spiritually. Lord, forgive this little pun!

In reference to our further and our principal ideas and plans, it would be well to go lightly on these with Mickiewicz, mentioning them only foggily. As far as he is concerned, you first have to accomplish something before he will believe it; at least be off to a good beginning, better founded and more systematic than we are at present. However, in spite of everything, he is a very beloved and a highly

⁹¹⁹ V. Wielogłowski was supposed to take A. Mickiewicz with him for the meeting with L. Popiel.

respected person as well as a Christian - a very kind person. Therefore nothing bad can come from him.

The situation is a little different when it comes to Kamocki. Although at present he writes to me in a very friendly manner, you will have to secure us against any reports to Poland that he may already have made, or that he will make in the future. Simply tell it as it is; he does not understand us at all. He is a pious and a good man, but in too much of a rut, and with little understanding. And, since he does not understand and cannot join us (we lay no claim to this, neither do we have any hope that all men, even the most pious, must necessarily; join our community), he is not well disposed toward us. To him it seems that we are fanatics, foolhardy, undertaking projects that are too great for us. And finally, that we are dying, and that we will die for lack of funds.

Concerning my debt⁹²⁰, it may be necessary for you to say something about it, and to excuse me somehow beforehand. Last October Kamocki deposited with me 1,000 francs that had been sent to him for Julian Marylski, on condition that I repay him at the rate of 100 francs a month. Thanks be to God, I was paying that amount. Meanwhile, however, we found ourselves in dire need! And so it happened that a few times I sent the money a few days after the first of month; this scandalized Marian greatly. At present I owe him the last installment. But once again financial problems have caused me to miss the date of payment. Yet, when he gave me the money, he did not simply deposit it with me, but allowed me the freedom to use it.

I do not have the time to re-read this letter. You will fulfill whatever is lacking by your kindness, in that unity of spirit in which God has joined us. I never stop thanking God daily for this, praying for every blessing for you, your wife and Mary.

Give my heartfelt greetings to dear Mr. Louis Popiel, our brother in Christ the Lord.

⁹²⁰ The debt incurred through the mediation of Marian Kamocki.

I expect that you will send me your reply soon. Address your letter to Paris, rue Vavin 13, Quartier du Luxembourg. But write non top: From Valerian; if Bogdan is not there, forward immediately.

May God be with you, my dearest friend! Never forget me in your daily prayers! God knows that I remember you morning and evening, and that you are always in my heart.

Yours,
Bogdan

P.S. (July 4, 1939)

When I finished writing this letter yesterday, the 3rd, it was too late to take it to the post-office. Today is already the fourth. I realized that it would not reach you until the 8th or 9th; and, according to the original plan, you are to return on the 10th. And so it would arrive only after you had left. Therefore, I am sending it to your wife at Versailles. She is in contact with you, and will know where to send it so that you can receive it as soon as possible. Even if Popiel has already left, I expect that he will receive a letter from you before he returns to Cracow, somewhere along the way. In writing to him, you might want to add something you read in my letter.

As soon as you return to Versailles I will come to you, before I return to Paris. You can send your reply to Mortagne, in care of Bojanowski.

May God be with you.

Addressee: Monsieur Valere Wielogłowski,
a Geneve, Suisse, poste restante⁹²¹

⁹²¹ However, this letter was sent to Versailles together with the next letter, written especially to Constance Wielogłowska. The original of this letter is preserved in the Polish Academy of Science (Cracow): Mss 1835, pp. 15-19.

Letter Nr. 168Mortagne, June 4, 1839⁹²²**[To Constance Wielogłowska]**

Gracious lady and dearest sister in Christ the Lord!

How are you bearing the unbearable absence? In peace, and with trust in the Lord? That is how we should I But how hard it is! May God in his mercy comfort you with the necessary strength and hope! Valerian's return is already so near.

I wrote a letter to him, but I do not know where to send it. If, according to plan, he is to return to Versailles by the tenth, today is already the fourth, too late to send a letter to Geneva. Dear Madame, you know this even better than I. Therefore, please forward this letter immediately to wherever you think he will receive it soonest.

If by chance he returns to Versailles shortly, that is, within the next two or three days, tell him, my dear sister, that I have asked him to write to me while I am still at Mortagne. He can send the letter in care of Bojanowski.

Nevertheless, I will surely leave here next week. On my way to Paris I will stop by to visit my dearest brother and sister⁹²³, please excuse such familiarity.

The grace and the peace of God be with you dear sister. Give my most heartfelt greetings to your daughter Mary.

B. Jański

Thursday, Mortagne, chez M. Batier, au Lion d'Or.

P.S. Give my best regards⁹²⁴ to Boleslaus and Roman⁹²⁵.

⁹²² The date has been established according to the postmark and the day of the week.

⁹²³ That is, Mr. and Mrs Wielogłowski.

⁹²⁴ Roman Wielogłowski (died 1847 in Paris) – Valerian's relative, exiled from Galicia in 1836. He was a member of the Polish Democratic Society for a short while; he was purged after one year for Catholic reformatory tendencies.

Address: Madame Valere Wielogłowska,
a Versailles (Seine et Oise). Avenue de St. Cloud 43.

Postmark: Mortagne sur Huisne, July 4, 1839.

Versailles, July 5, 1939

⁹²⁵ The original is preserved in the Polish Academy of Science (Cracow): Mss 1835, pp. 34-35.

Letter Nr. 169Mortagne, July 10, 1839⁹²⁶**[To V. Wielogłowski]**

The grace and peace of God be with you, my dear Valerian!

What sad news⁹²⁷ you must have received in Paris, if you went there yesterday as you wrote in your letter. What sorrow and concern this brings to your dearest heart! But do not despair! All evil is turned to good if we accept it as punishment, for our sins which we very sincerely seek to correct as fully as possible, and if we accept it as a test of our faithfulness and perseverance... if we learn from these evils, and persevere in our good resolutions, without ceasing to place our entire confidence in God.

Although I have written practically every day, I have had no information from Paris for the past week, and I cannot explain this, except possibly for two reasons: either some catastrophe has struck, that is, the landlord or one of the creditors may have foreclosed⁹²⁸, and that may have been forced to move out of the House; or, Victor⁹²⁹ is so angry that he will not write to me, hoping in this way to force me to return. Although I promised to return on July 15th, that is next Monday, he may still regard this as uncertain.

Victor is a good boy, when he is good. But when a fly gets in his nose, he is capable of anything in order to satisfy his irritation. Once before, in trifling circumstances, he showed me his real self, with a very stubborn show of temper, short-lived it is true, but very vicious and spiteful, practically that of a wild man.

And now, for nothing at all, for a slight lapse on my part - he asked me for Semenenko's address in Rome - he is angry with me. Moreover, he has long been an advocate of the piratical method of extricating ourselves from our troubles, that is, with stick in hand. He wrote recently that I should finally make the effort to rid

⁹²⁶ The date of the postmark.

⁹²⁷ About the danger to the last House in Paris.

⁹²⁸ Seizure of goods.

⁹²⁹ Victor Sidorowicz, who was B. Jański's substitute in household matters.

us of all our problems at one time. Hence, it is quite possible that he wanted to play a little trick on me - partly because he's angry, to annoy me; and partly with good intention. He may have told the landlord that we cannot pay him; and so he can do what he likes: evict us, and sell our goods at auction. Normally this would be only a terrible, low trick. But think of the scandal this would cause, and how many new and greater problems than we have had till now this would create in our circumstances!

Perhaps he has not written for the past week to force me to return. But this is less likely. Either Sunday or Monday I wrote to Hipolite, and I have had no answer from him. Therefore, something very sad must have happened, about which they do not wish or are afraid to tell me.

And you, dear Valerian, already know this and are suffering. May God give you strength, courage, resignation and hope! I am waiting for news from you and a report, promptly, before the return mail.

I have remained in Mortagne till now, and have not returned to Paris in spite of their calls, for a very simple and important reason. Our most urgent business is with the landlord - he can be the cause of our shipwreck, that is, if we cannot reach an agreement with him, he can evict us from the house; with him the final deadline is the end of the quarter, the 15th of this month.

It has been my intention, and I am still determined to return to Paris a day before that deadline, without regard for any other circumstances. When I return, I will have this and many other matters to settle; and to do so I have nothing in hand, or rather in my pocket. I had received such a solemn promise, especially from Mrs. Łopacińska. She was so positive that she would send me 1,500 francs immediately after her return, that I go on expecting them any day. They could, they may come, before the 15th. And so, I preferred to wait to the final deadline, that is, to the 15th, in this hope. I know from experience that I can trust Mrs. Łopacińska's word, for during her visit I learned that the 2,000 francs I received through Plater last year came from her. She assured me of her complete goodwill. She promised to send the 1,500 francs directly to me, and not through any mediator.

If this fund does not arrive by the 15th, I will use every means to borrow a few hundred francs, hoping to appease the landlord with them, at least temporarily.

Right now I am preparing to return for the 15th, without having received any information, and laboring under the saddest suppositions. I am planning to leave here on Friday, and to visit with you on Saturday. We will talk about what comes after that. For various reasons it would-be better for me to stop an inn here than to accept lodgings with Bojanowski. But I will need a few francs for the trip. If you cannot advance these to me without trouble, I think that I can get them from Bojanowski. I would prefer, however, that you could. I need 20 francs. In any case, answer as soon as you can by return mail. Tell me all that you know, though briefly, because we will soon be seeing one another.

I trust in God that all of these tribulations will not wear out your love for me. At present this is practically my one main comfort.

May God be with you⁹³⁰.

My address: Mortagne (Orne), chez M. Ratier, au Lion d'Or

Addressee: Monsieur Valere Wielogłowski,

a Versailles (Seine et Oise), Avenue de Saint Cloud 43

Postmark: Mortagne sur Huisne, July 10, 1839 (59).

⁹³⁰ The original, is in the Polish Academy of Science (Cracow): Mss 1835, pp. 7-8.

Letter Nr. 170Paris, July 15, 1839⁹³¹**[To V. Wielogłowski]**

My dearest Valerian!

Yesterday I went first to Ordęga and completed that business. I received ten Dutch ducats which I exchanged for 116 francs and 14 sous, because they were not all of the same weight. Then I wrote to the landlord, asking him to expect me today between three and five.

This morning I should have gone first to College Stanislaus; but after learning and guessing how I stood with the directors as a result of various rumors and the influence of Jełowicki⁹³² and Kamocki, I preferred not to go.

And so my main remaining hope was the Thayers⁹³³. What would you say about that? The presentiment of various serious consequences, especially in relations with the Platers, caused me to waver badly. Consequently, I simply prayed constantly, and asked for prayer. It crossed my mind to go to the landlord to try to reach an agreement with him, even though I had nothing in hand. I made all kinds of plans for myself: how I would speak to him, etc.

I went. All of my planning was in vain. I was practically a miracle! When I met him, he was like wax, like butter! He understands my position, trusts my good will to pay him, asks only for the promise that I will try, as far as possible, to pay him something. And so I did not even need to tell him what I had prepared to say.

To whose prayer do I owe this? Let us thank God together!

I know that you must live in constant concern about the turn of events and especially about this main problem. Therefore, having settled it, and even I returned home, I have stopped at a reading room to write you, the news.

⁹³¹ The date is established by the postmark and the day of the week.

⁹³² Alexander Jełowicki.

⁹³³ Amadeus and Hortense Thayer had been benefactors of the new community for a long while.

Nevertheless, I still intend to visit you soon, perhaps this week. Also, so far everything goes well with reference to the other business matters.

But how inconsiderate I am, and even worse! Before I left Versailles, you paid for my room; and I, without any ceremony, without even saying anything to you, take the rest of the money for myself, as if it belonged to me, and as though you were only my cashier! I was very sorry about this later; especially since I know that you are short of funds. Yet I know that you would be angry if I asked your pardon.

May God be with you. I'll be seeing you.

Bogdan⁹³⁴

Monday, 6:00 P.M.

Addressee: Monsieur Wielogłowski, a Versailles,
Avenue de St. Cloud 43.

Postmark: July 16, 1839.

⁹³⁴ The original is in the Polish Academy of Science (Cracow): Mss 1835, pp, 506.

Letter Nr. 171Paris, August 20, 1839⁹³⁵**[To V. Wielogłowski]**

My dearest Valerian!

I hope to God that you will not interpret the delay in my response otherwise and worse than it merits, or than it really is. I could more easily hold a grievance against you that you did not yet write a second letter to me for you have the time, and you do not need to conquer a long-standing bad habit as I do.

This morning, Thursday, at about 8:00 o'clock, Walter left for Normandy, to Port-en-Bessin, near Bayeux. I went to see him yesterday to say good-bye, and he told me that he had just visited your banker, De War rue Le Pelletier 4, yesterday. He learned that 2,000 francs had arrived in your name; but since he did not have your authorization in writing, the banker would not give him the money. Phillip told me that he did not have time to write to you before his departure, and so he instructed me to do this. He advises you either to write to De War, instructing him to send the money to Havre, to one of your correspondents there but this would involve costs; or, having forewarned him, to send an authorization for someone here to pick it up. You might choose Ordega, who will be leaving for the country in these days; but since he will be close-by, will be able to come in to take care of this business matter.

I'm sorry, but whatever you decide to do, you will have to give me all of 100 francs before the first of the month. For, there is danger in delay with one of the creditors! I know that you yourself have debts, and that possibly almost nothing will remain for you of the 2,000 francs after you have received them. However, I expect that next month I will receive some money, and that I will be able to repay your loan first of all. I also expect that you will not hold it against me that I ask this sacrifice of you, even though I know of your needs; for God knows that there is no other way. Up to now I have received nothing at all from

⁹³⁵ The date is established by the postmark and the day of the week.

any source. But there are hopes. In fact, I can't say anything at all; for I did receive one small donation, withdrawn in part but regular, for which I ask you to join me in thanking God. This amounts to 50 francs, designated for me personally, and so offered to the House. I received this on August first. But please do not mention this donation to anyone.

You know that Januszewicz has been transferred to Versailles, and that he receives 100 francs a month. Boleslaus was supposed to receive a small sum from his father. Adolph⁹³⁶ still does not have permission for residence. He has decided to accept the position of master of studies after vacation. I leave today for Jully. I should be able to locate him there. If I cannot, he is willing to go elsewhere.

Here with us, thank God, things are going fairly well. Peace and hope! I received a letter from Rome a few days ago, from which I see that I have not yet received a previous lengthy letter. The most important news is that Joseph Hube, upon learning that his brother Romuald is coming from Petersburg⁹³⁷ to Havre to pick up his wife and that he is coming for only four days, decided to make a quick trip from Rome and is probably already in the way. Meanwhile, a few days ago, a letter arrived from Romuald saying that he cannot come. Hence the purpose of Joseph's trip is voided. Nevertheless, I am happy that he is coming in view of our many business matters. I expect that Leopold and Kaczanowski⁹³⁸ will be able to leave with him when he is returning. I am keeping their departure a secret to the last moment.

I have withheld my proclamation⁹³⁹ until now, allowing Ladislaus Plater, under attack by the Chronicle for the plans presented, to make his statement first. He has already done this, and within a few days I will put a few pages into print in our name. I will write about this more extensively in my next letter, for within a couple of hours I will be boarding a stage coach for Jully. And before that, I must be present for the distribution of awards at College Stanislas⁹⁴⁰.

⁹³⁶ Adolph Zaleski.

⁹³⁷ Romuald Hube, Joseph's brother, was a professor in Petersburg.

⁹³⁸ The previously mentioned Leopold Turowski and Charles Kaczanowski.

⁹³⁹ There is reference here to a protest to the "Chancery Plan".

⁹⁴⁰ The solemn closing of the school year at the secondary school.

I will add only, for your comfort, that God is so merciful to me! By his grace he has preserved me thus far from Egyptian, or Parisian slavery, and has not allowed my spiritual ship to be wrecked. He comforts me with constant peace and the greatest hope. And you, my dearest Valerian, how are you? Do you continue to be as content as you were, according to a letter you once wrote, immediately after your arrival?

About the letter to Popiel: Would it be better for me to send it to you once I have written it, and have you send it on? Or, can I send it to him directly? In the latter case, send me this address, for I should finally get around to writing to him.

May God be with you, my dearest friends. I do not cease to commend you to his holy care and grace daily, and I ask you to do the same for me.

Bogdan

P.S. From the bottom of my heart I am forever wishing to pay you a visit. But will I be able to do so? Perhaps after sending the brothers off to Rome⁹⁴¹.

N.B. I am returning from Juilly tomorrow.

Tuesday, rue Vavin 13.

Addressee: Monsieur Valere Wielogłowski,
 a Veules, pres St. Valery-en-Caux
 Seine Inferieure, chez Mr.Bouland Boulanger

The original is in the Polish Academy of Science (Cracow): Mss 1835, pp. 13-14.

⁹⁴¹ That is, brothers Charles Kaczanowski and Leopold Turowski.

Letter Nr. 172Aix, January 3, 1840⁹⁴²**[To Friend (unknown)]**

My fault, my fault, my most grievous fault...

I have nothing at all to say in my defense. I have offended, you shamefully by not writing to you. This is a new argument that I am worth a great big nothing... Lord, have mercy on me!

I am in Aix already more than a week. Today is Friday, the third of January. Thank God, my journey went without a hitch, but not without fatigue and considerable weakness. I left you on Wednesday, the 18th⁹⁴³. The next day I stopped in Cosne, where Hipolite Terlecki soon came to meet me. We spent a very pleasant day together, and slept overnight in the same lodgings. However, I also spent the day in bed, in order to gain needed rest.

I continued my journey on Friday morning. I decided not to stop in Nevers, for I have too many friends there. The simple exchange of greetings would have been very difficult for me. Moreover, they would undoubtedly have kept me there longer. Therefore, I immediately took a seat on the stagecoach to Lyon, and spent two continuous days and nights there. I arrived in Lyon on Sunday morning, worn out physically; but a rest revived me somewhat, so that by Tuesday morning, on the Vigil, I was able to move on to Avignon, where I arrived at nightfall of the same day.

There is a marked difference of temperature here, not only from Paris, but even from Lyon. I already began to breathe with noticeable relief and physical satisfaction⁹⁴⁴. The next day, the first day on the Feast, was also spent in Avignon. I attended services celebrated by the Archbishop in what was once the

⁹⁴² The date has been established by the postmark and the content of the letter.

⁹⁴³ Jański left Paris December 18, 1839.

⁹⁴⁴ B. Jański was seriously ill with consumption.

papal church. I took the overnight stage to Aix, and reached my destination in the early morning of the second day of the Feast.

Since I was stopping only to rest, I made no effort to contact the brothers in the depots in the course of my journey. In Lyon, “de officio”. I had to make the acquaintance of our brother in Christ, Mr. Eugene Chevalier⁹⁴⁵, knowing him. is a source of great joy to me.

Here in Aix I found things convenient for me beyond my expectations. First of all, till Christmas continuous and heavy rains fell over a period of a few weeks. The weather suddenly cleared on Christmas Day. When I arrived for the Second Feast, the sun is shining and warm, and there is no sign of dampness! As a result, it seemed more like Easter than Christmas to me. This fine weather continues from morning to night, a most beautiful sun, and quite warm. Every day I can feel my cough getting lighter and my breathing stronger, while the heaviness in my chest eases...⁹⁴⁶.

⁹⁴⁵ Eugene Chevalier.

⁹⁴⁶ The letter is preserved in the Polish Academy of Science /Cracow/: Mss 1835 p. 1.

Letter Nr. 173Aix, January 10, 1840⁹⁴⁷**[To V. Wielogłowski]**

My dear Valerian!

Man propose, but God dispose. When I wrote to you a few days ago, in a hurry⁹⁴⁸, I was very sure that I would mail the letter the same day. Meanwhile, at nightfall - letters leave here during the night - I encountered a problem, and I did not finish the letter that day. The next day, as fate would have it, I was worn out by tremendous diarrhea from early morning. This so weakened me for the next few days that, combined with my unfortunate letter-phobia, I did not feel up to writing. Today, thanks be to God, I feel restored once again. I feel quite well... The diarrhea may have been caused by the olive oil, of which I have been using more here in spite of the effect it has on me. Maybe it was the donkey's milk⁹⁴⁹ which I have been drinking every morning and evening; in which case I would be to blame.

Now, lest this letter be delayed in any way, I prefer not say anything else; I will give you my address and seal the letter.

The general and the principal news is: I feel very much better. I think this is due especially to the sun, and to the great physical and morak calm I feel.

I will leave for Rome this month as promised. Sometimes I get the urge to set out all at once for Marseilles and board a boat there⁹⁵⁰. In fact, within a few days I will go there to obtain information about ships and to purchase a ticket. But if you answer immediately, your letter will arrive in time.

Please, if there has been no final decision or execution of the distribution of payments on those remaining items, hold off with the final execution⁹⁵¹ till I

⁹⁴⁷ The date on the postmark.

⁹⁴⁸ The reading is uncertain. The Polish could be "w popasie" - at the stationa.

⁹⁴⁹ A recommended remedy for consumption!

⁹⁵⁰ In one leap to board a boat,

⁹⁵¹ Jański has in mind bringing the debts of the Paris House under control.

arrive in Rome. I would very much appreciate this. Also, if the third volume of *Buchez*⁹⁵² has appeared, please send it here, together with your letter, when you obtain it from Fr. Merend at Periss⁹⁵³.

If you see Królikowski⁹⁵⁴, tell him that, God willing, I will finally send a letter to him within the next few days.

My address is: Aix (Bouches du Rhone), St. Claude 4, chez M. Giraud.

Forgive all the vexation I cause you and my negligence as sincerely as, in the sight of God, I remember, and wish to go on remembering eternally and gratefully all your kindness to me.

Give my heartfelt greeting to my most beloved sister Constance and to dear Mary. Please embrace Hłuśniewicz for me, and give him news from me.

Your unworthy
Bogdan⁹⁵⁵

Addressee: Monsieur Valere Wielogłowski,

a Patris, rue Cal de Grace 9;

Postmark: January 10, \1840; Paris, January 13, 40.

⁹⁵² The third volume of *Essai d'un traite complet de philosphie au point de vue du Catholicisms et du progres* appeared in 1840.

⁹⁵³ A priest acquaintance from Aix and parisian book-seller.

⁹⁵⁴ Charles Królikowski.

⁹⁵⁵ The original letter is in the Polish Academy of Science Library (Cracow): Mss 1835, p. 2.

Letter Nr. 174

La Trappe, June 21, 1839

[To V. Mercier]

What a wretch I am! After I received your last letter, which you wrote on the 13th, I did not stop thanking the merciful God for the inspiration he gave you⁹⁵⁶, and asked Him for the grace to help you to accomplish your complete rebirth in Jesus Christ. (Please do not laugh or sneer when you read these words, for your entire destiny, your eternity is at stake.)

Although I kept you in mind constantly and was filled with exceeding joy at the announcement of your coming, I fell into my former bad habit, neglecting correspondence, and did not answer you immediately. Your statement: "I am counting on a reply; in any case, we can get together for three or four days around the 20th", filled me with joy. But I neglected my duty, and did not respond as you desired. May God grant that no evil or any delay will result from this⁹⁵⁷.

⁹⁵⁶ A young Frenchman, Victor Mercier, who studied in Paris and was traveling through Germany.

⁹⁵⁷ This rough draft has been preserved in CRR: Mss 8598, pp. 322-323. /?/.

Letter Nr. 175

Mortagne, Sunday, July 7, 1839

[To H. Terlecki]

My dearest Hipolite!

I have not had any news from Victor Sidorowicz for the past three days, and in the present circumstances this disturbs me greatly. Is he ill? Has something unexpected happened? Please, you yourself write to me immediately after you have received this note. Also, ask him to write to me.

Tell him that I wrote to Parlon⁹⁵⁸, and that I expect he will wait until my return, about the 15th of July. The worst situation is with the landlord⁹⁵⁹.

However, if he received 200 francs on account, there is hope that we will be able to reach a friendly agreement with him, even if the worst should happen, that we cannot give him any more. Therefore, did he, or did he not receive it as payment on account? I need this information, especially, today; but also what he said, and in what mood he is.

I sent a note to Victor for one of the deputy chiefs in the Prefecture de la Seine⁹⁶⁰ which will enable him to settle the matter of tax payment, at least temporarily. However, if for now we are not being pressed on that side, it would be better for him to leave things as they stand for the moment, without seeing the deputy chief. In that case I would take care of the matter on my return.

Although I will see you within a few days, a week at the most, nevertheless, in the midst of the definitely serious troubles we are experiencing today, I do not wish to remain, even for a moment, without information about that is happening there. Therefore, dearest Hipolite, sit down immediately, and tell me without delay what you know and what you see about you. My address is: Mortagne (Orne), chez M. Ratier, au Lion d'Or.

⁹⁵⁸ The owner of the house of Boulevard Mont-Parnasse 25.

⁹⁵⁹ The owner of the brick house at rue Vavin 13.

⁹⁶⁰ B. Jański had a friend in the Seine prefecture, a man named Lefaire, who was vice-prefect.

If Victor, struggling till now without me, has met with some misfortune, carrying the whole weight of the problems I placed on his shoulders, and has become discouraged, humor him as best you can, and beg him for me to be patient during the remaining time of my absence.

Even if our material interests were to take a turn for the worst, I continue to hope in God that this will not destroy or even interrupt our spiritual works. It may even have a good result.

I thank God very humbly and very fervently for your letter. I am very grateful to you. You once thought that I never want to acknowledge my fault... God sees that I consider the reproach contained in your letter as still too tolerant. Especially in this respect, I would ask you to be completely open in the future! I resisted you when, in view of the obvious and great difficulties, you seemed to counsel that, in what refers to our common endeavor, we make an about-face, abdicate certain projects, etc. In this I am guided not only by considerations of the present, but primarily of the future. However, do not pay any more attention than is proper to what I have just written. This is only a mention, which needs further explanations.

I have the most unwavering that we will come to an understanding, that we will agree. You will not find me either stubborn in your regard or intractable. Quite the contrary. And we will love each other in a more perfect and enduring unity than heretofore. Yet without expecting anything of ourselves; expecting everything from God, as a result of a most humble and most complete submission to his holy will, teaching and inspirations.

However, I should and I must resign myself to your plans to settle in the country.

But where? I don't know. Of two places indicated, Aligny seems to be better and more certain; especially since you already have the invitation and the support of the pastor. However, from my point of view, I would fervently desire that it be in this region, in this department, or at least in Normandy; for the people are more devout, life is cheaper etc., and it conforms to some of the plans I have

in mind to make a foundation in that area outside of Paris⁹⁶¹. But, we will talk more about that on my return.

If you agree to this, I would write a letter to Father Prior⁹⁶² of La Trappe who has extensive relations in that region, to inquire about a place for you. He would surely not refuse to do this, and would do it very well. But we will talk about this, too, on my return.

Ask Adolph to send the purchases and the pipe he promised to Bojanowski without fail, by stagecoach. Good Bojanowski is constantly thinking about this. Every day he mentions it a few times! he infers that Adolph has forgotten about this.

If Victor has not already sent a few books⁹⁶³ that I requested, you can send everything in one packet.

May God be with you, my dearest friend. Give my greetings to all the brothers. Be a solace to one another, I especially call your attention to Leopold and Adolph. Now especially, let us not lose heart. Write to me immediately, and urge Victor to write.

B
ogdan⁹⁶⁴

Address: Monsieur Hippolite Terlecki,
Doctor of Medecine,
a Paris, rue Vavin 13, Quartier du Luxembourg.

⁹⁶¹ Jański had planned, in case of necessity, to move what remained of the last Paris House into the country.

⁹⁶² Fr. Bernard Duge.

⁹⁶³ The books of Buchez mentioned above.

⁹⁶⁴ The letter has been preserved in CRR: Mss 8536, pp. 260.-263.

Letter Nr. 176Paris, July 26, 1839⁹⁶⁵**[To J. W. Caboga]**

Most gracious Madame and sister⁹⁶⁶ in our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ!

Encouraged by Madame's goodness, I venture to write you a few words, even though I am not entitled to do so. But how could I bear it, if I did not at least try, most imperfectly and most inadequately, to express to you the deepest gratitude with which my heart is filled!...

My almighty God, who does not forget or leave without reward a cup of water given to a thirsty man for love of Him, grant an eternal reward and eternal glory to you, Madame, for kind assistance which my gracious sister has bestowed upon me together with further promises of assistance in our spiritual endeavors for His glory. Even here on this earth, may He cheer her amid all the vexations of this transient and miserable life, and bless her in all that is good, extending his most loving protection over all that is dear to her. May He grant her courage and strength and most abundant blessing toward her sanctification in Christ the Lord.

Daily, yes daily - deliberately, and with full awareness of the sacredness of the obligation I take upon myself thereby - I will beg, and continue to beg without ceasing, imploring His Majesty in His love and omnipotence to fulfill all of our desires completely.

The donation⁹⁶⁷ made by Madame Countess is more than just a great material assistance to me; the form in which it is given and Madam's intention are also exceedingly dear to me. Your gift becomes even dearer to me in that it comes

⁹⁶⁵ The date has been established according to B. Jański's Diary.

⁹⁶⁶ Jullianna Wanda Caboga (1788-1876) - the daughter of Severin Potocki and Anna, the daughter of Prince Sapieha (the Lord of Milanów); the wife of Michael Wielopolski, then of Cajetan Uruski, and finally of Count Bernard von Caboga. She spent her last years on her estate at Bilka Szlachecka, where she founded a convent for the handmaids. She was for her charity, and for her kindness to her servants. She supported the House of Providence and the House of St. Helen in Lwów by yearly donations. She also assisted the Sisters of Charity and B. Jański during the last months of his stay in Paris. She left extensive diaries and correspondence .

⁹⁶⁷ A donation of 50 francs monthly.

to me at a time when I have been disappointed by various hopes and promises⁹⁶⁸ (and pressed by most urgent needs^x), and threatened by the almost complete ruin of a portion of our endeavors till now and of our local institution. I place all of my trust in God; to God alone do I look for assistance. I submit myself and our whole future completely to his will and his judgments.

Madame Countess has received information about our endeavors, our plans and the spirit that animates us from my spiritual companions and confreres who are living in Rome, from my dearest son and our gracious friend Severin⁹⁶⁹, and finally, from the letters of our dear Mr. Eustace⁹⁷⁰. In Christ the Lord, in his divine teaching and in his Church, we have all that we need - all truth and every good - for individual persons and for whole peoples. Here we discover the foundation of all the arts and sciences, and the one rule for both public and private life. Only through the Church can we obtain eternal salvation and temporal comfort in all the human sufferings that are a consequence of the original corruption of our nature. Only through the Church can we achieve order in society without oppression, and freedom without disorder. Only here can we find safety and respect for private property and the family...!

We are resolved to continue on the way to which we have been called by the grace and mercy of God; we hope to continue, and to remain permanently⁹⁷¹ united. Living our whole lives in spiritual unity, in submission to definite direction and discipline, we hope, by pooling our strength (constantly supporting one another)^x, to spend that life serving society by works that are, as far as possible, very effective - for Christian perfection, the defense and service of religion, and for the greatest glory of God and the Christian welfare of our neighbors especially, if God grants this, for our compatriots⁹⁷².

x/. The words in parentheses are crossed out.

⁹⁶⁸ Promises made by W. Chwalibóg and Mrs. Łopacińska.

⁹⁶⁹ Severin Uruski.

⁹⁷⁰ Eustace Januszkiewicz directed the finances of the publication Young Poland.

⁹⁷¹ A stable union.

⁹⁷² The rough draft is preserved in CRR: Mss 8540, pp.272-273.

Letter Nr. 177

Paris, July 30, 1839

[To J. W. Caboga]

Please pardon me, dearest Lady, for venturing to add these few words to Mr. Eustace's letter without being invited to do so, and without clear authorization. But how could I bear it if, having received such great and unexpected evidence of Madame's goodness and favor, I did not try, even though most inadequately, to express the sentiments with which my heart is filled.

God does not forget or leave without reward a cup of water given to a thirsty man for love of Him. This is clear from the words of Christ himself. May God grant Madame an eternal reward and endless glory for the kind assistance which you bestow upon me, and the further promises of assistance in our religious activities. Even on this earth, may He cheer you amid the vexations of this transient and miserable life, and bless you in all that is good, extending his most loving protection over all that is dear to you. May he grant you courage and strength, and his most abundant blessings for your sanctification. By God's grace I have the deepest conviction that Madame Countess' reason for offering us this assistance and relief cannot be any earthly consideration on any consideration for my person (which I do not and cannot merit); it can only be Madame's love for God and her singular goodwill for a holy work in which, through a special decree and call from God, I have become, even if only to a small degree and in spite of my very obvious unworthiness, a servant and co-worker.

As I could not merit the kind protection of Madame Countess, neither do I feel capable of repaying her in any way - even though I have the most fervent desire and determination to show myself worthy of her goodness in the whole of my life and conduct.

The donation made by Madame Countess is more than just of great material assistance to me, it is dear, etc. He does not forget... etc. Daily, yes daily - deliberately, and with full awareness of the sacredness of the obligation I take

upon myself thereby - I will pray God to grant an eternal reward... etc. Even on this earth may God cheer you amid all the vexations of this... etc.

May God grant the most complete fulfillment of my requests, which I will continue to offer without ceasing before the throne of his love and omnipotence,

Madame Countess has received information about us, our endeavors and our plans from my spiritual companions living in Rome, from my dearest and our most gracious friend Severin, and finally from the letters of our dear Mr. Eustace.

I had hoped on this occasion to fulfill my responsibility toward Madame, as toward a patroness so lovingly sent to me by God, by presenting a lengthy and detailed report about whatever pertains to us. However, this would require a great deal of writing, to which the poor state of my health these days, and the pressure of various business stand as an obstacle. Therefore, I am forced to postpone this for later. Nevertheless, I will make, or rather I will renew, for my part, the most solemn declaration in what concerns the principal matters: in dedicating ourselves to the service of God and to work for the good of religion, we submit completely and without any restriction to the teaching of the holy Roman Catholic Church. We have no special doctrines; and we do not wish to do or undertake anything except in the spirit of most complete unity with the holy Apostolic See, or, in case of necessity and depending on the importance of the matter, only with its approbation. Further, we do not belong to any political party, nor are we dependent on any party; neither are we bound by any human (affiliations (wishing to dedicate ourselves to God alone, without concern for any earthly interests. Our situation among the emigrants is very difficult. However, we put our trust in the mercy of God).^x Everything we seek is to be found in Christ the Lord, in his divine teaching, and in his holy Church!

Concerning our material situation: It has been, and still is, very distressing⁹⁷³. Till now there has been no security. What is worse, because our main and constant work till now has been that of offering assistance to our brothers returning to the bosom of the Church, rescuing them often from ruinous financial situations, facilitating their initiation into a new, regular, Christian way

⁹⁷³ That is, full of material difficulties.

of life, in order to confirm them in their conversion, and because we accomplished this work only with constant exertions surpassing our resources and our means, we fall into debt. To such an extent that at present, in order to extricate ourselves from these debts and meet our obligations - if we received no charitable offerings for this purpose - we would have to limit our local institution and our missionary endeavors, and perhaps even suspend them temporarily. We would have to dedicate all of our time to work for profit in order to pay off the existing deficit. Once we take care of the deficit, to make sure that we preserve regular order in the future, the present offering, providing assured income at definite intervals, would be more important to us than greater but irregular donations.

Last year I presented these same circumstances and needs to dear Mr. Severin. If Madame Countess desires any further details, I am ready to send them.

Trusting in the mercy of God which has moved the heart of Madame Countess to assist us, I add that, in our present dire circumstances, it is definitely important that whatever gracious assistance is given come quickly.

I should also declare that in selecting an intermediary between herself and us, Madame Countess could not have made a better choice than dear Mr. Eustace. First, because he is our friend, a very good one, known and loved as such for a long time, by me personally; second, because he is a non-political person, not involved with any parties or cliques.

One more word about funds: If there are other individuals who would wish to provide assistance, and who would recognize the special importance of the activity of those who, having dedicated themselves completely to God, are preparing for the priesthood, I would ask Madame Countess to recommend our Roman confreres to their piety and charity, since they too have no definite income to cover even their primary needs.

In conclusion, I offer most fervent and humble prayers to God asking him, through the grace of his Holy Spirit, to make up for whatever is lacking and for the inadequacies in what I have written. By his gracious power, may he confirm Madame in her zeal for religious works, even such as are undertaken by unworthy persons like ourselves, and in her intention to provide charitable care for us. For

this, I repeat, with joyful heart, I will continue to thank God, and I will pray daily for (all of the Christian)^x intentions of Madame (our benefactress)^x. Renewing once again the expression of all my deepest sentiments of gratitude and respect, I recommend myself and all of us, together with our work for the glory of God to the loving prayer of Madame Countess.

(The grace and peace of Our Lord Jesus Christ be with our most gracious sister in Christ of Lord - forever)^x. Madame Countess', our dearest benefactress' most humble servant and unworthy brother in Christ the Lord,

Bogdan

Jański⁹⁷⁴

Paris, July 30, 1839

rue Vavin 13

x/. The words in parentheses are crossed out.

⁹⁷⁴ The rough draft of this letter is in CRR: Mss 8541, pp. 274-277, and p. 273.

Letter Nr. 178Paris, August 9, 1839⁹⁷⁵**[To extern Sisters]**

The most gracious and wholly undeserved kindness with which you ladies continue to mention me and your sympathy for our endeavors in your letters to Fr. Froment⁹⁷⁶ encourages me, despite the great delay... to consent to the request of my esteemed, supporters and patronesses by adding these few words to their letters.

(My confidence in your graciousness, dear ladies, is so much greater...). With particular confidence in your singular kindness, dear ladies... Although, I repeat, I feel myself wholly underserving of your uncommon goodness to me, I do not wish to be so underserving. Ladies, please forgive the delay in my response.

True, I do have good excuses for my delay – first, I continue to fear that I might lose much, perhaps all, of my acceptance by you ladies through this change in the mode of our relations, from mediate to immediate; secondly, I have spent the last few months in seclusion outside of Paris, and during this time I cut off all relations and correspondence.

Nevertheless, in spite of the great sense of guilt that I feel as a result of this delay, I am overcome by such a feeling of shame and weakness that I do not know whether I would venture to write to you, dear ladies, did I not possess this genuine confidence in your singular kindness.

Yet I do have a sacred and urgent obligation - first, to apologize to you ladies; secondly, at least to say, “may God reward you!”

1. I owe you thanks for all of the feelings and holy resolutions that have made us one, for all of your good intentions toward God. One thing is certain: all of our relations are pleasing to God; but it is also certain that, even when they concern most just causes, if we expect some reward from our work etc. - these

⁹⁷⁵ The date is established on the basis of Jański's Diary.

⁹⁷⁶ The new director of College Stanislaus.

works are not as meritorious as works performed only for the glory of God and for eternal purposes, strictly spiritual obligations...⁹⁷⁷

⁹⁷⁷ The rough draft has been preserved in CRR: Mss(?), p. (??).

Letter Nr. 179

Paris, December, 1839

[To extern Sisters]

Dear ladies and my benefactresses, I apologize very humbly for adding only a few words, when heart, conscience and propriety dictate that I should offer you an extensive report about our work, about myself and about all of our endeavors.

By a special grace of God, and through the special goodness of my patronesses, I have become the subject of great concern to you, dear ladies. Finally, just to apologize for my long silence, I would like to write whole volumes. However, I have only recently been able to leave my bed after quite serious illness in my chest, and within a few days my doctors and friends will be sending me south in order to recover completely. Thus, right now I do not have either the strength or the time to write at length; but I trust God that I will undoubtedly be able to do so when I get to the place where I am to rest and convalesce, God willing, dear ladies, I will write to you from there.

Now I only wish to offer you my most profound thanks, dear ladies, for the truly great kindness and gracious favor you have shown us, for your assistance; especially, for the book, for the monetary donation, which I did not receive, etc. I commend myself (to your prayers)...⁹⁷⁸

⁹⁷⁸ The rough draft is found in CRR: Mss (?), pp. (??)

Letter Nr. 180Paris, August 22, 1839⁹⁷⁹**[To M. Kamocki]**

An unworthy brother, former colleague and friend⁹⁸⁰ finally sends his greetings to dear Marian.

Unfortunately, I have merited a rebuke rather than justification. It would be more proper for me to ask very humbly forgiveness, and not try to justify myself!

Will you accept my apology? Yet, though I do not claim the right to justify myself, I must protest, my dearest Marian, that as God sees me I am most, innocent to the kind of meanness you ascribe to me.

Because, within a few hours of seeing you on Saturday, I decided to travel to Versailles, you concluded with unwarranted bitterness in your letter that I had already made this decision before seeing you, and that I told you something other than what was in my mind.

No, thank God; I do not have this on my conscience. After you left, I went to the place where I was to receive some money in order to pay the amount I owed you; but I was disappointed. Only then, in despair, did I determine to travel to Versailles to see whether Valerian may not by chance have received certain letters with money for me which I have been expecting for the past month; or whether he might not be able to help me himself.

Nevertheless, in spite of this, I am still very, very guilty! You will receive 119 francs: 100 from me, and 19 - with the enclosed note - from Późniak. For the rest, until we meet!

Your unworthy brother and servant,

Bogdan Jański⁹⁸¹

⁹⁷⁹ The date has been established according to Jański's Diary.

⁹⁸⁰ They attended the University of Warsaw together, and bore the hardships of the last winter together in the House in Paris.

Letter Nr. 181**[Plans for letters and notes for correspondence]****1).**

London, January 15, 1831

Saturday

Money⁹⁸². Letters addressed to me in Paris. The Owenists. Owen's trip to Paris. Madam Wheeler⁹⁸³, Crellin, Mensbier, Bontemps, Mill, Perry. Thomas Carlisle. Buy books here for d'Eichsthal: 1. Political economy; 2. Eastern religion; 3. Owenist. Taylor, advocates, for the clubs. I will make my report later. Perhaps one for Mill? Proposition concerning The Globe. Send me information about a hostel with someone in the family. Please write to me soon⁹⁸⁴.

May 21, 1832

2).

Memoranda for future letters

To Skarbek. Suggestions for historical novels: Polish participation in the Crusades, Michaud, Wilken. The Tatar invasions. Monastic life and the founding of Religious Orders. Religious feasts; religious simplicity; cities; characteristics; celebrations; sites of miracles; country people at the time of the plague; folk tales based on various ruins; folk songs; religion. Religious facts figure very prominently in my philosophical, political and educational concepts. Please forgive me, Your Honor, if, when referring to the structure of these works, I

⁹⁸¹ The rough draft is found in CRR: Mss 8568, pp. 30-31.

⁹⁸² This is a plan for a letter to the leaders of the saintsmonists in Paris.

⁹⁸³ A sympathizer of Owen in London; then of saintsmonism, under the influence of Jański.

⁹⁸⁴ The original is preserved in CRR: Mss 8626, p. 70.

presume to inject an observation about the importance of religion. Years ago, in the times when our nation was strong, in Poland and throughout Europe, religion was the foundation, the core of all education, customs, and even of trade relations. It is impossible to describe the customs of these times, without also describing the contemporary concept and purpose of religious observances. Throughout Western Europe, the better writers of historical novels all understood this.

Student life in Cracow, Poznań etc. The reform of the rascals (?); Union with the Greek Church, etc.

The nobility enjoyed a social life in time of war as well as in time of peace. But, we catch a glimpse of the social life of the common people only on religious occasions. The humane qualities of the peasants are the result of the sanction and protection provided by religion and the clergy.

In Ruszczyk and in Tarło⁹⁸⁵ you speak of the customs of our ancestors. The memory of these customs is still fresh in our hearts, and vestiges of them can still be witnessed in the countryside. But, there are other memories that need to be revived. There are real situations and institutions that are tied to these ancient customs. Someone needs to sweep away the dust they have been gathering in historical archives, in order to uncover the truly historical life of Poland. Philosophers and artists must set about uncovering and describing the life led by certain classes of society in our country's past. There is a need to trace the origin and development of certain social relationships, and to cast new light on the moral dynamism of our people. The entire corpus of our ancient poetry needs to be recovered. Both the morality and the poetry find their roots in religion and external traditions dating from Pre-Christian times.

Such a project would go a long way toward promoting pride in the Polish cause at this time⁹⁸⁶.

3).

⁹⁸⁵ Tarło, Warsaw, 1827. An historical novel from the pen of Frederick Skarbek.

⁹⁸⁶ A page from the correspondence notebook of B. Jański, in CRR: Mss 8568, p. 20.

We hereby testify that Mr. Alexander Smolikowski⁹⁸⁷ attended classes for three years in the department of Finance, and then for two years studied the natural sciences. He took the examinations and wrote the dissertation for the Master's degree. However, stricken by a serious lung disease, he could not obtain the diploma.

Further studies were interrupted only by several years of continued weakness.

Paris, March 2, 1833
 Stanislaus
 Kunatt,
 Professor The
 University
 of Warsaw

J. A. Ostrowski⁹⁸⁸

Bogdan Jański

Adelbert Kazimirski⁹⁸⁹

S. Grotkowski⁹⁹⁰

This document has been preserved in the Polish Library in Paris, among the papers of the Society for Educational Assistance.

Paris, December 14, 1833

⁹⁸⁷ Alexander Smolikowski – (born 1804, in Lublin) -a student at the Provincial School of Lublin, and later in the department of Philosophy in Warsaw; revolutionary, emigrant and author of several biographical-patriotic works. He was the uncle of Fr. Paul Smolikowski, the son of the director of the school mentioned above,

⁹⁸⁸ Anthony John Ostrowski (1782-1845) - Senator and voivode of the Kingdom of Poland, commander of the national guard, emigrant, mason, author of political pamphlets, and rival to Czartoryski for the throne of Poland in exile.

⁹⁸⁹ Adelbert Kazimirski (1808—1887) - Famous orientalist, author of Arabic-European lexicons, translator of the Koran into French, and Tales of a Thousand and one Night into Polish; a colleague of B. Jański in Warsaw and Paris; collaborator for scientific journals and French encyclopedia.

⁹⁹⁰ Stephen Grotkowski - a Protestant who was converted by B.Jański somewhat later, along with his brother, John Grotkowski.

4).

Liberty – equality – Unity
The Polish Pilgrim
A National, Political and Literary Daily⁹⁹¹

Voivod Ostrowski has paid his subscription for the third volume of The Pilgrim, beginning with this month, and consisting, like the previous numbers of half-sheets - five francs.

Bogdan Jański⁹⁹²

Paris, November 17, 1835

5).

My dear Leo and Adam,⁹⁹³

And so, you see that I am not really that bad. I am improving. For behold, having found a few free moments, I am writing you a second letter, even before I have received your response to my first. I am writing this letter, first of all “pour regler nos cornptes”⁹⁹⁴, that is, to make a further, even if delayed, payment on the debt I owe you, to complete my previous letter, and finally, to talk with you about some matters that have come up unexpectedly.

Personal notes: I am still working for the Giedroyd family. I find this a hindrance. Lessons, short, articles, as well as lectures, and keeping busy with apostolic works these are my occupations today. Peter and Jerome have returned from Solesmes, and are living nearby. Unless, there is a need for it, they will not involve themselves in the emigrant movement. This is their spiritual direction. Karski has joined us.

Mickiewicz is in good health. His wife recently gave birth to a daughter. He is writing A Polish History. There is a rapprochement with the democrats. A

⁹⁹¹ Official letter - head of the editor of *The Polish Pilgrim*.

⁹⁹² The original is preserved in AGAD: Mss AQU - 473, v.2, 1,238.

⁹⁹³ A sketch of a letter to A. Celiński and L. Przeclawski.

⁹⁹⁴ “to settle our accounts.”

number of people have manifested an interest in us. Among these are: Anthony, the Zaleskis, Maliński, Domeyko, Witwicki. Many others are in process of establishing a closer relationship.

Rev. Chossotta is in good health, and is asking about you.

Besides the publications Annual of the Emigration, Fatherland and the Emigration, a weekly. Chronicle of the Emigrants, will make its appearance shortly. The New Poland, The Polytechnic Society, Testament Paca, The Women's Association. Jelski⁹⁹⁵ has gone bankrupt. Those who lost money...

Concerning the confederation: let them not initiate any undertaking before they have heard from me; let them remember who is forming it. Hatred is no way to establish unity. The seym has been touched by it... it is not a good organization. But scattered about... they are learning, and are working. About 600 exiles remain in Paris.

Let them communicate their views. I am working in agreement with Nieszokoć⁹⁹⁶, for the purpose of providing some instruction here. I will provide this instruction for them "a mesure". In the work of unification, of pacification, hope is always in place, and you have full authorization. Prudence must always be employed in the choice of figure-heads. Seek out people...who unite.

Have they reached an agreement with the Democratic Society? What measure of participation have they achieved? Let them call on Łempicki and Grzybowski, using my name⁹⁹⁷.

How strong is Agen?⁹⁹⁸ Who are the more prominent figures? Supporters and opposition.

What is the condition of the Emigrant Legion?⁹⁹⁹ Its efforts bend toward the break-up of the emigration and its own glorification...

⁹⁹⁵ Joseph Jelski conducted a Polish bank in Paris for the emigrants. It went bankrupt at this time.

⁹⁹⁶ Vincent Nieszokoć (1792-) - a captain in the artillery during the uprising; in the emigration he taught military science, and authored a few books on this subject.

⁹⁹⁷ Stanislaus Grzybowski.

⁹⁹⁸ I.e., how many emigrants belonged to the so-called "institute."

⁹⁹⁹ A less known political movement among the emigrants.

Białopiotrowicz is angry at Leo because he did not write. Żerosław¹⁰⁰⁰ was staying with Ziomecki, and Dumiński¹⁰⁰¹ was in Paris.

The pilgrimage¹⁰⁰² - it is my intention to help them. Chateaubriand¹⁰⁰³ etc. First it is necessary to wait. An idle life. Means. Constantly in inspiration. The Bible. Devotional books. Pan Tadeusz. Pieśni Janusza.¹⁰⁰⁴

Nevers, February, 1838

6).

To Edward:

Ask his pardon... And since it was he especially who suffered... Ask that he perform some devotion, make a novena... for the gift of and facility in correspondence, and to maintain order in housekeeping... send him the letter to Adolph Zaleski. About Adolph, Miłkowski, Bednarczyk, Ordęga.

Write to Adolph, that confession is not enough and the catechism taught by his mother, that he must study and become educated. The people, the peasants, the conspiracy; a letter to the Kowalskis? to Kaczanowski, to Dąbrowski...

Adolph: is pressing me to declare myself politically; is stuck in old political biases; and in practice he is stirring up the peasants here against the lords. As regards religion, he figures that there is nothing more for him to do: he has made his confession; and the catechism he learned from his mother is sufficient.

About Major Kowalski of Bourges; about Mikulski...¹⁰⁰⁵

Paris, February, 1838

¹⁰⁰⁰ Żerosław Starzyński - an alumnus of the Krzemieniecki Liceum, insurgent, emigrant, friend of A. Celiński.

¹⁰⁰¹ Narcissus Dumiński - an alumnus of the Krzemieniecki Liceum, friend of Celiński; in 1830-31, a Lieutenant in the Artillery, honored with the military cross.

¹⁰⁰² A. Celiński and L. Przeclawski planned to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

¹⁰⁰³ Francis Chateaubriand (1768-1848) - French poet and writer, also known as a politician and man of state; author of many poems, dramas and stories. A. Celiński was asking B. Jański for one of his works.

¹⁰⁰⁴ The outline of this letter has been preserved in CRR: Mss 8551, p. 302.

¹⁰⁰⁵ This outline of a letter is preserved in (???)

7).

I received¹⁰⁰⁶ 1,000 francs from brother Bohdan Zaleski for the needs of the House (Brothers living together in Christ the Lord in Paris), and for those among us who have left Paris to pursue their priestly studies in Rome. I presented him with a list of our needs before-hand, and I will present a detailed account of money expended in due time.

O God (of infinite mercy! Pour out the gifts of your blessing and reward)^x bless and reward our unknown benefactors for their charitable gift.

We will make this intention a part of our daily prayers¹⁰⁰⁷ for our friends and benefactors.

Paris, May 3, 1838

Bogdan Jański¹⁰⁰⁸

x/. These words are crossed out in the rough draft.

Paris, August 30, 1838

8).

[To Leopold and Szulc]¹⁰⁰⁹

First, an explanation about the letter so that they would not spread the nonsense that you are forgetting about Poland: Not, everything will go well as long as the people are holy; but rather - as long as there are holy people...

There can be no agreement on political issues without agreement on more fundamental, religious matters. Otherwise you can only come to blows and emerge from the battle victorious, conquer etc.

¹⁰⁰⁶ This is a rough draft of the receipt for money gathered in Poland for charitable purposes among the emigrants; the money was forwarded through Bohdan Zaleski.

¹⁰⁰⁷ This is the origin of the custom of praying for our benefactors.

¹⁰⁰⁸ The rough draft is found in CRR: Mss 8567, p. 267

¹⁰⁰⁹ Outline of a letter to Leopold Turowski and Ignatius Szulc.

Concerning politics among us: Not everyone has a right and not everyone has a duty, among philosophers everyone does; for everyone is good, they trust one another; here the contrary is true. Therefore, they should be ready for every sacrifice; but they should not become involved in theories and governments.

Hence, with complete peace of soul, one should begin to study theology, another medicine¹⁰¹⁰; both should first work at the Christian renewal of their entire lives, at purification and enlightenment...

To Leopold: 1. Rebuke him for his silence, for hiding sufferings etc.
2. for not explaining his politics
3. for secrecy about his financial status¹⁰¹¹.

Paris, September 15, 1838

9).

For Duński (Karski), in his passport, enter surname: Edward Lucas¹⁰¹².

Kajsiewicz and Semenenko continue to reside with the Somaschi Fathers¹⁰¹³ at their School for Orphans as supervisors for the children (chambers - room monitors) - and this provides for their upkeep. But, in order to have more time for themselves to study, they will have to relinquish these duties. Therefore, they will need protection and aid, even to take care of their upkeep.

They attend classes at the Roman College. They are acquainted with the General of the Jesuit Fathers. But, Fr. Aridini (Suszyński) knows them best: he is their treasurer and guardian¹⁰¹⁴.

¹⁰¹⁰ L. Turowski expressed a desire to become a priest, although he was still a neophyte. I. Szulc wanted to study medicine.

¹⁰¹¹ The outline of this letter is preserved in CRR; Mss 8543, pp. 282-284.

¹⁰¹² E. Duński was the object of particular suspicion by the police authorities, since he participated in the campaign of Colonel Joseph Zalewski and his underground army in the region of Plock in 1833-34. This explains the need to substitute his second baptismal name for his surname. He had three baptismal names: Edward Luce Adam.

¹⁰¹³ The Somaschi Fathers were founded by St. Jerome Aemiliani in 1528 at Somascha near Milan. They conducted orphanages and homes for the aged.

¹⁰¹⁴ Young people in Rome studying for the priesthood had to have their own priest-protector.

J
 ański¹⁰¹⁵

Paris, September 18, 1838

10).

From Bohdan Zaleski I received:¹⁰¹⁶ first in May of this year, 1,000 francs for the needs of our House; then, in July, 200 francs to buy books that were necessary; later, in August, 80 francs to help one of our compatriots¹⁰¹⁷. This comes to a total of 1,280 francs. I also received 600 francs each - a total of 2,400 francs - for the upkeep of our four brothers engaged in studies for the Priesthood in Rome. This makes a grand total of 3,680 francs, as of this day.

God bless and reward our unknown benefactors for their kind gift!

In our daily prayers we will continue to pray for our friends and benefactors.

Witness: Adam Mickiewicz

Bogdan Jański

Paris, September 18, 1838¹⁰¹⁸

Paris, October 4, 1838

11).

[Affidavit]

Nr 8¹⁰¹⁹

¹⁰¹⁵ The sketch of this letter is preserved in Library in Kórnik: Mss 2521, p. 142.

¹⁰¹⁶ This is a receipt for money received, issued by Bogdan Jański at the request of Bohdan Zaleski.

¹⁰¹⁷ Adolph Zaleski. Cf. "Book... of alms" by B. Zaleski, Jagiellonian Library, Mss 9163, p. 4: September 2.

¹⁰¹⁸ This receipt was published by D. Zaleski in The Correspondence of J.B. Zaleski: vol. /?/, pp. /??.

¹⁰¹⁹ The original is in the Czartoryski Library in Cracow: Mss 5334/IV, p. 77.

At the request of Mr. Zenon Wiszniewski, I testify as follows:

A few months ago I received an anonymous letter accusing this same Mr. Wiszniewski of being a spy, and indicating the way in which I could verify this. The way indicated proved absolutely ineffective, demonstrating thereby that the accusation was without foundation.

Bogdan Jański

Paris, Boulevard Mon Parnasse 25

October 4, 1838

Paris, October 6, 1838

12).

Today yet, a letter to Królikowski¹⁰²⁰: Bordeaux, rue Cancera 29, telling him:

The petitions of Kozarzewski¹⁰²¹ and Późniak, along with information provided by the Director of College de Juilly, have been presented, and they will have a definite response this month, possibly before the 15th.

Królikowski himself should not worry, his business will also be finished this month. But, it is likely that he will receive his reply after the others.

Inform them of the trip of Krahnas and Turowski¹⁰²², and supply Bastard's¹⁰²³ address. ...About Kamocki's trip... About Edward and Hube - that

¹⁰²⁰ This is an outline of a letter to C. Królikowski.

¹⁰²¹ Casimir Kozarzewski entered the House in Paris shortly after; but he died one year later.

¹⁰²² Francis Krahnas and Leopold Turowski, clerics and members of the House were, under Jański's tutelage, engaged in religious activity outside of Paris during the vacation period. At this time, they were in Poitiers.

¹⁰²³ A merchant in Poitiers, who was a friend of Krahnas.

now, certainly, they are in Lyon¹⁰²⁴ ... News about new brothers, about my departure for Versailles¹⁰²⁵. Stamp the letter¹⁰²⁶.

Paris, October 6, 1838

13).

Send to Krahnas in Poitier: 2 volumes of Bautin¹⁰²⁷, 2 Little Polish Altar Book¹⁰²⁸, 2 New Testament and Manzoni's Defense de la morale catholique¹⁰²⁹.

Apologize for not writing...

Tell him that I am going to visit the Wielogłowski in Versailles.

I recommend especially frequent reception to the Sacraments, and non-omission of daily meditation. I will write to them after I return to Paris. How long they are to remain on their journey¹⁰³⁰ ... Their renunciation of their own will, their readiness and obedience are holy and blessed; let them, therefore, persevere in these dispositions. When I return I will send them particular instructions.

I inform them now that, after their discomfiture with Fr. Buquet, they need not return for the beginning of the Theology course at College Stanislaus which begins about the 20th of this month: However, they will not lose a year.

Therefore, until they receive further instructions, let them continue to work securely in the Lord.

One main caution: Let them rely as little as possible on all political, emigrant, human schemes and projects; and as much as possible, completely, on spiritual and eternal motives and goals. Let them not present whatever belongs to

¹⁰²⁴ Edward Duński and Joseph Hube, at this time, were passing through Lyon on their way to Rome for further studies.

¹⁰²⁵ To Valerian Wielogłowski.

¹⁰²⁶ This outline is preserved in CRR: Mss 8627, p. 591.

¹⁰²⁷ Fr. Bautin: The Philosophy of Christianity, 1835 (2 vols.).

¹⁰²⁸ An emigrant prayer book prepared by S. Witwicki.

¹⁰²⁹ Alexander Manzoni (1785-1873) - Italian poet and writer, author of The Betrothed. Jański has in mind the French translation of his Observations on Catholic Morality, 1834.

¹⁰³⁰ This was a missionary journey of lay apostles.

the first category as the final word, but only as their own pious desire, testifying to their conviction:

That everything that is most Christian, most holy and best... will, inevitably, receive approbation, authority and prevalence in our fraternal communion.

Ask for daily prayer,

Tell them about Juilly and Kamocki...¹⁰³¹

Paris, the end of 1838

14).

[To Bishop]¹⁰³²

That we do not publish Young Poland; that I have been requested to submit my own similar prospectus, to be presented to the Holy Father.

That there are a dozen or more of us, living together in complete unity and in the spirit of obedience. Moreover, we have many friends.

...That we do not become members of any political party, whether that of Prince Czartoryski or of his adversaries, and that we dissuade those who wish to enter our community from doing so. For the one and the other are full of hatred for one another - ready for a war of extermination among themselves. Both the former and the latter do not base their projects and fundamental maxims on Gospel principles; but rather on various inventions of human wisdom honored by the evil spirit of our age; or, on constitutional principles in which everything seems to be figured out wisely; but they do not recognize the one and only truth - Christ and his Church; or, they base themselves on a variety of opinions, congresses, traditional parliamentary opinions, etc. whose beginning and end, unknown to those who accept them, are false, disastrous, satanic; which have destroyed the primitive unity of Christianity; it is our conviction that the

¹⁰³¹ This outline is preserved in CRR: Mss 8627, p. 591.

¹⁰³² The former Ordinary of Cracow: Charles Sarius Skórkowski.

reconstruction of this unity ought to be the principal object calling for sacrifice and labors on the part of all men of good will, and of all true children of Christ...¹⁰³³

Paris, March, 1839

15).

[To Bishop]

In the future I will make more extensive use of that kind of separate discussion¹⁰³⁴ with me, that you initiated once by way of a separate letter¹⁰³⁵.

Today I am simply letting you know that, unless God puts some obstacle in the way, Leopold Turowski will come to your assistance, and that as quickly as possible.

Share this information and this hope with our dearest brothers Joseph Hube, Edward Duński and Jerome Kajsiewicz; but definitely not with Caesar Plater. For, through him, people here would inevitably learn of this beforehand¹⁰³⁶; and Ladislaus Plater would somehow manage to use this too to our detriment. One can easily guess how he would immediately spread it about everywhere that he is responsible for sending people to Rome.

Secondly Jełowicki... etc. and Kamocki would peck our poor Leopold to deaths - for definitely associating himself with us - even before he managed to set off on his journey...

This needs explanation... and I will give it in my next letter. Meanwhile, one more: Say nothing about this to Caesar; and mention it to the brothers only if you consider it necessary. And why not! For this will surely make them happy.

Victor Sidorowicz is lost in women again... But do not even mention this when you write to him! God forbid! For this would ruffle him completely through

¹⁰³³ The outline of the letter is found in CRR: Mss 8539 P. (?).

¹⁰³⁴ With P. Semenenko, as rector of the Roman House.

¹⁰³⁵ Unfortunately, lost. It was already unknown to Fr. P. Smolikowski.

¹⁰³⁶ That is, prematurely.

anger for me. Francis Krahnas is abandoning his plans to become a priest; and that is the compass for all of his recent moves. He wants to return to business. But it may yet turn out otherwise. And so, once again...¹⁰³⁷

La Trappe, April 25, 1839

16).

[Notes for correspondence]

To Joseph and Bohdan Zaleski: Writing, bemoan the fact that they could entertain the supposition that we would deny our faith, selling ourselves to some political party - and the kind of party! Among us there must be trust - there must be unity, one politics which cannot be either the politics of the aristocrats or the politics of the democrats. To establish this "politics" we must lose confidence in, and abandon all relations with irreligious persons, and come to terms with those with whom we have struck up an eternal covenant, with those who agree with us on eternal matters¹⁰³⁸ ...

Paris, April, 1839

17).

[To Krahnas]

He has no patience. Bad. Avaricious activity, before which everything else must give way...

I did not expect such a letter, after the way we parted... Do not hide your sorrow; for you were counting on him especially, and regarded him as closest to you... etc. No institution offers a remedy for the cause of such behavior, temporary demoralization and weakening... Only if someone completely erased my work and py plans, and undertook something on his own...

¹⁰³⁷ This outline of the letter is found in CRR: Mss 8630, p. 970.

¹⁰³⁸ The fragment is preserved in CRR: Mss 8607, p. 746.

The work which I have undertaken has the means of realization in the future and at present; and personnel: those who are here now, and those who will come... Write more about what it should be than what it is... Another person, having encountered difficulties in the way once begun, would discontinue his work, like killing duckling - lacking confidence and courage, he would set up restrictions. I prefer to see it through.

With a feeling of great humility, but with great sincerity, write about the calling you have received from God, and of your duty before God. As for direction, rather than complicate it, I preferred to do nothing instead of rendering it impossible in the future, or of providing occasion for scandal.

As protector, or business agent, I was solicitous about the house, fending off the attacks of the enemy threatening it with destruction from without; leaving the interior government to God, and to each one's conscience.

I am making a great sacrifice, that makes my heart sad... etc... etc... etc.

I am leaving him completely free... I am freeing him for all obligations, so that he would experience no reproach of conscience; and, with God's help, I expect in the future to fulfill my responsibilities towards him.

But I have begged, I am begging, and I will not cease to beg God to bring him back again to union with us - very close, and complete union. So that what has happened might be a lesson to me...

Ask him what he is doing? How he is spending his time? Is he happy with his confessor?

Leave some ideas for future letter¹⁰³⁹.

La Trappe, April, 1839

18).

For cleric Semenenko

My dearest brothers in our Lord, Jesus Christ!

¹⁰³⁹ This outline of a letter is preserved in CRR: Mss 8627, p. 776.

May my word reach you as soon as possible. I will first send a few words to cheer your hearts with the general assurance that our situation is not now, nor has it been, as bad¹⁰⁴⁰ as it may have seemed from the reports you received. We are enduring, in the Lord. The first proof that the parisian brothers are not so bad is... this: recently, during Easter time, first Hipolite and Krahnas, then Leopold were on retreat; and now I myself am on retreat. I am sending this letter from my beloved Trappe.

Since you are in particular need of clarification concerning our local situation, I will write about us, first about us...

A great deal of solace and comfort during the recent troubles, misunderstandings...

My dearest brothers in our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, I would like to begin my letter to you by thanking you for all of your love, kindness and virtue; I noticed the signs of growth in these virtues in your letters to me, and my heart rejoiced in the Lord. But first, and before all else, I should fulfill my obligation which, though it is unpleasant for me, is that much holier in your regard. That obligation is: to show you the rod, and to extend it to you so that you may kiss it. The rod of the Holy Spirit, my children etc.

What is the meaning of those words of discontent, the murmurings and more murmurings, and the grimaces?

Hush! Back to your books, and before the crucifix! Study, and pray! Has God then shown you or given you some other Elder, that you already speak out voicing your discontent? To do so is to upset the order, and to disrupt our inner unity.

Do not sin, when God is blessing you in everything. Even Sir Director is murmuring that it is difficult for him, apparently, to keep the discontent and control...

Oj !...

And someone off to the side spoke out that you are without direction...Would that this good Sir were in as good a condition as you are without

¹⁰⁴⁰ Mention is made here of a crisis in B. Jański's work in Paris, in the Spring of 1839.

direction! At least to the extent that you, until now, have received direction through the Mercy of the Holy Spirit, who brought our community, into being and nourishes it!...

And now - Peace! Accept my kisses, my peace, and my thanks... Your brought me much solace... True, there were troubles; but not as great, and surely not the kind that were intimated to you in the letters of others. Which surely stem from the situation that existed, especially after your departure: for almost all of the brothers were new; and brother Victor¹⁰⁴¹ is capable of keeping order only in rare instances. All the more so, then, the whole direction, and the motivation of all plans and means etc. were concentrated in me; meanwhile the others knew what they had to do. Tell them why this proved to be good, since it permitted those who were closest to move farthest away etc.

And so I protest against your total acceptance of all of this information as factual, especially when it deals-not which, simple occurrences, but with judgments against Valerian, and especially against the Honorable Ladislaus.

Raise your minds in thanksgiving to God that our misfortunes are not really so great. Let us profit by experience!... A picture of existing conditions: You have to go back and study the situation from the time of the departure of brothers Joseph and Edward¹⁰⁴², who enlightened you older members about all that had gone on before.

At that time everything was going well - spiritually and materially: So many deciding to enter the seminary, so many drawing closer to us! Throughout the depots there are great hopes, and the depts have decreased!

What were we to do? Continue along the same road. Juilly¹⁰⁴³. To receive new members, or not to receive new members? The dominant idea, the principal judgment about the whole situation as it exists today: Occupations must be provided etc. - from spiritual means etc. - from material means.

¹⁰⁴¹ Cleric P. Semenenko was chosen as the director of the Roman House of the new community. Victor Siefrowicz.

¹⁰⁴² They left Paris in the Fall, 1838.

¹⁰⁴³ A town North of Paris, the location of the famous College de Juilly, also called the Academy of the Oratorians, where B. Jański located a few of the confreres as tutors.

The criticism that I sought no one's advice? Especially the Zaleskis, Witwicki... The criticism that I accepted everyone etc. I will go over each of them for you... I accepted all of them after an examination... They were here when those brothers were leaving... I accepted... everyone after some thought, after an examination etc...

The printery... The hospital... Ordęga wanted to send children. The idea of establishing a stricter observance on rue Vavin. There was hope of obtaining funds for this from: Prince Giedroyć, Chwalibóg... Unfortunately, the projects fell through; and their failure brought about problems for me. And the problems made it impossible for me to take care of direction, either in general or, what is necessary, with each one individually.

What was happening on rue Vavin, what on Boulevard Mont Parnasse... I could not establish a vicar anywhere - because of the state of affairs and the personnel... Finally, there was the merciless insistence of the creditors... The poverty was so great that throughout the whole of the Winter I myself did not have a bed or a stove. I have decided to throw in the sponge as far as the secondary projects are concerned, and to restore the main ones. I am beginning to do this myself... problems are creating delays... It is necessary to scrounge about for money...

Meanwhile, God punishes those on whom I was counting principally, causing them to waver... May God's will be done!... This is the situation today: Such are the hopes, such are the difficulties... you have criticized etc. Pray, and persevere...

So much about us...

As for you, we can only thank God for your success, and that, considering present circumstances, you yourselves have taken the initiative... Confirmations of the post of elder¹⁰⁴⁴ and of the statutes. Later I will counsel you on these matters... Prefect, rector or director, according to local customs... I wanted. Edward to be that kind of prefect here...

¹⁰⁴⁴ That is, P. Semenenko's superior ship in the Roman House.

About ordinations... The important thing is that, in spite of projects etc., you think and live for heaven while preparing yourself for God's service on earth... Patient, humble and zealous love, which acts with simplicity and prudence, overcoming all obstacles, be your guide. Thank God for failures...

Praise them in our name, referring to what they told us of what has happened; however, let there be greater submission to the will of God... With regard to the more distant future: they should already formulate plans...

Concerning Edward's arrival...

About my coming to them, which I feel is necessary, and for which I depend entirely upon God; if there is anything certain or set, I will let them know... Put things in order as well as you can today, without losing hope...

Let us not be in any hurry to take a definite position, or finalize our foundation, until we are prepared to do so... Move ahead rapidly in matters of perfection etc...

A fundamental principle: We must continue to prepare ourselves, with confidence in the Lord, not growing impatient in our desire to reach a final formulation of our present arrangement.

Preserve unity, grow in spirit, practice complete surrender, prepare for the service of God, of our country and of the exiles, but first of all for the exiles etc. Do not start many projects at the same time, but take note of the inspirations... A particular recommendation: about those short treatises... for those who are not yet converted and for the converted, following the inspiration of the Holy Spirit... perhaps in the form of letters... anonymous...

I am counting primarily on Jerome on Edward who knows how to get to the heart of our faith, whom God has given a special facility and brother Joseph; maybe something about mental prayer?...

Thank you for Perrone¹⁰⁴⁵ ...

What kind of books you want?... about the 3 copies of Krakus. Prayers for community intentions... Especially to Jerome, Joseph... Let Jerome send letters

¹⁰⁴⁵ Very probably the Praelectiones theologicae of John Perrone, Italian Jesuit and theologian, as well as the professor of the Roman brothers at the Roman College.

through me to Ropelewski¹⁰⁴⁶, Koźmian and Sysiewicz. Let Edward know beforehand that he will still something for which (to apologize) to forgive me. Let everyone write to Orpiszewski and to Valerian Wielogłowski, because I am telling you to do so, and to thank them for their special confidence and assistance.

Ask that they definitely get Caesar to write directly to me and to Mr. Rigaud; tomorrow at the latest - and make sure he has the right address. Perhaps Peter will add a few words... hence, addressed in care of Fr. Gesgenettes.

The letters that were arriving so late were addressed to me etc. By your humility and your confident patience, you have conquered my stubborn fault... support me now by your continued prayer for perseverance in the improvement which, thank God, has begun... Write letters to Valerian, to Orpiszewski, and to Fr. Korycki, mentioning that I had written about his constant kindness toward us, and that they are to sense and respect his spirit of piety, recommending themselves to his fatherly prayers; even if it be later, let Peter write Jerome add a note, and Edward and Hube include their greetings.

About Rettel - do not write anything to him yet, until I talk with him and can advise you about what and how you can best write to him¹⁰⁴⁷...

La Grande Trappe, the beginning of May, 1839

19).

[To Leopold]

He should not forget about Jeleński¹⁰⁴⁸. He should make every effort to encourage him to pray with him; in reciting the rosary, each one says half of the

¹⁰⁴⁶ Stanislaus Ropelewski (1814-1865) - publicist, literary critic and poet, who initially was a leftist agitator among the emigrants, later, the associate editor of Young Poland, an emigrant periodical, which wanted to pass itself off as Catholic.

¹⁰⁴⁷ This outline of letter is preserved in CRR: Mss 8635, pp. 986-987.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Raphael Jeleński from the region of Wilno. In 1831, he fought in the detachment of Matuszewicz and Chłapowski. As an emigrant, he lived in Besancon, Berberac, Dax, Poitiers, Rouen, Versailles and Paris. He married an English-woman. First he was a democrat, but later a monarchist.

“Hail Mary”. Induce him to go to confession for the Feast of the Holy Trinity, or for Corpus Christi, the Feast of the Most Holy Sacrament.

Concerning Mr. Stanislaus¹⁰⁴⁹. He should be careful. The Feast of St. Erasmus in November 25th. He should write to Krahnas about his unconditional entrance into the community and about his hopes but later, when he no longer needs to fear evil, or danger... As a future priest, he should stop smoking a pipe. Let him not be discouraged by Sidorowicz and Hipolite. Let him use Stanislaus’¹⁰⁵⁰ dispositions to bind his heart if not his life to God, and to confirm his mind in the Truth. He should urge him to more frequent confession, daily Mass, to read books that might enlighten him. Read the lives of the Saints together daily. With time perhaps you can go confession every week¹⁰⁵¹...

La Grande Trappe, May, 1839

20).

For Peter alone¹⁰⁵²: tell him that I want to get out from under “Platerism”, which causes much offence to God, and much harm to us... What pertains to this: retain the closest bonds of friendship with Caesar Plater, but permit no protectorate, which then becomes a “seigneurie”¹⁰⁵³, direction... etc. That’s where the evil comes in... The protectorate before Gisquet¹⁰⁵⁴, Montalivet¹⁰⁵⁵ was good; but... not in every detail, and not now. Be careful of comaraderie...

In second, or third, letter - let him give me his impressions of... the Viennese theologian.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Stanislaus Lewicki.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Stanislaus Kaczorowski - the 18 year old nephew of Major Świącicki, who had just come to the Paris House from Fryburg to undergo his first trial.

¹⁰⁵¹ This outline of a letter is preserved in CRR: Mss 8627, pp. 709-710.

¹⁰⁵² The outline of a confidential letter to P.Semenenko as the director of the Roman House.

¹⁰⁵³ The lordship of the Middle Ages, lay patronage.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Henry Gisquet (1792-1866) - the prefect of police in Paris during the years 1831-1836; later an industrialist and politician.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Martin Camillus Montalivet (1801-1885) - French politician, several times the minister or vice-minister of external affairs of the monarchical government, who had great confidence in C. Plater as a Polish Count.

You are writing less about the Jesuits: about Fr. General and about Fr. Suszyński. Can it be that your quite open declarations have caused them to grow cold?

Because the longer letter will be read by other brothers - by Caesar, and maybe by Lucian¹⁰⁵⁶, and one of the priests might want to read it - I judged it proper to remove from it whatever should remain just between the two of us. And there is much... Therefore, when the doors are closed to outsiders, Peter, call brother Joseph and Jerome and Edward - for this letter is meant for them too.

There is a little note which I have included that is meant only for you.

When we are alone, when the doors are closed, I no longer take the rod out of my pocket... I do not even mention that I have it... In your presence, you of whom my heart is constantly aware, I knell in spirit and prostrate myself before the Lord... "Confiteor... etc.... quia peccavi nimis cogitatione, verbo et opere"...

I kiss the feet of brother Peter, I kiss the feet of brother Edward, I kiss the feet of brother Herome - I kiss the feet of brother Joseph... "Mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa"... etc.

Brothers, do not be scandalized by the fact that I have not written to you for so long, and by what I will reveal to you... etc. In part this is due to my neglect... Let them insert separate little notes, if Caesar reads their letters... This could get to Turowski and discourage him; or it might first find its way into print... etc... that the aristocracy is sending these letters... Say nothing about this to Caesar... that Ladislaus Plater was responsible... Concerning what pertains to this let Pater write me a separate short letter. There is no need to mention this in letters to the other brothers. I will tell them first: but a little later, when things are more certain; for if my efforts are not successful, they would be needlessly demoralized, in view of the fact that what is planned does not succeed.

Tell them about Leopold Turowski's arrival unless God might yet decide otherwise, but ask them to keep it secret. Also tell them about Francis Krahnas' failure. You can let them know beforehand that I will write to you about

¹⁰⁵⁶ Lucian Weysenhof (died 1881) - adjutant to General H. Ramorino in 1831, who was staying in Rome at this time, and often visited with the Roman brethren.

conducting completely separate conferences. They should perform some devotion, and pray continually for Krannas' return¹⁰⁵⁷.

La Grande Trappe, May, 1839

21).

[To Valerian]

Apologies... About patience... About Leopold... About Romuald... Sidorowicz will come for the money before the 15th. Getting closer to Adolph... to Orpizewski, to Leopold... He should not forget about John. I was supposed to write to Walter, apologizing for not saying "goodbye"... I am determined to go on... This involves great expenses, but etc....

Explain to him that the last letter was written in such haste etc., improperly... About Romuald: he should not be scandalized... About Boleslaus... Wouldn't it be well to write to Boleslaus to prepare the way for an understanding, whatever happens... About Fr. Borkowski¹⁰⁵⁸...

Mortagne, June 25, 1839

22).

Write to Hipolite¹⁰⁵⁹:

1. In response to the question: What should you write to Krahnas about us? It would be necessary first of all to ask you what you think, and what you are expecting? Only after we have come to an understanding, can there be any hope of calming a third person through you.

2. Perhaps it is better that Krahnas declared himself as he did now, rather than later in more serious circumstances.

¹⁰⁵⁷ This outline of a letter is preserved in CRR: Mss 8630, p. 970.

This outline of a letter was also published by Fr. P. Smolikowski in Historia Zgromadzenia vol. II, p. 292.

¹⁰⁵⁸ This outline of a letter is preserved in CRR: Mss 8627, p. 726.

¹⁰⁵⁹ The outline of a letter to H. Terlecki is preserved in CRR: Mss 8627, p. 714.

Apologize to him that he did not receive the money after his arrival from July; but Valerian had instructions etc.

Have him apologize to Fr. Korycki, and inquire about the matter of Mostowski. Tell him in detail, at length and very openly about Adolph - his religious state, political ambitions and disposition toward us. Because I must make some kind of decision about him¹⁰⁶⁰...

La Trappe, June, 1839

23).

[To Peter]

That he should strive to have copies of all the acts etc. in the matter of the contemporary Church¹⁰⁶¹.

Concerning Caesar, and also concerning the Jesuits, I recommend to Peter: In unrestricted obedience - for you give that obedience entirely to Christ; therefore, you dedicate your whole life to Him -, so that it might never be he who speaks before others in your name, but only you. I will write the same thing to the other brothers later.

This is important, with a view to the future... I turn to you first, then, to tell me how our political cause is regarded by the Cardinals, and by the Holy Father? Do they give any thought to a revolution, and do they approve or reject working toward that goal?¹⁰⁶²

Inquire about the Jesuits and their abandonment of the Polish cause in Galicia¹⁰⁶³.

Instructions about a response to Krahnas... also add a few words here about Kamocki.

¹⁰⁶⁰ The outline of a letter to H. Terlecki is preserved in CRR: Mss 8627, p. 714.

¹⁰⁶¹ The Roman brethren often presented extensive notices about persecution of the Church in Poland to the Holy See.

¹⁰⁶² The question of a new revolution was very much alive in Paris at the time.

¹⁰⁶³ They were criticized for excessive connections with Austria.

This time I am writing less about Caesar. I will have to keep the rest for my next letter. I know how he takes command... how he manages others' affairs... Perhaps postpone discussion of ordinations until the next letter, with bits of information about our people and about Somesmes?¹⁰⁶⁴

Mortagne, Juny, 1839

24).

[To Caesar]

Insist on the need to become involved in incidental projects; otherwise they will dispersed among the parties...

M. Caesar, you declared yourself for Prince Czartoryski, acknowledging your dependence on him. I cannot make such a declaration; for, in my present situation, I would then lose all access to those who oppose him. Moreover, since I would be doing this in the name of a number of people united in a certain spirit by definite principles, I could not make such a declaration unconditionally. It is not a case of conditions as they affect, individuals, but as they affect our work. Thiers' statement.

Reference to M. Ladislaus Plater. Printery, dailies. The Prince, Łopaciński, Januszkiewicz, Chancery head, administration of the House, debts. The warning of Montalembert; write about this to M. Ladislaus: that he does not accept his proposals, that since this was thwarting his plans, he would write to M. Caesar, and would vigorously attempt to carry his point... but... etc.

Have him explain to me the origin of the prohibition - to send me - to transfer to me the money which had been sent to Ladislaus.

In one of his next letter, he should send something for Prince Czartoryski.

¹⁰⁶⁴ An outline of a confidential letter to the Roman Superior Peter Semenenko: CRR: Mss 8634, p. 984.

Concerning Mrs. Łopacińska, Grotkowski, Mrs. Thayer; July 26th, about Niezabitowski, Letter to Skrzynecki. Need for visit to the depots - perhaps in England. Money for M. Anthony, so that he could have an outright¹⁰⁶⁵ ...

Paris, August, 1839

25).

A second letter to Rome after reading their letters. A third and further letters can be written in sections, as notes written daily or every several days.

In the second letter: that they are to perform the religious exercises, from which the boarders are excused, by themselves.

The powers of brother superior: the selection of a confessor, the arrangement of time for all occupations, lectures, letters etc. The predominant need: to provide an occupation for those... What is to be done about those who cannot fit into a regular and more systematic program etc.? They either become frustrated, or they attach themselves to the older parties, and infect them with a spirit that destroys all good...

I could not immediately abandon all those projects... I was waiting for a manifestation of God's will in their regard. Today it is all over. They are dissolved... I am limiting myself to our original project and its continuation... I wanted to found institutions in which precisely those who are unable to enter a stricter union and block off further hopes can be employed etc.

About the books that I am to send to you are they the books that Edward and Hube left behind? When you write, specify again the ones you want.

About centralizing correspondence... i.e., everything is my fault...

In a second letter to Peter: Advice about how he is to conduct himself as a superior; that he avoid showing himself superior in knowledge, and seek only to show himself superior in love. He should even hide his knowledge, and avoid flaunting it for this can have a bad effect on others. In doing so he already receives his reward for work undertaken for the Lord...

¹⁰⁶⁵ This Sketch of a letter to Caesar Plater is preserved in CRR: Mss 8568, pp. 59-60.

The outline of this letter is found in CRR: Mss 8635, pp. 986-987.

Paris, the beginning of 1839

26).

[To the Most Reverend Bishop]¹⁰⁶⁶

...That until now we have not published anything at all, because we wished first to be formed in one spirit, through the practice of a life of humility and hope; because the press in exile has discredited itself, since everybody printed whatever folly, animosity or the pride of the moment dictated - today one thing, tomorrow another...

We first wished to undergo a kind of novitiate, a test of time; to give evidence of our perseverance in a certain position and a certain spirit. But we are planning... etc.

...That he allow the Romans to write to him...¹⁰⁶⁷

Paris, Autumn, 1839

27).

[To Rome]¹⁰⁶⁸

What kind of an impression did the political articles and patriotic declarations of Young Poland make there?

How would a political declaration on our part be received?... Which political policy would be regarded as the best?

Considering their position there, would it not be better for us here to abstain from any public political pronouncement?

Or, in making such a pronouncement, to dissociate ourselves from them for a time?

¹⁰⁶⁶ Charles Skórkowski

¹⁰⁶⁷ The outline of this letter is found in CRR: Mss 8539, p. (?).

¹⁰⁶⁸

Because everything we undertake must be suited to confirmation by Rome with time...

Perhaps it would be better to write to the brothers beforehand that I am not coming as a General...?

I do not wish to enter into relations with or visit any highly placed individuals... ..but only for consultation with them... ..Because I am unworthy... And we are not, yet ready to think about seeking confirmation... etc. Before, my departure would it not be well to unite everyone in a temporary spiritual association of prayer?...

Not belonging to others.

Sectional superiors... etc.¹⁰⁶⁹

Paris, Autumn, 1839

28).

[To Popiel]

Would it be possible to send for printing there, not only books of devotion, but also scholarly works written in a religious spirit and for a religious purpose?

Can they send book etc.?

Are funds available for printing here?

This situation should serve to establish closer bonds between us. Let us establish these bonds in the sight and in the presence of God! And let us maintain them in God and for God! Tell him about Rome, and about our hopes for the brothers there; about the need for money...¹⁰⁷⁰

¹⁰⁶⁹ An outline of a letter to his confreres found among the Roman papers, Mss 8627, p. (??).

¹⁰⁷⁰ The outline of this letter is preserved in CRR: Mss 8627, p. 713.